SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN THE SOUTH

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PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN THE SOUTH*

THE FACT OF NEED

More of the poor of the United States live in the South than in any other region - almost half, according to 1960 U. S. census data.

The proportion of families trapped by poverty is larger in the South than in other regions. Almost one of every four is poor, according to U. S. census data.

Within the South, the proportion of Negro households in poverty is more than twice that of white households. A total of 17.9% of 12 million white families is poor, as opposed to 58.3% of 2.3 million Negro families, according to the Social Security Administration.

Ninety-seven of the 100 poorest counties in the United States are in the South.

These facts are the unanimous conclusions of analysts of American poverty who use differing economic categories and differing statistical sources. Whether the poverty line is defined as $3,000 or $4,000 per year or as a dependent

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*The "South" here referred to is the 11 former Confederate states and Kentucky. Statistics, unless otherwise indicated, are from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

variable of family size, age, and farm residence, the conclusions are the same. The South has more poverty overall, a higher rate of its occurrence, and the highest rate among its black people. (See also Tables 8 and 9.)

THE PLACE OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

Public assistance in the form of cash payments and aid has been a principal way to alleviate that poverty which consists primarily of monetary deprivation. It has been criticized as too limited, and as destructive of the family when administered in such a way that payments to aid children of impoverished families cannot be made when an employable male is in the house. Men out of work are forced to leave home so that the family will qualify for aid, according to the critics. It is not possible in the present study to resolve such controversy. The goal is to provide more information about the distribution of funds in the South under existing programs. The purpose is to describe what is being done in order to enlighten discussion of what ought to be done.

Three important clarifications should be made at this point. First, although public assistance is commonly called "welfare," it should not be confused with the total spectrum of social welfare programs. The funds for public assistance discussed here are separate from funds spent under programs

such as the Old Age Survivors and Disability Insurance of Social Security, unemployment compensation, job-retraining, and the war on poverty. Public assistance consists primarily of cash aid to the indigent aged who are largely uncovered by Social Security insurance, to families with dependent children which have little or no income, to the blind and the permanently and totally disabled, and to acute cases of need discovered by welfare workers (called general assistance in attached tables). These general case assistance programs receive no federal funds and thus vary widely depending on the available resources and the commitments of the states.

Public assistance has also included cash aid to the aged for drug and hospital costs. The statistics in this study cover only the program for such aid that existed before adoption of the broader Medicare program.

Public assistance is what some disparagingly refer to as "the dole." Its beneficiaries are overwhelmingly the aged, dependent children, and the physically handicapped. The beneficiaries, contrary to popular myth, are not adult males who prefer to "loaf."

Typical of confusion was a headline in a large southern newspaper which said "22 Million on Dole." If the reader went beyond the headline, he discovered the "dole" referred

to was largely from social security insurance funds for which the recipients had been directly taxed on every paycheck they received. Only 8 million of the 22 million were receiving a "dole," and most of them were either over 65 or under 18, or blind, or otherwise disabled, or sick. Public assistance is what goes to this distressed 8 million people. Since there are 1.5 million impoverished aged and at least 15 million impoverished children in this country, it hardly appears that public assistance with its 8 million recipients is going to more people than the degree of need requires. Indeed, it goes to far fewer than the number in need.

Moreover, from these facts it should be clear that public assistance reaches primarily those who are outside the labor force and thus cannot be aided by minimum wage laws and unemployment compensation. At the present time public assistance, however limited, is the only way being used to meet the problem of "monetary deprivation," a rather inane technical term which seeks to make a distinction between those poor whose only problem in satisfactorily adjusting to modern life is lack of money and those who need help beyond the simple getting of money.

The second clarification required is related to this issue of monetary deprivation. While not all poverty is

covered by the concept, much of it is. The Wall Street Journal in September, 1966, reported that "the Johnson Administration is becoming increasingly intrigued with a far-reaching new goal: Ending poverty via a Government guarantee of a minimum income for every American family." But, the article goes on to point out, the Viet Nam war and existent domestic spending along with fear of Congressional and public resistance preclude the possibility of a direct approach to the goal, such schemes as the guaranteed annual income or negative income tax (no tax for those below a specified level and payments to bring them up to that level). Instead, there would be a gradual approach, an effort to "patch up and fatten up" existing programs, including Social Security, public-assistance coverage and payments, rent and other supplements, and public employment. If the public assistance programs are as poorly conceived and administered as their critics charge, then the new effort may mean merely the waste of more money. A study of how present funds are distributed among the states and how the states allocate proportions to such needs as the indigent aged and dependent children should--regardless of the merits of the present programs--indicate the degree of patching and fattening that would need to be done.

The third clarification required here concerns the possible charge that to stress cash payments ignores the

"syndrome of poverty" approach. Poverty is more than a lack of money. It is a complex of social and personal deficiencies, rooted in the absence of opportunities for human development. This fact is more widely appreciated than ever before. Yet there is a danger of ignoring the economic component. While it is clearly true that for many of the poor cash payments alone will not mean getting out of the syndrome of poverty, it is equally true that better schools, health service, consumer education, housing and so forth will not alleviate an inability to get enough money to live on in the short run.

While cash payments alone will not suffice to end poverty for many of the poor, they will be sufficient to end poverty among those for whom deprivation is primarily or solely monetary. S. M. Miller argues persuasively that the majority of the poor are "stable," i.e. free from family or social pathologies and employed at steady but very low pay, low skill jobs.** Many of these stable poor in the South and in the nation need nothing more than direct cash aid for their children or their own old age - plus job retraining for themselves and good education for their children. The boost from this support should be enough to break the monetary deprivation cycle permanently for about half the American poor, according to Miller. For

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**S. M. Miller, "The American Lower Classes: A Typological Approach," New Perspective on Poverty, ed. A. Shostak and W. Gomberg (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), p.27.

them, the end of monetary deprivation would also mean the end of the poverty syndrome. For others, the broader attack on all social and cultural deficiencies would have to continue.

The cost of a start on cash subsidies would vary with how much was attempted. The Wall Street Journal report cited previously said that government officials thought it would cost from 6 billion to 7 billion dollars per year "to move the more than 30 million 'poor' people just halfway from their present incomes to the minimum desired levels - $3,000 for a family of four." Leon Keyserling's report for the Conference on Economic Progress, Poverty or Progress, estimates that 12.7 billion dollars a year would mean $1,427 more a year for each of the 8.9 million families with incomes below $3,000 in 1963.

Whatever method is ultimately used, there is considerable movement toward greater use of direct cash subsidy to end the poverty of monetary deprivation. Thus, it becomes extremely important to understand how cash subsidy is now used.

WHAT IS SPENT IN THE SOUTH FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

What follows is primarily an examination of the status quo in public assistance. It tries to discover precisely what the South is doing in the face of the degree of poverty

noted earlier. It also examines the proportion of federal resources received by the South.

Of all expenditures for public assistance payments in the United States in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1965, 21.8% occurred in the South.(Table 1.) This reflects the South's having 25.9% of the United States' population in 1960. But it does not reflect that almost half of the nation's poverty is in the South and that the incidence of poverty within the region is higher than in other regions, as noted earlier. It should be noted that states administer the allotment of federal funds. The size of the federal grant varies with the ability or desire to match from state resources or to operate state programs - hence the disparity among the states.

Among individual states, Texas and Louisiana spend significantly more than all the others. The size of the Texas expenditure can be attributed to the large population of the state. It is less impressive when considered on a per inhabitant basis (Table 3) or a rate per 1,000 basis. (Table 4.)

The large Louisiana expenditure is even more striking when either the size of the state, the number of recipients, the rate per 1,000 population, the average payment per recipient or all of these is considered.(Tables 2-4.) Prima facie, this state's program cannot be judged to be adequate

simply because it was large relative to national as well as southern standards. That conclusion would require more investigation. The adequacy of the program becomes questionable when the specific programs to which the state allots its resources are considered. (Table 2.) Nevertheless, the case of Louisiana is atypical of the South in the public assistance field. The roots can be traced to the atypical southern politics of the regime of Huey Long in which desirable social welfare programs served the political welfare of Mr. Long to the chagrin of both some liberals, as well as the conservative business elite. The availability of petroleum resources as a means to finance such programs must also be noted.

At the other end of the scale stand Virginia and South Carolina. (Tables 2-4.) They were low by all the standards by which Louisiana was high. Total expenditures, degree of coverage, payment per recipient, and number covered were generally near or at the bottom of the region and the nation. Two notable exceptions occurred in Virginia and thereby differentiated it from South Carolina. First, Virginia spent more than twice as much overall for aid to dependent children than did South Carolina. It paid more per recipient to more families although its rate of coverage per 1000 was almost the same. (Table 4.) Second, while Virginia assisted those aged covered with higher payments, the degree of coverage per 1000 over age 65 was one-fourth that of South Carolina. (Table 4.)

The other states fall in irregular patterns between the extremes of Louisiana and South Carolina. Alabama and Mississippi attract special comment because of their positions in total spending and their ways of distributing funds. Mississippi's per inhabitant effort was relatively high, although total spending ranked near the bottom --just ahead of Virginia and South Carolina.(Tables 2 and 3.) Mississippi is unique, however, in that its amount of coverage per 1,000 children under 18 was highest in the South. Its coverage per 1,000 over 65 ranked third, just below Louisiana and Alabama. At the same time, the size of the average payments to the aged and to dependent children was the lowest in the region. Mississippi spread its resources to give a little to many. Alabama acted similarly in aiding dependent children, but aided the aged with high payments and a degree of coverage per 1,000 over 65 second only to Louisiana. The scope of assistance to the aged in Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi suggests the political utility of aid to the voting aged.

HOW THE SOUTH ALLOCATES PUBLIC ASSISTANCE RESOURCES

The contrast between aid to the aged and aid to dependent children is not limited to Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi. It is a regional pattern which is more pronounced in these states.(Table 1.)

The percentage distribution by program reveals that both in the South and in the nation these two programs account for the great bulk of public assistance expenditures. (Table 1.) With this, the similarity ends. Whereas in the nation as a whole assistance to the aged used 38.6% of all the funds and aid to dependent children used 32.6%, in the South the respective percentages were 65.1 and 18.2. The only southern states which approximated the national proportional distribution of 38.6% and 32.6% were North Carolina and Virginia (Table 2), but their rate of coverage per 1,000 population under age 18 was very limited. (Table 4.) The proportion given to the aged was above the regional average in Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, and Arkansas. The proportion given to dependent children was below the regional average in Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, Arkansas, Mississippi, and South Carolina. (Table 2.)

The relative proportions allotted to the aged and to dependent children are a point of controversy. Most critics attack the national proportions as severely discriminatory against the needs of children and barely sufficient for the aged poor. (Table 4.) If the national proportions can be called inequitable, those in the South can be called iniquitous. An analysis by Burton Weisbrod indicates the degree of need among children. In this country, there are 15 million poor under age 18 in contrast to 1.5 million poor

over age 65, according to Mollie Orshansky of the Social Security Administration.*** In June, 1965, the number of recipients of public assistance to the aged was 2.1 million nationwide, and the number of children aided was only 3.3 million.**** It can be concluded that public assistance does not begin to cover the vast 15 million children who are poor. The proportion of children and aged people for the South is comparable, and the imbalance in aid favoring the aged is greater.

Children covered received average monthly payments of only $33.83 in the nation as a whole. For the South, dependent children received no higher than $25.55 in Kentucky and as low as $9.13 in Mississippi. (Table 4.) A study by the Georgia Council on Human Relations in cooperation with the Columbia University School of Social Work suggests that racial discrimination makes the burden on Negro children even more onerous than it is on white children.

In short, the present system of aid to dependent children does not begin to deal with the scope of poverty in the nation or region. While most, if not all, the aged poor are being aided, they may not be receiving sufficiently large payments. Most of the 15 million children who are poor go

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***Burton Weisbrod, "The Economics Of Poverty." (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), p. 11.

****Division of Research, Bureau of Family Services, Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare: Statistics for June, 1965.

largely unhelped by public assistance. A bare 3.3 million of them are aided as "dependent" -- And these "lucky" ones of course deserve more systematic and substantial aid if the developmental roots of poverty are to be severed.

The respective proportions of assistance to children and the aged are not the only ones deserving comment, although they are the largest programs. Equally symptomatic of problems in the region's public assistance policies are the low allocations for medical assistance to the aged and general assistance.(Table 1.) The South accounted for only 4.1% of the total national expenditures for medical aid to the aged under public assistance programs.***** It spent only 4.9% of the total national funds for general assistance, i.e., individual cases of special need determined by case-workers in many instances. Whereas in the nation as a whole, medical assistance to the aged received 9.9% of all public assistance funds, and general assistance received 7.2%, in the South medical aid accounted for only 1.8% of all public assistance funds spent in the region and general assistance accounted for only 1.6%.

The implications here are twofold. First, southern states have not fully availed themselves of available federal resources for medical aid probably because of non-discrimination conditions for full participation and because state

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*****It should be noted that this analysis is based on the most recently available data, i.e., the fiscal year ended June 30, 1965. Thus, it does not consider the effect of Medicare, which began July 1, 1966.

funds are also required. Propaganda against "socialized medicine" should also be considered. Mississippi, Georgia, and Texas had no programs at all. Others were very limited. (Table 2.) Second, since there are no federal funds for general assistance to special cases, most southern states have made little effort to fulfill their own responsibility. Only Louisiana made a significant effort relative to its size. Florida did relatively well also. Texas spent less than Louisiana for a population three times as large. Louisiana and Texas have important revenue sources in their extensive petroleum deposits. The other states either do not have or have not allocated adequate or even minimal resources for general assistance.(Table 2.)

SOURCES OF FUNDS

The discussion of resources for general assistance raises the question of source of funds. In general, the South is much more dependent on federal funds than is the nation as a whole.(Table 5.) Further, local governments give proportions of aid in the South much smaller than in the nation except on general assistance. On this program, southern local governments compensate for deficiency of state government efforts. Also worthy of note is the extent to which federal funds subsidize the southern preference for aid to the aged over aid to dependent children. Consequently, in the nation, 45.9% of all federal public assistance funds go for old age assistance.(Table 6.) Also, payments in the South

accounted for 43.3% of all federal old-age assistance funds, as opposed to the South's accounting for only 30% of all federal public assistance funds. Of all public assistance funds, federal, state and local combined, payments in the South accounted for only 21.8%.(Table 1.) Finally, when state funds alone are considered, southern states spend considerably less than both their population and their degree of poverty require.(Table 7.)

CONCLUSIONS

1. As a whole and in almost all the individual states, public assistance expenditures in the South have been below the national average in terms of total funds, amounts per inhabitant, average payment per recipient, and coverage per 1,000 population in the given category for special assistance. Louisiana is an exception to this regional pattern.

2. Expenditure of federal public assistance funds in the South has not been commensurate with the degree of need indicated by comparative statistics on poverty in the region and nation. It appears to be more commensurate with population.

3. The per recipient payments under aid to dependent children have been woefully inadequate in the region and the nation. The number of children aided is far below the number of children in poverty in the region

and below even the inadequate rate in the nation.

4. Southern states have given a larger proportion of assistance to the aged than has the nation as a whole; they have given a smaller proportion to aid dependent children despite the fact that there are more children who are poor than aged poor. Payments to the aged are larger than payments to children in the region and nation.

5. Southern states avoided pre-medicare programs of aged-medical aid.

6. Southern states except Louisiana and Florida, compared with the nation, have made little effort to aid cases of special need under general assistance programs.

7. Southern states have depended much more on federal funds for public assistance programs than the nation as a whole. At the same time, they have not applied for all the federal funds that were available to be spent for needs among their poor.

TABLE 1

AGGREGATE EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS (IN THOUSANDS)
For the Fiscal Year Ended June, 1965
(Federal, State, and Local)

PROGRAM	50 STATES AND D. C.	SOUTH	SOUTH'S % OF TOTAL
Total:	$5,285,321	$1,150,927	21.8
Special Types of Public Assistance	4,903,394	1,132,354	23.0
Old-age Assistance	2,042,572	748,886	36.7
Medical Assistance to Aged	523,694	20,979	4.1
Aid to Blind	98,898	25,527	25.8
Aid to Permanently and Totally Disabled	513,346	127,161	24.8
Aid to Families With Dependent Children	1,724,883	209,801	12.2
General Assistance (Cases)	381,927	18,573	4.9
PERCENTAGE SPENT BY PROGRAM:			
Total:	100.0%	100.0%	
Special Types of Public Assistance	92.8	98.4	
Old-age Assistance	38.6	65.1	
Medical Assistance to Aged	9.9	1.8	
Aid to Blind	1.9	2.2	
Aid to Permanently and Totally Disabled	9.8	11.1	
Aid to Families With Dependent Children	32.6	18.2	
General Assistance	7.2	1.6	

TABLE 2

TOTAL WELFARE EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS IN SOUTH BY STATE (IN THOUSANDS)
For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1965
(Federal, State, and Local)

PROGRAM	ALL SOUTHERN STATES	TEXAS	LA.	ALA.	GA.	FLA.	N. CAR.	KEN.	TENN.	ARK.
Total:	$1,150,925	$227,590	$184,633	$112,910	$103,731	$100,803	$91,345	$82,866	$62,982	$61,990
% of South	100%	19.8%	16.1%	9.8%	9.0%	8.8%	7.9%	7.2%	5.5%	5.4%
Special Types of Public Assistance	1,133,354	224,216	179,440	112,899	102,849	97,856	89,418	82,289	62,427	61,579
Old Age	748,886	193,450	133,255	91,178	62,759	58,108	31,610	42,650	29,566	45,139
Medical Assistance to Aged	20,979	--	1,078	892	--	2,881	2,020	3,791	3,445	1,977
Aid to Blind	25,527	3,956	2,713	1,488	2,280	2,106	4,069	2,098	1,382	1,649
Aid to Permanently & Totally Disabled	127,161	6,656	13,555	8,302	19,242	14,511	19,236	9,527	8,345	6,838
Aid to Families With Dependent Children	209,801	20,153	28,839	11,039	18,568	20,250	32,482	24,224	19,690	5,977
General Assistance	18,573	3,374	5,193	11	882	2,946	1,927	576	556	411

TABLE 2 CONTINUED --

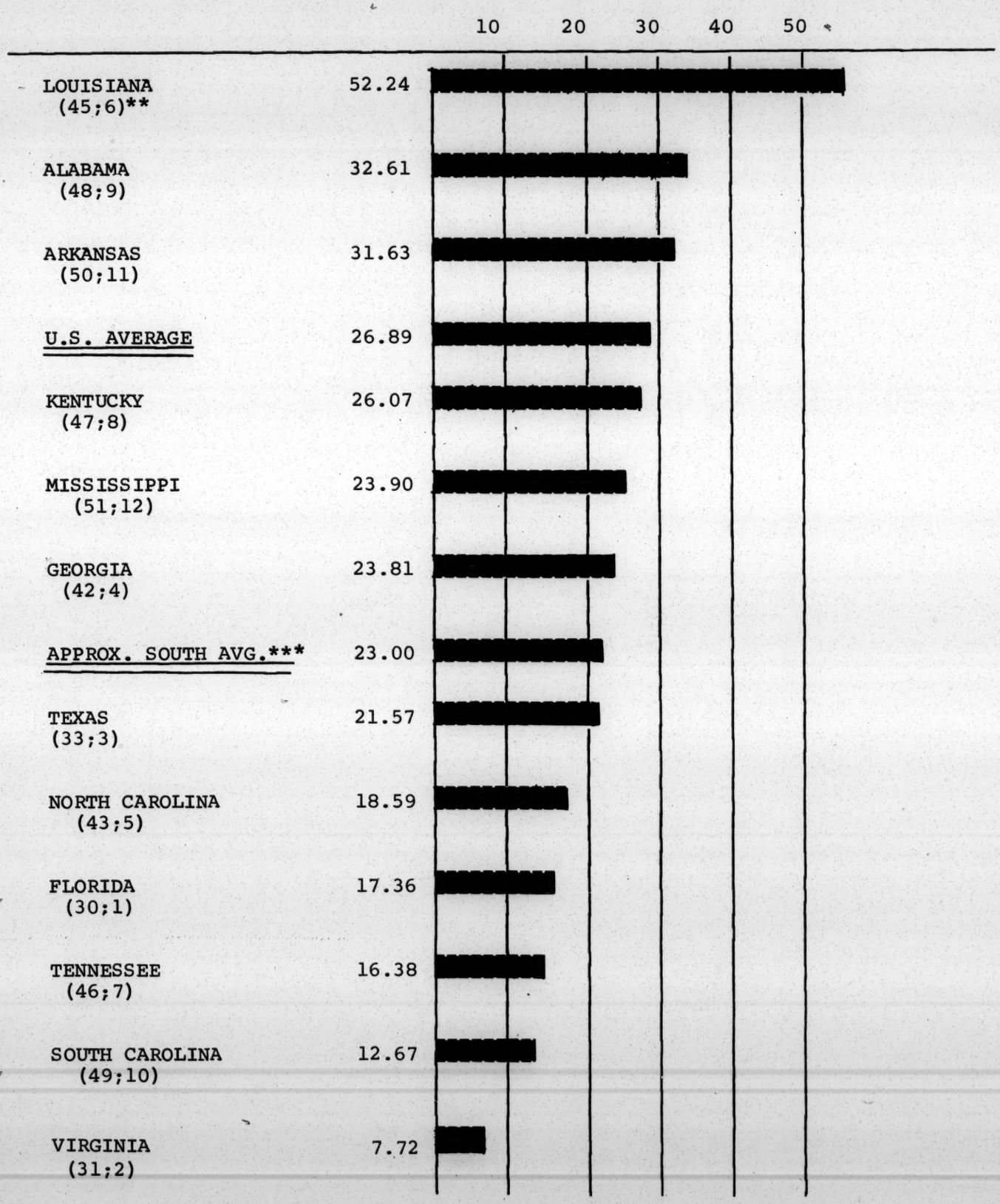
Program	MISS.	VA.	S.CAR.
Total:	$55,477	$34,399	$32,200
% of South	4.8%	3.0%	2.8%
Special Types of Public Assistance	55,245	32,579	31,555
Old Age	34,641	10,198	16,332
Medical Assistance to Aged	--	2,319	2,576
Aid to Blind	1,446	958	1,382
Aid to Permanently & Totally Disabled	9,580	5,624	5,745
Aid to Families With Dependent Children	9,579	13,480	5,520
General Assistance	232	1,820	645

PERCENTAGE SPENT BY PROGRAM: (Figures below are percentage breakdown of the above expenditures for each state.)

Program	All So. States	TEXAS	LA.	ALA.	GA.	FLA.	N. CAR.	KEN.	TENN.	ARK.	MISS.	VA.	S. CAR.
Total:	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Special Types of Public Assistance	94.4	98.5	97.2	99.9	99.1	97.1	97.9	99.3	99.1	99.3	99.6	94.7	98.0
Old Age	65.1	85.0	72.2	80.7	60.5	57.6	34.6	51.5	46.9	72.8	62.4	29.6	50.7
Medical Aid for the Aged	1.8	--	.6	.8	--	2.9	2.2	4.6	5.5	3.2	--	6.7	8.0
Aid for the Blind	2.2	1.7	1.5	1.3	2.2	2.1	4.4	2.5	2.2	2.7	2.6	2.8	4.3
Aid for the Permanently Disabled	11.1	2.9	7.3	7.3	18.5	14.4	21.1	11.5	13.2	11.0	17.3	16.4	17.8
Aid to Families With Dependent Children	18.2	8.9	15.6	9.8	17.9	20.1	35.6	29.2	31.3	9.6	17.3	39.2	17.2
General Assistance	1.6	1.5	2.8	.1	.9	2.9	2.1	.7	.9	.7	.4	5.3	2.0

TABLE 3

AMOUNT EXPENDED PER INHABITANT* FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS
Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1965



*Based on Bureau of Census population estimates as of July 1, 1965.

**Per capita income rank in nation and South respectively indicated by numbers in parentheses.

***Based on 1960 Census figures and allowing for increase through 1965.

TABLE 4

AVERAGE MONTHLY PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENT PER RECIPIENT
(June, 1965)

OLD AGE ASSISTANCE	Average Payments	Number of Recipients*	Persons Aided Per 1000 Over Age 65
LOUISIANA	$84.93	130,799	497
U.S. AVERAGE	80.36	-	117
TEXAS	70.14	229,050	272
VIRGINIA	67.24	1,016	41
ALABAMA	67.13	105,000**	394
FLORIDA	65.09	74,595	105
KENTUCKY	64.01	59,403	192
ARKANSAS	63.86	-- ***	287
N. CAROLINA	62.96	42,318	121
TENNESSEE	59.22	44,738	134
GEORGIA	58.47	92,938	288
S. CAROLINA	54.36	24,626	150
MISSISSIPPI	41.17	73,196	363

AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN	Average Payments	Number of Recipients*	Children Aided Per 1000 Under Age 18
U.S. AVERAGE	$33.83	--	46
KENTUCKY	25.55	60,430	51
N. CAROLINA	25.44	82,712	46
VIRGINIA	25.27	35,974	22
LOUISIANA	23.08	81,501	56
TENNESSEE	22.46	62,005	43
GEORGIA	22.14	59,851	34
TEXAS	18.71	71,737	18
ARKANSAS	16.88	23,396	33
S. CAROLINA	15.97	21,967	23
FLORIDA	15.68	87,410	43
ALABAMA	11.81	56,087	44
MISSISSIPPI	9.13	66,808	71

Note: *Number of recipients for December, 1965
**Estimated
***Not available

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE BY SOURCE OF FUNDS FOR TOTAL PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS

For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1965

	TOTAL	FEDERAL		STATE		LOCAL	
		U.S.	SOUTH	U.S.	SOUTH	U.S.	SOUTH
	100%*						
Total:		54.6	75.4	33.7	21.9	11.7	2.7
Special Types of Public Assistance		58.8	76.5	32.2	21.6	9.0	1.9
Old Age Assistance		64.8	71.9	31.0	22.4	4.2	5.7
Medical Assistance to Aged		51.8	73.1	30.6	23.3	17.6	3.6
Aid to Blind		47.4	72.9	46.0	24.1	6.6	3.0
Aid to Permanently and Totally Disabled		56.0	74.4	34.5	22.3	9.5	3.3
Aid to Families With Dependent Children		55.5	79.0	32.7	17.9	11.9	3.1
General Assistance		--	--	53.4	37.2	46.6	62.8

*Reading across each line, percentages for U. S. and South each equal 100%.

TABLE 6

FEDERAL EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS (IN THOUSANDS)
For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1965

PROGRAM	50 STATES AND D. C.	SOUTH	SOUTH'S % OF TOTAL
Total Federal Funds:	$2,885,320	$867,325	30%
Special Types of Public Assistance			
Old Age Assistance	1,323,352	573,125	43.3%
Medical Assistance to Aged	271,288	15,331*	5.7%
Aid to Blind	46,872	18,598	39.7%
Aid to Permanently and Totally Disabled	287,338	94,552	32.9%
Aid to Families With Dependent Children	956,470	165,719	17.3%
PERCENTAGE SPENT BY PROGRAM:			
Special Types of Public Assistance	100%	100%	
Old Age Assistance	45.9%	66.1%	
Medical Assistance to Aged	9.4%	1.8%*	
Aid to Blind	1.6%	2.1%	
Aid to Permanently and Totally Disabled	10.0%	10.9%	
Aid to Families With Dependent Children	33.1%	19.1%	

*No program: Georgia, Mississippi, Texas.

TABLE 7

EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS FROM STATE FUNDS (IN THOUSANDS)
For the Fiscal Year Ended June, 1965

PROGRAM	50 STATES AND D. C.	SOUTH	SOUTH'S % OF TOTAL
Total From State Funds:	$1,782,992	$251,941	14.1%
Special Types of Public Assistance	1,578,963	244,931	15.5%
Old Age Assistance	632,653	168,106	26.6%
Medical Assistance for the Aged	159,994	4,885	3.1%
Aid to the Blind	45,539	6,158	13.5%
Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled	177,295	28,314	16.0%
Aid to Families With Dependent Children	563,483	37,468	6.6%
General Assistance	204,028	6,910	3.4%
PERCENTAGE SPENT BY PROGRAM:			
Total State Funds:	100%	100%	
Special Types of Public Assistance	88.6%	97.3%	
Old Age Assistance	35.5%	66.8%	
Medical Assistance for the Aged	9.0%	1.9%	
Aid to the Blind	2.6%	2.4%	
Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled	9.9%	11.3%	
Aid to Families With Dependent Children	31.6%	14.9%	
General Assistance	11.4%	2.7%	

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES WITH INCOME BELOW $3,000
(1960 Census)

	PERCENTAGE	WHITE	NEGRO
UNITED STATES	21.4	18.6	47.9
SOUTH			
ALABAMA	39.1	29.6	67.8
ARKANSAS	47.7	41.0	79.5
FLORIDA	28.4	24.1	54.5
GEORGIA	35.6	25.7	67.7
KENTUCKY	38.1	36.7	57.7
LOUISIANA	35.6	24.2	65.8
MISSISSIPPI	51.6	34.4	82.9
NORTH CAROLINA	37.1	28.8	70.1
SOUTH CAROLINA	39.5	24.5	77.0
TENNESSEE	38.3	34.2	63.8
TEXAS	28.7	25.2	57.6
VIRGINIA	27.9	13.7	54.1

TABLE 9

ONE HUNDRED POOREST COUNTIES IN THE UNITED STATES

		Averages of the 100 Poorest Counties (Per Family Median) In The United States				
STATE	Number of Counties Per State in South Among Poorest 100 in U. S.	Average Median Family Income	Range of Median Family Income	Average Per Capita Income	Range Per Capita Income	Average Population
ALABAMA	8	$1,736				
ARKANSAS	8		$1,260-$1,956			
GEORGIA	9			$633		
KENTUCKY	22				$435-$886	
LOUISIANA	1					14,606
MISSISSIPPI	24					
N. CAROLINA	3					
S. CAROLINA	4					
TENNESSEE	11					
TEXAS	6					
VIRGINIA	1					
TOTAL	97					

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE --

TABLE 9 CONTINUED --

Range in Population	Average Total Civilian Labor Force	Range in Total Civilian Labor Force	Average Percent Unemployment	Range in Percents of Unemployment	Average Percent Non-white	Range in Percent of Non-white
2,443-54,464	4,728	741-16,509	5.523%	0.5%-21.3%	38.89%	0.1%-81.3%

TABLE 9 CONTINUED --

Average Median School Years	Range in Median School Years	Average Percent Rural Residence	Range in Percents of Rural Residence	Average Percent Sound Plumbing	Range in Percent of Sound Plumbing
7.38	5.2-8.9	42.74%	0.1%-47.5%	24.89%	8.8%-47.5%

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION 1966: THE SLOW UNDOING

December 1966

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION 1966:
THE SLOW UNDOING
December 1966

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
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SCHOOL DESEGREGATION 1966: THE SLOW UNDOING

I. INTRODUCTION: THE GENUINE ISSUE

The school year 1966-67 arrived amid controversy over the implementation of school desegregation guidelines and amid still successful avoidance of an end in the South to racially separated schools as ordered by the Supreme Court in 1954. Some southern public officials had launched an at least partially successful campaign to persuade the nation that the United States Office of Education (U.S.O.E.) had "gone beyond the law" in enforcing Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Public and even congressional debate had been focused both on a charge that excessive administrative zeal had been put into enforcement of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and on a question of the intent of Congress when it passed the act.

One might question the appropriateness of these concerns in the context of the wording of Section 601 of Title VI:

> No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to, discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financal assistance.

Given this language of Title VI and the weight of the nation's highest judicial opinion on equal protection under the

Constitution, it can be asked whether in fact the U.S.O.E. had gone far enough in carrying out the mandate given in Section 602 of Title VI "to effectuate the provisions of Section 601 [cited above] . . . by issuing rules, regulations, or orders of general applicability . . . ."

Indeed, it seems clear that by accepting gradualism in its guidelines the U.S.O.E. took a conservative approach to carrying out its mandate from Congress. Thus, complaints about the degree of zeal put into enforcement of an essentially conservative policy may be seen in proper perspective.

No amount of qualification of intent by Congress could stand the test of constitutionality if its effect was to deny equal protection of the law by allowing segregated dual school systems to continue under an assumed name -- freedom of choice schools -- subsidized by federal funds. Only repeal of the Fourteenth Amendment could achieve what some southern officials have attempted through amendments to annual appropriations and through complaints about the "unreasonableness" of federal examiners.

The study which follows attempts to provide more facts. The premise on which it does so is that the body politic needs to be confronted with a clearer choice about itself on the desegregation issue. Will it allow the *prima facie* intent of Title VI and the Supreme Court decision

of 1954 to be circumvented? Will it, despite John Kennedy's words, both witness and permit "the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed"?

II. THE 1966 GUIDELINES: THE END OF INNOCENCE

1965 RECONSIDERED

In 1965, the United States Office of Education seemed to assume good faith on the part of southern school officials in complying with desegregation guidelines. In view of the long history of attempted evasion of court orders since 1954 on the part of many of these same officials and on the part of governors and other public office holders, this assumption was questioned by many interested in obedience of the law. A special report of the Southern Regional Council stated at that time:

> The most rigid checks are needed -- and have been from the beginning -- to be sure at every step of the administrative process that plans for "voluntary" action comply with all requirements of the law, and that the plans are carried out so as to meet all requirements of the law. Any other course in the South in this matter risks criticism as naive and encourages the kind of winking at the law that has been for too long a serious fault of southern society.

The performance on school desegregation in the South during 1965-66 was not reassuring. This was the first year that the Office of Education had the duty of enforcing Title VI in the schools. A decade of litigation over the 1954 school decision of the Supreme Court had by September, 1966,

resulted in a pitifully small amount of desegregation. Approximately two percent of the 2,896,100 Negro children in the eleven southern states were in desegregated schools in 1964-65. The number was increased to about six percent during 1965-66, a disappointing result considering the fanfare for Title VI, and what might have been achieved under it.

Late in January, 1966, Harold Howe, II, the new U. S. Commissioner of Education, requested suggestions for changing the 1965 guidelines for 1966. Wall Street Journal columnist Jonathan Spivak commiserated with the federal agency's "almost impossible assignment: Strengthening the standards sufficiently to satisfy its civil rights critics and yet not so much as to provoke explosive southern resistance, sacrificing the integration gains already achieved. /6.01% of Negro pupils in school with whites in the South in 1965./ 'In this business, any decision is wrong; that's why no one wants to make them, frets one school desegregation specialist.'"

Shortly after Mr. Howe's request, representatives of eight civil rights and human relations organizations attacked the U.S.O.E.'s school desegregation program for 1965 as "too weakly drawn and too timidly enforced." They planned meetings in five southern states to try to persuade the federal government to carry out a "massive school desegregation program."

The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights advocated a

"federal law to protect Negro students who attend white schools from intimidation and harassment." It also declared that freedom of choice plans "should not be permitted as a device for perpetuation of dual school systems." The Commission said its own studies showed that states which made the most use of freedom of choice plans had the lowest percentage of Negroes going to school with whites. The plans placed all initiative on Negroes, and often with no protection from resultant physical and economic intimidation. The Commission recommended that the Office of Education adopt policies and procedures which "will assure adequate evaluation and monitoring of desegregation plans for the 5,000 school districts in the southern and border states. This would require on-the-spot inspection of some school districts and the Office of Education should seek more funds if needed for personnel to do such investigation." The Commission also repeated a recommendation of civil rights organizations that school districts operating under court order be required to file plans complying with federal guidelines.

Many suggestions centered on intimidation, a quite serious problem in school desegregation as in most other areas of civil rights law enforcement. (The proposed 1966 civil rights legislation would have made a major step toward remedying the situation with a provision making it a federal offense to interfere with attempts of persons seeking to

exercise their civil rights, and another reforming jury selection procedures. Defeat of the bill in what seemed a reaction against civil rights progress in 1966 was a major setback to the South.)

Meanwhile, the U.S.O.E. in early 1966 was drafting new school desegregation guidelines. There was candid admission at the Office of Education that something stronger than new guidelines would be needed to break segregation patterns in school systems outside the South. By this time, many of those seeking implementation of the law were convinced the same was true for the South.

THE NEW GUIDELINES: ACCEPTANCE AND REJECTION

On March 7, the new guidelines were issued. They included many revisions recommended by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Where desegregation of four grades had been required the year before, more grades were required this time, and all grades by 1967 would be expected to desegregate. The beginning of faculty desegregation where it had not occurred was also required. All of this was consistent with court orders in school cases saying that faculty desegregation was a necessary element of school desegregation, that free-choice plans must be fair, and that school boards have an obligation to work affirmatively to achieve desegregation.

Probably the most serious criticism of the previous year's guidelines had been that many of the freedom of choice

plans had not been fair. They put all of the burden for compliance on Negroes, and allowed school officials, local police, and white society in general to shirk responsibility. The new guidelines tried to shift the responsibility more nearly to where it belonged -- on the local officials, and particularly those in charge of schools. The new guidelines stated:

> Each school system is responsible for the effective implementation of its desegregation plan. Within their authority, school officials are responsible for the protection of persons exercising rights under, or otherwise affected by, the plan. They must take appropriate action with regard to any student or staff member who interferes with the successful operation of the plan, whether or not on school grounds. If officials of the school system are not able to provide sufficient protection, they must seek whatever assistance is necessary from other appropriate officials.

Criteria were established in the guidelines for determining whether a given free-choice (or other type) desegregation plan was actually working. A plausible criterion was whether or not the plan resulted in "substantial achievement" of desegregation. Mr. Howe indicated the following measures of "substantial achievement" would be used by his office:

(1) If a system had transferred eight to nine percent of its Negro pupils from a segregated school in 1965, at least twice that number would "normally be expected" to be trans-

ferred in September of 1966.

(2) In the cases where four to five percent had transferred, the percentage would be expected to triple next term.

(3) Where the transfer percentage was lower than four percent, "then the rate of increase in total transfers for the 1966-67 school year would normally be expected to be proportionately greater than under (2) above," according to the regulations. This would seem to mean it would have to quadruple or reach an approximate minimum of ten percent.*

States whose records, according to Southern Education Reporting Service figures, had been lower than four percent in 1965-66 were: Alabama, 0.43%; Georgia, 2.66%; Louisiana, 0.69%; Mississippi, 0.59%, and South Carolina, 1.46%.

Two weeks after the guidelines were issued, the Southern Education Reporting Service noted that there had been "little immediate reaction from most southern states, except an indication of reluctant acceptance." The Nashville-based private organization indicated that strongest opposition had come from Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi.

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*Excessively expressed exasperation was a mark of much of the criticism by southern schoolmen of the guidelines. How much of it was generated needlessly by such expression as this in ten closely printed pages of guidelines?

Georgia Governor Carl Sanders termed the guidelines "another illustration of government by bureau," and Congressman Phil Landrum (D-Ga.), said the Office of Education was "pushing too hard, too fast." Alabama Governor George Wallace declared, "We must obey the laws, just and unjust, but we should not have to obey the edicts of bureaucratic officials which go beyond the law."

In Mississippi, a school district which had led the state in voluntary compliance the first year was reported unwilling to comply with the new set of guidelines.

"Shock" and "surprise," expressed plaintively in other statements, were predictable as pro forma responses in some southern political situations. They were not taken as indicative of the scope and depth of recalcitrance which later was to develop.

Meanwhile, Attorney General Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach, speaking at the University of South Carolina, called the guidelines "moderate, perhaps even tardy benchmarks . . . They contain no sudden surprises nor do they in themselves break new ground."

COMPLIANCE DEADLINE NUMBER 1

Under the complicated regulations of enforcement, school districts considered still to be operating dual systems were required to file plans for desegregation compliance (Form 441-B). Of the approximately 5,000 districts in the

17 southern and border states, some 1,900 (most of them in the 11 southern states) were required to file the form. On April 4, Mr. Howe announced that those which had not filed them by an April 15 deadline would be notified that they faced loss of federal aid. It was also made clear that these forms would be subject to future tests of performance and were not sufficient evidence of actual compliance. Compliance forms trickled in slowly. Jack Nix, Georgia's state school superintendent, reported that only 20 of the state's 196 systems had signed Form 441-B. Alabama superintendents voted 76 to 4 to adopt a resolution urging their congressional delegation to seek a modification of the guidelines, adding, "We cannot follow directives." (At a statewide meeting held by U.S.O.E. staff in Birmingham reported by the Los Angeles Times, one school official asked, "Where'd you leave your carpetbags, you dirty Commies?" Another asked, "What if I can't find a Negro teacher qualified to teach in a white school?" The Office of Education representative, Wallace McBain, a Marquette University professor, responded, "If she isn't qualified, what is she doing in your system? . . . The 'separate but equal' ruling was made in 1894 . . . You aren't even willing to go that far.")

Administrative procedures for the drastic act of cutting off funds under Title VI were made deliberately slow. No one wants to cut off vitally needed education funds; the approach appears designed to make maximum use of the threat

of loss of funds, with the act of cutting them off held in abeyance as long as possible, an ultimate weapon. Then there are two significantly different procedures here, too, often lumped together as "fund cut-offs" in reportage. Funds for new programs may be deferred -- that is, held up -- until a school system corrects its non-compliance. This approach has been frequently used in compelling the systems to sign compliance forms. And funds may be terminated -- a more drastic act which means no federal support as long as a system is not in compliance.

By mid-April of 1966, no funds had been terminated under the first guidelines covering the 1965-66 school year. Examiners had held hearings on 65 school systems, with recommendations that aid be terminated for 41. By the fall of 1966, indications were 39 systems actually had the funds terminated.

This slow-grinding process, as described in such newspapers as the Los Angeles Times, should have helped the nation to put into perspective the cries of alarm growing louder in the South over the 1966-67 guidelines.

For all their outcries, southern officials must have been aware of this basic reasonableness of Title VI enforcement procedures, and of the U.S.O.E.'s difficulties with the role of enforcement agency. The Los Angeles Times quoted a Georgia school board attorney as saying, "We are going to tell them we intend to comply. Then we are going to tell them, 'Make us.'"

In contrast to the immediate reaction of routine expression of dismay over the new guidelines, a more specific and more vehement response set in as the deadline approached. There were widespread charges, quoted considerably in the southern press, that the guidelines imposed a formula for racial balance and demanded instant desegregation of teaching staffs. On April 11, Secretary Gardner sent letters to governors, congressmen, and state school officials denying these two specific accusations. It should be noted at this point that the latter action, full desegregation of faculties, might well have been demanded under the law at the outset. The fact is that full desegregation of faculties was not required even in the second year of enforcement. Only a beginning was required.

Mr. Gardner answered the "racial balance" argument by pointing out that percentages were an "administrative guide" for measuring progress under free-choice plans. His point was that of the civil rights critics of the previous year's plan: There had to be standards.

H.E.W. officials insisted that their denials of these charges were not a softening of the guidelines. They were, however, generally viewed as an attempt to head off a full-scale revolt by southern school districts. And whether rightly or wrongly, an impression was gained that not only were the percentage requirements highly flexible but that they would bend in proportion to amounts of resistance and political pressure mustered against them.

Resistance continued. Boycotts were urged in some school districts to protest the guidelines. By the 19th of April, only one Louisiana school system had filed a compliance form; only four in Alabama had done so.

The deadline had been April 15. By the end of April, only 1,193 of the 1,900 school systems required to file the compliance forms had done so. The United States Office of Education extended its deadline to May 6.

COMPLIANCE DEADLINE NUMBER 2

On May 5, the Office of Education ordered that payment of federal funds be deferred for new school projects in districts which had not filed compliance forms by May 6. As of May 7, the number of these was 255. In the language of the regulations, it will be remembered, deferment of funds is less drastic than termination. And only new projects were involved. By far the most of federal aid to a school system would of course be in programs previously in effect.

Directors of eight southern state Councils on Human Relations (private biracial organizations) at about this time wrote to Commissioner Howe, urging the withholding of all funds from districts that "flagrantly disobey the guidelines." A few such actions in each state "would open the opportunity for real headway this year toward the final goal," they said.

By mid-May, 1,475 of the 1,893 school districts required to submit the compliance form were judged to have acceptable desegregation plans. Others were being studied.

More than 200 districts were still refusing to file. A few weeks later, 21 of these school districts were reported flatly refusing to follow the guidelines, and others had still not filed their forms.

Meanwhile, the House of Representatives in early May had, in Mr. Gardner's words, "dealt a real blow to H.E.W.'s plans for compliance." The House cut a budget request for compliance programs for 1966. The budget had proposed 348 staff members, and the House had cut this by 70.

Jack Greenberg, director-counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, had said back in March that the "guidelines' effectiveness in desegregating public schools will depend fundamentally on whether the Administration is willing to make a powerful political commitment on manpower and funds to achieve desegregation. We have had no encouragement in this area. Enforcing the guidelines, even with a great commitment of appropriations and manpower, will nevertheless be difficult because of their complexity, permissiveness in many areas, and wide scope of exceptions."

In late May, Commissioner Howe spoke with about two dozen southern congressmen who were of the opinion that the guidelines were illegal. Gubernatorial candidate James Martin, a Republican congressman from Alabama, came away from this meeting claiming that the commissioner of education had been "shaken," for whatever such opinion was worth.

A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

Eighteen southern senators sent a letter, dated May 2 but released to the press May 13, to President Johnson. The letter, which was, according to news stories, written by Georgia's Senator Richard Russell and distributed for signatures by Mississippi's Senator John Stennis, was labeled a "Most Solemn Petition." It said in part:

> We come to you as Chief Executive of the nation to protest vigorously the abuse of power involved in the bureaucratic imposition of the guidelines and we earnestly beseech your personal intervention to right this wrong and have this order revoked . . . In our efforts to protect our schools and the children who will direct the destinies of our states tomorrow, we earnestly appeal to you to intervene and prevent illegal, unfair, and unrealistic action by the Office of Education.

The letter was signed by Alabama's Lister Hill and John Sparkman; Arkansas's J. William Fulbright and John L. McCellan; Florida's Spessard Holland and George A. Smathers; Georgia's Richard Russell and Herman Talmadge; Louisiana's Allen Ellender and Russell B. Long; Mississippi's John C. Stennis and James O. Eastland, North Carolina's B. Everett Jordan and Sam J. Ervin, Jr.; South Carolina's Donald Russell and J. Strom Thurmond; Virginia's Harry Flood Byrd, Jr., and A. Willis Robertson. The senators from Tennessee and Texas did not sign.

Newspapers subsequently reported that President Johnson had responded to Senator Russell, but the letter itself

was not made public. President Johnson was reported to have replied that he considered the guidelines "fair." "Percentage requirements in the guidelines were for administrative procedure," he was quoted as saying. He pointed out that the regulations permitted continuation of "freedom of choice" plans and did not require racial balance or busing.

SUMMER MANEUVERS: RETRENCHMENT AND RETREAT

Over the summer, there were other rumblings from powerful southern political forces. At the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Education Board (a creature of a 15-state compact) in Miami Beach, Governor George C. Wallace of Alabama sought to line up unified opposition to the guidelines. Governors and educators in attendance rejected open defiance, but many agreed with Governor Wallace that the guidelines went too far.

In South Carolina, Attorney General Daniel R. McLeod met with H.E.W. officials to determine "how they justify the requirements of the guidelines." He was accompanied by Robert Alexander, federal coordinator for the governor's office. South Carolina Governor Robert McNair had said that the state attorney general's office would make its services available to any school district bringing court action against the guidelines in the event of loss of federal funds.

Further evidence that integration was far from realized accumulated. On July 1, the Office of Education

had issued a preliminary report on the progress of school desegregation required by the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The Office estimated that as of the 1965-66 school year, almost 80% of all white public school pupils in the United States in the first and twelfth grades attended schools that were from 90-100% white, and at least 97% in the first grade and 99% in the twelfth grade went to schools that were more than 50% white. The report also stated that more than 65% of all Negro pupils in the first grade attended schools that were between 90 and 100% Negro. Furthermore, 87% of Negro pupils at grade one and 66% at grade twelve attended schools that were 50% or more Negro.

In the South, the report added, "most students attend schools that are 100 percent white or Negro." A complete 400 page report was to be issued later.

It was becoming apparent that concessions which weakened the guidelines were being won from the U.S.O.E. by local school officials. The pattern seemed to be complaints to Washington backed by pressure from southern congressmen.

The case of W. Stanley Kruger, compliance officer for South Carolina, Florida, and Georgia, attracted considerable attention.

Mr. Kruger became embroiled in exchanges in the press with superintendents of two Atlanta-area systems, Fulton County, which administers the schools outside the city limits of its county seat, Atlanta, and DeKalb County, a residential

suburb. Both areas are generally conservative. In both instances, Mr. Kruger pressed these superintendents on what seemed to him weak points in their compliance with the guidelines. Both argued that they were trying to be cooperative and complained of the manner as well as the substance of Mr. Kruger's dealings with them. In both instances, the superintendents, DeKalb with help from Representative James Mackay, and Fulton with support from state school officials, complained to Washington and appeared to have been sustained. Certainly, there was no clear-cut backing of Mr. Kruger, and no effective action about the matters complained of.

The handling of the DeKalb case called forth a searing memorandum to Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Gardner from H.E.W.'s Atlanta regional director, William Page. Not intended for publication but somehow released to the press, the memorandum warned against the undermining of regional enforcement efforts by Washington officials. Said Mr. Page in a seeming reference to Superintendent Jim Cherry of DeKalb: "If any of the 2,000 school superintendents can negotiate his case with Commissioner Howe, why should 10,000 hospital administrators not have direct access to the surgeon-general?"

Some Georgia school officials met in Washington with Mr. Howe on August 4. They demanded that he transfer Mr. Kruger. Congressmen and other political figures echoed the demand. The educators called Mr. Kruger the "hatchet man"

for the Office of Education, charging that he had been "disruptive." South Carolina officials were saying at the time that Mr. Kruger had been enforcing the 1966 guidelines to the extent that only five of South Carolina's 108 school districts had had their plans approved. Mr. Howe assured the delegation that he "would review the Kruger situation."

On September 9, the Atlanta Constitution reported that W. Stanley Kruger had been transferred to another job. Commissioner Howe announced the move in conjunction with a change to locating compliance personnel in regional offices rather than Washington. H.E.W. officials pointed out that all other compliance officers had previously been transferred. But whether intended so or not, the move was interpreted by Southerners for and against school desegregation as a yielding to local pressure against enforcement of the law.

THE COMING OF FALL

As fall arrived and schools opened, the Wall Street Journal of September 12 reported that some school districts, mostly in the Deep South, had decided to forego federal funds rather than desegregate. The largest increases in desegregation were coming in large cities which already had been under court orders to integrate. Some courts have accelerated the required pace of desegregation. For example, in New Orleans where some frenzied white women howled at the court-ordered desegregation of two schools in 1960, the number of Negro students attending schools with whites increased from 1,800

to 5,752. Faculty desegregation also began. Disturbances over desegregation in St. Bernard Parish near New Orleans in the fall, 1966, suggested that protest, like many well-to-do whites, had moved to the suburbs. In Atlanta, where desegregation began peacefully in 1961, the number of Negro students in interracial schools was expected to increase substantially over the 6,000 mark of the previous year but precise numbers could not be obtained. In both these cities and others, however, there were indications that officials included in totals of "desegregated" Negroes students from predominantly Negro schools which had only token white attendance.

In Alabama, the state legislature passed an anti-guidelines bill prohibiting compliance agreements. Most compliant (and this was no more than half) school officials seemed to have ignored this law, however. In Mississippi, shocking assaults by grown men armed with chains and clubs on Negro children entering desegregated schools occurred in Grenada. This probably ugliest spectacle of all school desegregation brutalities suggested a realistic perspective for those who had become complacent about southern "progress."

In Louisiana, Leander Perez, president of the official Plaquemines Parish Council, reacted to desegregation of public schools of Plaquemines Parish under federal court order by aiding the establishment of private schools. The Times-Picayune reported that public school buses were being used to

transport white pupils to the private school at the Perez family plantation. In Bogalusa, limited violence broke out at the junior high school and a larger clash was narrowly averted.

THE COMPLIANCE SITUATION: FALL, 1966

U.S.O.E. statistics reported in the Wall Street Journal on September 12 indicated that as of mid-September, 2,669 of the 4,600 school districts in the 17 southern and border states were desegregated satisfactorily according to standards of U.S.O.E., and therefore were not covered by the guidelines. Another 168 districts were desegregating under court order. Another 1,900 districts operating dual school systems were told to submit plans of compliance with U.S.O.E. guidelines. A total of 1,500 did so by the May deadline and were judged acceptable.

Of the 400 remaining districts, 250 had proposed plans that were still being reviewed for acceptability. Another 150 had not turned in acceptable guarantees of compliance. Federal funds were terminated for 39 of these. Action to terminate funds of 64 others was begun. Such action was anticipated for 47 more.

In short, enforcement of Title VI had not touched most southern school systems with financial sanctions. And southern schools were far short of Title VI's demand for the elimination of discrimination.

Statistics on the amount of desegregation, never easy to compile, were virtually impossible to obtain during the three months after schools opened in September of 1966. Fairly elaborate arrangements were made by the Southern Regional Council prior to school opening to get reports from newspaper reporters and other reliable sources in each of the eleven southern states on the amount of desegregation. As of mid-November only three of these sources, and they included some of the best newsmen in the South, were able to obtain full statewide data. (These sources reported 9,127 or 2.9% in Louisiana; 20,436 or 5.7% in Georgia. For Mississippi, where admittance of fewer than 2,000 Negro pupils to formerly all-white schools in 1965 had been termed "massive desegregation" by the local press, the estimate was 6,244, or 2%, of the Negro school enrollment in 1966.) This unavailability to citizens of each state of the statistics of desegregation performance seemed in itself a mark of the attitude of southern education officials.

The Office of Education was compiling figures through the fall and promised a full public report. As the time for release of the federal report approached, some statewide figures began to appear in the press. Examination of Office of Education figures, once they have become available, would have to be made in terms of whether they reflect continued attendance of Negroes in desegregated schools, or merely the number of Negro children who reported to such schools the

first day. Sad reports came from many parts of the South of the discouragement in various ways, most of them unkind and illegal, of many such children from continuing in their freely chosen new schools.

In an Atlanta speech, David Seeley gave the following general estimates:

South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana (the most vocal of those complaining of over-zealousness) had right around 95% or more of Negro pupils still in segregated schools. The six other states of the South had less than 90% of Negroes in segregated schools. The estimate did not state the range under 90%, but it would probably not go below 70%. In some of the border states, by contrast, at least 80% of Negro children were in integrated schools. Almost all the border states had at least 50% of Negro students in such schools. Office of Education spokesmen promised strengthened enforcement (cutting off of funds) in the five Deep South states. Of 636 school districts in those five states, 428 were required to submit desegregation plans. (The others were either under court order or had achieved elimination of dual systems.) Approximately 200 of the 428 plans were in trouble -- some having resulted in termination of funds, most under review for termination. And these, the officials made clear, were systems with the most flagrant violations. They were ones with no faculty desegregation and/or 0 to 2% of Negro pupils in desegregated schools.

The pattern in the eleven southern states seemed clear. Performance in five of them was far below any reasonable standard for achieving the abolishment of dual school systems, for achieving the law's demand that discrimination based on race cease. Performance in the other six was better, but by no means fully in compliance with the constitutional requirement to end dual school systems.

THE SOUTHERN OFFENSIVE IN CONGRESS

The very limited effect of H.E.W. Title VI enforcement was not the only development that encouraged the avoidance of Title VI's mandate in the South. Three events reflected the success of an effort in Congress to emasculate the guidelines and dilute Title VI.

First, on September 26, the Senate Appropriations Committee attached a report to the 1967 H.E.W. appropriation bill saying that the 1966 guidelines might be illegal and asking Secretary Gardner to re-examine them. The report noted that a transcript of debate on the 1964 Civil Rights Act quoted the then Senator Hubert Humphrey as saying that Title IV of the bill precluded the Office of Education's using Title VI to require an end to racial imbalance. The report also said the committee members had received many complaints about "harassment" of school officials by compliance officers.

Second, on October 10, Democratic floor leaders in

both houses struck from the $6.4 billion school aid bill a provision giving special aid to schools desiring to correct racial imbalance. This move was described in the press as an attempt to appease congressmen fearful of the so-called "backlash."

Third, the same day, led by southern representatives, the House voted to amend the school aid bill by requiring a full hearing before the U.S.O.E. could withhold funds from a school district considered to be in violation of the guidelines. This amendment was later changed in conference with the Senate to say that funds may still be deferred provided a hearing is held within 60 days and a decision on complete termination reached within another 30 days. Nevertheless, the initial adoption of the amendment reflected the hostile climate of opinion and/or the degree of confusion in the House.

On October 7, at his press conference, President Johnson commented on the enforcement situation, and the issue of alleged "harassment" of southern school officials by U.S.O.E. compliance officers. His statement that in some instances there had been harassment, mistakes and "enthusiastic" people was seized upon as perhaps having ominous portent for the hopes of those who believe in full enforcement. But in context, the question and answer, as recorded in the Washington Post's transcript, would seem to assert also what southern critics of the guidelines fear most -- continued determination to enforce the law.

Q: . . . There seems to be a dispute developing between those who feel that the federal government should merely strike down legal barriers to equality and those who feel that the government should play a more positive role in encouraging integration in various facets of life.

I wonder if we could get your thinking on these two and where you stand on that argument?

A: Yes, I think the federal government must be a leader in this field and I have -- the three years I have been President -- tried, by word and action, to do everything I could to bring about equality among the races in this country and to see that the Brown decision affecting the integration of our schools was carried forward expeditiously and in accordance with the law -- to see that the civil rights acts passed in the late 50's and 60's and more recently in my Administration were carried out in accordance with the intent of Congress; that the law was fully adhered to and fully enforced at all times.

I realize that in some instances there has been some harassment, some mistakes perhaps have been made, some people have been enthusiastic, and differences have developed.

But where those mistakes have been made I think Mr. Gardner and the Commissioner of Education have been willing to always listen to any protests that might come, and to carry out the law as Congress intended it should be.

That will be the policy of our Administration: To continue to promote and to expedite the observance of the law of the land, and to see that all citizens of this country are treated equally without discrimination.

III. CONGRESSIONAL INTENT, ADMINISTRATIVE GUIDELINES AND THE CONSTITUTION

CONGRESSIONAL INTENT

The Senate Appropriations Committee, having eight southern members with great seniority and influence out of a total membership of 23, had officially raised the argument in September [in the report it attached to the H.E.W. appropriation bill] that U.S.O.E. enforcement was exceeding congressional intent. This argument had been repeatedly advanced by conservative newspaper columnists long before the Committee report. The Committee report noted then Senator Humphrey's linking of Title IV's prohibition of forced racial balances to application of Title VI. The Committee questioned whether U.S.O.E.'s use of percentages to measure progress toward ending discriminatory dual school systems was a violation of Title IV.

The interpretation of Title IV in relation to Title VI becomes crucial. Title VI, quoted earlier in this paper, clearly prohibits any discrimination subsidized by federal funds. The real question then is the meaning of Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

When the definition of desegregation in Title IV is considered as a whole rather than in part, it seems hard to question its meaning.

Title IV, Section 401 (b):

> "Desegregation" means the assignment of students to public schools and within such schools without regard to their race, color, religion, or national origin, but "desegregation" shall not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance.

This definition seems aimed primarily at de jure segregation in the South, and the imbalance provision seems an obvious attempt to win legislative support among northern congressmen by proscribing one form of federal pressure against de facto segregation in northern cities. That so-called "forced busing" is the precise measure being prevented here becomes explicit in Section 407 (a) of Title IV:

> . . . nothing herein shall empower any official or court of the United States . . . to achieve a racial balance in any school by requiring the transportation of pupils or students from one school to another.

The appeal of southern officials to Title IV can be seen as really only an appeal to a relatively minor qualification of the whole thrust of Title IV in an effort to win northern support once again. In Title IV, the intent of Congress is clear according to Justice Department and U.S.O.E. attorneys. The major thrust of Title IV is toward "assignment of students to public schools and within such schools without regard to their race," i.e., the complete and total end of segregated dual school systems. This thrust presupposes a prior de jure discrimination. For this thrust to be achieved successfully

requires the reorganization and reconstitution of segregated school patterns in the South which have not just arisen de facto but have been established by state law and official educational policy. The same states and local governments (and indeed some of the same officials) which perpetuated these patterns now ask that they be legitimized under "free choice plans" without their making structural changes in those patterns. The same pattern of activity that was called separate but equal before is now often passed off as free choice.

U.S.O.E. guidelines, by enforcing Title VI, attempted also to fulfill the intent of Title IV to end school assignment based on race. Statements by Secretary Gardner on April 9 and Commissioner Howe on September 30 have cited opinions of H.E.W. and Justice Department attorneys that the guidelines are consistent with court decisions and with the intent of Congress. The guidelines insisted that gradual steps be taken to eliminate assignment of pupils on the basis of race. They tried to guard against many reported instances of intimidation and violence against Negroes who exercised their right to an education free from racial discrimination by requiring local boards to assure genuine freedom of choice. Thus, the guidelines are, according to government attorneys, consistent with the obvious intent of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Moreover, they require only token and preliminary steps toward fulfilling that intent. They do not fulfill it.

CONSTITUTIONAL PROTECTION AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

The guidelines also seem to be in harmony with judicial interpretations of constitutional protections since 1954. While there has been no direct judgment on the guidelines, recent court comments cited below indicate their consistency with the Constitution and judicial opinion. The Constitution and decisions of the judiciary are also "the law" and the guidelines hardly go beyond them. In fact, the guidelines both lag behind some court orders and exceed others in specific items though not in the basic aim to end dual schools. The inconsistencies between court orders and guidelines on specific points have led to the following developments.

In April, the Office of Education requested federal courts to change school desegregation orders to conform with the new guidelines. The fact that the bulk of city school districts in the South, including Atlanta, New Orleans, Miami, Jackson, Montgomery, Birmingham, Nashville, Charleston, Little Rock, and Richmond, were operating under court-approved desegregation plans made the request important.

The New Orleans Times-Picayune reported on April 27 that the Justice Department made a formal proposal for a uniform school desegregation order for federal courts and asked the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans to adopt it as a model in all regional cases. The proposed order generally followed the guidelines, calling for desegregation of all

public school grades by the fall of 1967 under genuine "freedom-of-choice" plans which protect students and their families from intimidation. John Doar, head of the civil rights division of the Justice Department, submitted this proposal to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. In emphasizing the need for a uniform plan, the Department of Justice cited 99 plans approved by district courts in the past ten years that then fell below federal requirements in the guidelines. This, it was argued, was unfair to districts complying voluntarily in that it rewarded with slower desegregation rate those who had resorted to litigation.

On August 16, the Fifth Circuit Court ruled that Alabama's Mobile County school desegregation plan had to be revised so that complete desegregation would be accomplished by the fall of 1967. In so doing the court held the plan approved by the federal district court to be "far short of the requirements of the law . . . Even as to those grades which, under the plan, have actually become desegregated, there is no true substance in the alleged desegregation. Less than two-tenths of one percent of the Negro children in the system are attending white schools." In the decision the court called attention to the guidelines, adding, "This appeal . . . points up, among other things, the utter impracticability of a continued exercise by the courts of the responsibility for supervising the manner in which segregated school systems break out of the policy of complete segregation into gradual

steps of compliance . . . During the past 18 months pronouncements of this court have interpreted the Supreme Court's interim decisions as requiring considerably greater measures of desegregation. Thus a decision by a trial court 18 months ago is not likely to reflect the current law on the subject."

This court action and others since 1954 would seem to underscore the consistency of the guidelines with constitutional protection. Whether the guidelines implement that protection extensively enough and rapidly enough is a question suggested by this opinion of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. This question is central to evaluation of the guidelines.

THE GUIDELINES: AN EVALUATION

The guidelines must be evaluated relative to the basic goal of ending dual school systems; do they achieve the goal effectively?

In the fall of 1965, the Southern Regional Council published a report which included details of widespread harassment of Negro students who had exercised freedom of choice. That report made clear that the 1965 guidelines were inadequate to end dual school systems and to protect Negro students from violence and intimidation. The elaborate debate of the alleged excesses of the 1966 guidelines has tended to obscure the fact of continuing inadequacy of the guidelines to end dual systems this year. It has obscured the persistent attacks by terrorists

and the cruel infliction of economic intimidation on Negro students and their families once again in fall, 1966. An appendix to this report documents the problem in the words of letters from Negro parents. Harassment of children in schools is another growing problem.

The following samples indicate the day in, day out ordeal of low-grade terror that is the actuality of desegregation for Negro children in some desegregated schools, not all, of course, but enough to suggest a new national scandal brewing out of the South.

In one rural Alabama county, Negro children, beaten by whites on the first day of school, refused to get off a school bus until school authorities granted them protection. Denied this protection, they remained on the bus and were suspended for staging a sit-in demonstration. A rural county system suspends for three days any student involved in a fight, regardless of who starts the fight. Four suspensions constitute expulsion and the student may not return to any school for one year. A certain faction of the student body agrees to take three-day suspensions in rotation: Four students start four fights with one Negro student. Each will be suspended for three days. The Negro gets four suspensions and is expelled, whether or not he defends himself. The Negro students, none of whom have ever been involved in a fight in ten school years, realizing what was happening after receiving three suspensions would sign a "lost and gain slip." The "lost" status withdraws the

student permanently from the school but allows him to attend a Negro school with permission of the school board. To date that permission has not been granted.

The persistence of the various forms of terror against school desegregation raises in stark form the question of the adequacy of the entire guidelines approach. It may be granted that, as noted earlier, enforcement of the guidelines has been severely obstructed. The Congress not only refused to provide sufficient funds and staff but it also had southern members who supported pressure to limit the enforcement staff which was allowed. But even if they had been allowed to operate fully as planned, the guidelines tolerate practices which are far short of the intent of the law.

First, the guidelines in both 1965 and 1966 did <u>not</u> attempt actually to end the dual school system. They have tried only to make a beginning. In short, they accept a pattern of tokenism and gradualism. Elements in the South eagerly await a change in national pressure and policy on segregation which will allow the old ways to be reasserted. The disaffection of the 1966 Congress with rigorous enforcement is a case in point. The emergence of racism among northern white mobs has given encouragement to the advocates of resistance. Many southern segregationists believe that the rest of the country has come to agree with them on racial matters and that it will not be long before federal pressure

for desegregation will dissolve.

Second, the use of percentages has been questioned by civil rights proponents. Rightly, the U.S.O.E. insisted upon substantial progress toward ending dual schools. But the percentages of desegregation which it suggested in an effort to avoid being vague about what was "substantial" left the way open for the irrelevant charges of arbitrarily forced racial balance. By building gradualism into its guidelines by the use of minimum percentages, the U.S.O.E. perhaps unwittingly allowed attention to shift from the illegitimacy of dual schools and the need to end them. Instead, southern officials haggle over whether "ten percent is too much," while continuing segregated patterns.

Third, the U.S.O.E. has at best raised doubt of whether it stands behind effective compliance officers.

Fourth, the sanction implied in Title VI, the cutoff of funds, has been extremely limited in application by the U.S.O.E. The Wall Street Journal report, cited earlier, told precisely how few defiant districts had funds terminated or deferred for "new projects." Failure even to begin action against all but the most defiant districts has been noted. These are part of a pattern which amounts to a failure to end dual schools.

Fifth, another difficulty with the whole guidelines concept is the practice of making each school district responsible for its own fate. A superintendent wishing to comply

with the law is a lonely individual in the South. His predicament is made more painful by the fact that he is often under direct pressure from his constituents. The plight of one such schoolman was reported by his wife:

> Because of our relationship I have shared the deep pit of despair with him, the obscene telephone calls, and calls at four in the morning when no one would say a word . . . The verbal abuse of a few, that glint of hate in the eyes of some not willing to speak out. Letters filled with venom, some signed, some unsigned.
>
> It has been a long and lonely vigil, filled with great stress and anxiety. One would think we had passed the Civil Rights Act and were in sole charge of its implementation . . . .
>
> Civil rights workers have been active in this county. They have made charges, but never were they able to say, "The Negro schools are not accredited, the teachers unqualified," or that the buildings and equipment were inadequate. Caught between this group and the unreasonable segregationists, you realize how hopeless at times the situation appeared.
>
> I think even the two groups have wondered how much longer the superintendent, my husband, could hold out. I myself have wondered . . . .
>
> For political expediency the popular thing is not to support the superintendent and his efforts . . . We know.

The best example of political expediency and pressure at the state level was in Alabama where schoolmen were threatened by Governor George Wallace with a personal visit to their districts "to bring the issue to the people." The

problem may be serious enough to suggest the drastic revision of Title VI enforcement policy to allow withholding federal school funds from an entire state whose officials exert overt pressure on local school boards. The issue would be this: Should federal funds go to a state which discriminates? The Civil Rights Act of 1964 says: "Compliance with any requirement adopted pursuant to this section may be effected . . . by the termination of or refusal to grant or to continue assistance under such program or activity to any recipient as to whom there has been an express finding on the record, after opportunity for hearing, of a failure to comply with such requirements, but such termination shall be limited to the particular political entity . . . ."

Sixth, another fundamental problem reflected in the guidelines controversy lies in the fact that the Office of Education was set up to coordinate national educational programs, not to be the instrument of enforcing the Civil Rights Act. It is not staffed for such duties and all the effort to wring compliance from southern schools is, of necessity, taking people and money and time away from the original purpose of the office.

Seventh, the guidelines still presuppose a dual system of schools, drawn as they are from the prevailing notion of allowing Negro children to attend white schools. One possible solution to the dual system concept, advanced by some

civil rights leaders, is to require all schools in all districts that have <u>any</u> Negro population to have faculties consisting of 50% white and 50% Negro teachers. Only in this way, it is argued, can any real beginning be made toward eliminating the racial designations of the schools. Proponents further argue that the method might well be a partial wedge in the solution of housing problems as they pertain to the concept of neighborhood schools. For if racially motivated white parents were faced with fleeing one transitional neighborhood school with a 50-50 faculty to another with the same instructional make-up the decision to move might not be so easily made.

Finally, the guidelines themselves and as administered constitute a modification of federal policy. Whereas Title VI clearly requires that federal funds must not subsidize discrimination, the guidelines allow precisely such subsidies to continue over a period during which racial discrimination is theoretically being abolished gradually. Insofar as it has allowed time for "adjustment," the U.S.O.E. has allowed time for opposition, defiance, and evasion.

What a thorough program of enforcement (which, one suspects, would elicit the respect, however grudging, of southern officials) might be like is suggested in the following from a letter by a spokesman for the American Friends Service Committee and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund to the Office of Education. The following section is one of seventeen, each with similar thoroughgoing questions:

<u>What does your data reveal about the adequacy of freedom of choice plans to effectuate Title VI?</u> In how many school districts have freedom of choice plans resulted in the elimination of dual school systems since 1964? Where, and under what conditions? In 1966, how many school districts came up to the percentages suggested in the guidelines? In how many districts and by what criteria was the performance under freedom of choice plans determined inadequate by HEW? How many districts were required to improve their performance? What kinds of suggestions for additional steps were made to them; what did they actually do, and what were the results? Where a second transfer period was held, were the results significantly increased? What has HEW done where additional efforts to implement freedom of choice plans have been ineffective? Where freedom of choice plans have not worked, how have HEW and/or local school officials determined what would work?

What has HEW learned this year about the actual operation of freedom of choice procedures? Do your data corroborate our staff experience that there continue to be considerable violations of the procedures required by the guidelines, such as inadequate notice to parents, abbreviated transfer periods, etc.? How many districts have been cited for noncompliance for those violations? The guidelines require that pupils who did not make a choice during the spring registration period should be assigned during the first week of school to the nearest school regardless of race. What happened to these students? In how many districts did this result in an increase in nonracial enrollment?

Where formerly all-white schools have become overcrowded as the result of the

exercise of free choice, what has happened? How has HEW determined whether the criteria for overcrowding were uniform throughout the district? What has HEW done when Negro students have been sent back to Negro schools because of the overcrowding of desegregated schools? What has happened to white pupils where desegregated schools have become overcrowded? In how many cases, and where, has overcrowding resulted in the enrollment of white pupils in formerly all-Negro schools, either through assignment, school pairing, or some other action by school officials.

In how many school districts desegregating fewer than 12 grades did Negro pupils request transfer under the provisions enumerated in 181.71 of the guidelines? Where they were rejected, in how many cases did HEW investigate the reasons? Has much desegregation occurred as a result of these provisions?

What has been your experience with the regulation that choices are binding? How many Negro pupils sought to return to Negro schools after registering to attend desegregated schools? What happened to them?

There are clearly two schools of thought about whether freedom of choice plans should continue to be approved as acceptable devices for eliminating dual school systems. Some hold that the emphasis should be on making these plans truly free and on liberalizing the process, such as extending the choice period from 30 days to six months.

Others, and they would include the overwhelming majority of civil rights workers, have become increasingly convinced that the most honest freedom of choice plans cannot abolish dual school systems in Deep South communities. What do your findings reveal?

IV. CONCLUSIONS

1. Segments of the southern educational and political establishment successfully avoided significant desegregation in 1966. They did so in part by diverting attention in Congress from their failure in ending segregated dual systems to fears of forced racial balance.
2. The guidelines would not have ended dual schools even if perfectly applied and accepted; they were intended only as instruments for a significant beginning toward the goal of no racial discrimination. They would have made such a beginning if implemented to their 10% minimum for the Deep South. Desegregation only ranged from 2.4% to 35% of Negroes in schools with whites in the South and 2.4% to 6.6% in the Deep South. The guidelines were not fully implemented. Obviously, if "free choice" is to be effective, it must be genuinely free of intimidation and reprisal.
3. This poor performance of the South in the second year of enforcement of Title VI for school desegregation remains the strongest

rebuttal of the southern complaint that the Office of Education has been overzealous in the matter. A more proper question might be whether it has been diligent enough.

4. Congress intended to end the discrimination inherent in dual school systems in Titles IV and VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, despite a prohibition of imposed racial balances. This prohibition presupposed de facto, not de jure segregation. Hence it is not relevant in the South until the pattern established by de jure segregation has been ended. In effect, Congress has ordered an end to one form of segregation while perpetuating another.

5. Political pressure on administrators, fear of white backlash, and confusion about the intent of Congress in Title IV have all weakened pressures for strong enforcement. Lack of enthusiasm for the guidelines by civil rights groups who thought them too weak must also be considered. Considering the confusion, disillusionment and detriment to effective desegregation attendant on argument about congressional intent, there would seem to be considerable need for Congress to clarify this intent.

6. The situation is retrievable if attention can be returned to the proper focus: the end of discriminatory dual school systems.

7. In December, 1966, southern schools continue to be overwhelmingly segregated. Force and violence confront many Negro students entering formerly white schools under freedom of choice plans.

More than one decade ago, the U. S. Supreme Court held that dual public school systems discriminating by race were unconstitutional on their face. The record of many southern school and public officials and the publics they serve has been one of avoiding and evading this clear-cut dictum of the basic law of the nation. Such mistreatment of the legal system by these "best people" has been far more a national disgrace and scandal than the notorious lawlessness of violent racist gangs comprised of the "worst people" of the area.

Those school and public officials who have attempted in good conscience to comply with the law as propounded by the court, reinforced by the Congress of the United States, and administered by the Office of Education deserve the praise and gratefulness of a nation whose very existence depends on a good-faith acceptance of its system of law and order. There have been many instances of beautiful and profoundly genuine acceptance of the humanity of all children in the South's school desegregation struggle. The good derived by children of both races in these situations where law has been cherished

and humanity respected may prove to be among the highest achievements in the South of these traumatic years.

The tragic consequences of the continued failure of a great many southern school and public officials to live up to the basic duties of American citizenship and the common decencies observed by all mankind in the rearing of children cannot be counted. The patience of Negro Southerners (in stark counterpoint to the riotous impatience of their fellows in the North) cannot be expected to continue under intolerable conditions. The schools in the South by all statistical standards are the worst in the nation. Part of the reason for this is the extravagant waste of dual systems of segregated schools. Another part is the waste of administrative and executive energy on attempts to preserve these systems that might better be spent in improving the education of a generation which faces the complexity of a new and baffling era of the scientific age.

The difficulties of the Office of Education center on the necessity for it to enforce on a region of eleven states a law which those states ought to obey -- and indeed enforce -- as a matter of course. It is an agency not equipped or intended to enforce laws, like policemen. Far from having been overzealous, this agency has -- if the law has any meaning at all -- so far failed to achieve what the law demanded. Much of this failure has its roots in the correct assumption by the Office of Education that it must encourage and, indeed,

cajole the South into assuming the responsibility that it should have shown from the beginning and must take if law in the nation is to continue to have meaning.

Announcement of stepped-up enforcement procedures by the Office of Education -- the pressing of fund termination in the most recalcitrant of southern school systems -- is, far from overzealous action, a positive and praiseworthy step, taken remarkably late. But the implications inherent in prosecution of only the most flagrant cases can only lead artful law-dodgers among southern officialdom to assume that they can continue to get by with tokenism and a show of a "cooperative" spirit.

Guidelines more closely aligned with the law's demand (perhaps a single guideline -- the abolishment of dual systems) and enforcement designed to alleviate any hope of continued contempt for the law of the land would seem the only consistent course for the future of enforcement. If this should even ultimately bring the South to a political victory that overturns the law of the land -- if the rest of the nation is that weak or that far-gone in its backlash versions of racism -- then so be it. Even that would be preferable to the continued flouting of the Constitution and the law in the schools where children learn their first lessons of citizenship and contemporary history. Already a vocal segment of the Negro movement has retreated to a demand not for integrated schools but the never-realized mandate of the "old" law --

equal separate ones. What we are talking about is the education of children -- black and white. The record to date is one of shameful disservice to them, which is to say, our nation's future.

APPENDIX

PERCENTAGE OF DESEGREGATION IN SOUTHERN SCHOOLS

1965 and 1966

	Negro School Enrollment: 1965+	Percent of Negroes in School with Whites: 1965	Percent of Negroes in School with Whites: 1966 Office of Education	Percent of Negroes in School with Whites: SRC++
ALABAMA	295,848**	0.25	2.4	
ARKANSAS	111,952**	2.5	15.9	14.7
FLORIDA	256,063*	5.9	14.7	
GEORGIA	355,950*	1.3	6.6	5.7
LOUISIANA	318,651	0.68	3.6	2.9
MISSISSIPPI	296,834	0.34	3.2	2.0
N. CAROLINA	349,282	2.1	12.8	
S. CAROLINA	263,983	1.5	4.9	
TENNESSEE	176,541*	9.1	21.9	
TEXAS	349,192*	20.0	34.6	
VIRGINIA	239,729**	11.3	20.0	
TOTAL SOUTH	3,014,025	5.23		

*Estimated

**1964-65

+ 1966 figures unavailable

++ Only percentages different from the Office of Education's are given

3-26.66

MR.

DEAR SIR . THIS IS FROM . I WANT SOME INFORMATION FROM YOU ABOUT THE 1966 COTTON PROGRAM. WE HAD 26 ACARES OF Cotton last year. adn this year the man we live with told ym husband that he couldn,t use him this year. he gave gave all the peoples crops but us. and another man on the saem place he didn,t give him a crop. but i heard that he said he didn,t want a crop. he is a old man. so we have two childrens in the white school. and we do feel and believe that is the reason he didn,t give us a crop. we have 11 childrens to support. and it nothing around here to do to make a living. and i am asking you if you know where i can write to too turn that in will you please send me the addreaa. i dene to the ASCS officers to get some information. and they told me that it was mr.(land and he could do what he want to with his land. weihh i no that was not so. that was not what the government said. we worked 26 acares last year. and made 36 bales of cotton and a little over. we been where we is since march in 1945. so any information you need i will be glad to give it to you. and any information you can give me i will be to glad to get it. so please let me hear from you as soon as possible.we do beleave the to kids we have in the white school is the reason he didn,t give us a crop. and he told which is my husband. that he didn,t have enouhg acares to give him a crop.but since he told him that. he have been back to the peoples that he did give crops to and tried to get them to take some more acares. but they refuse to take them. so any information that you can give me i will be to glad to get it. if you don,t have any info. and know where i can get it. please send me the name and address so i can write them. your truly( )

SEP 30 1966

Dear Mrs

I am still waiting for a fair hearing since the local welfare people said they wouldn't put me on welfare.

Some white kids poured ink on my daughter at school and they cut my nephew's face. Other than that, the white kids have been calling our children niggers and all that.

The welfare people here don't want to help me, but I hope to get put back on.

Thank you for all your help.

JUL 2 6 1966

July 25 '66

Dear miss
Your letter have been recived

Preasure so
~~much~~ hard here. seem like we can't
do anything at all. here. I were talking
about the men miss sent up
here they said they were going to ~~send~~
try an raise some ~~money~~ many.
that we need money for to get a house.
and he were going to raise us some to
help on the house. no the man from
have not come by. I don't
no if he been to or not. Peoples
Around here. are so afraid. of the
Preasure. and some are afraid they may get
kill. I don't thank to no one will get
kill. and if a lots of kids would go

to School. things may get better. it so sad. it so hot. I am going to the store now. to get food. all for now
I wish one day we wake up and things are better for us. all of us.

I pray some day, we we will obey what Jesus said love one to another.
and if we do this all the world problems will be over.

Sincerely Your

July 1, 1966

Mr. Harold Howe
Office of Education
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir;

My name is ( ) and I am Seventeen years of age. During the Previous year I attended an all white School here in ( ) along With my two sisters, brother and a friend. Regretfully I say that during this year we have had many obstacles in our way. I feel if more "Negroes" attend the pressures we overcome would not be as great. I have tried in all respect to encourage more young negroes my age and under to attend but fear has caused them to back out. Most of them because of jobs, they fear their parents will be fired as well as their parents.

Will you please investigate this situation?

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

Freedom of choice will not work in County as long as there is fear.

Sincerely,

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

7-12 66

dear Orien i seise your most kind
and welcome letter and so glade was i
to hear from you it found me and all of my
family well and doing fine so far thank to the
good master. and i am glade that you enjoy
your self at my home and i no i enjoy
you we all was happy to see you and
do hope that when you come to (minnie)
again you will have time to stop in and
see us all again. i am still working at Neal's
and still like it. and i am still stoner up for
[illegible] i am doing fine in my new home
and i still want to see a Brighter day and i
want my Children to take an and stand up
for a Better education and what ever i can do
i am going to that Little as much. i am going
thro with what ever i got to face no
matter how hard it may be i just no i
can make it some how. i am not afraid
to stand up for my rights. and i am holding
my Children on behind me i got to
stand up before them so they will no
what it mean and how they got to stand up

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

to i just keep on talkin to them letin
them no what they need and what it
take to get what they need that is a
better education and where they can
get it that is in the integrated school
so i am faine to push. mark. fight. watch. and
prey for them i mean for them to go if they
have to go by this stuff i ant faine to stop
not untill i get them in. and then i am fain
fight to keep them in. for that case i mean
to stand up untill i cant stand and i am
fain to stan anyso. so that will mean
me stand up to the in of my life
nothin shall turn me around. i dont care
how dark the day may be rain or shine
sleet or snow me and my family is fain
to stan up. so all sent love to you. mrs.
got a side boat home he made
it boat just fine. i am writin (
to day to. i talk here you ben to my home
so by mal God keep you and bless
untill we meet again
from (mrs. & mrs.
and family.)
freedon is what i want
and freedom is what i am fain to get
freedon freedon.

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SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

A CITY SLUM—POOR PEOPLE AND PROBLEMS

A report on an attempt to build a community organization around local self-interest issues in a southern city.

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION - Vine City

Vine City is a slum in Atlanta, Georgia. Approximately 1550 families live in the six by four block area bounded by Northside Drive, Simpson Street, Sunset and Hunter Avenues. The residents live in a variety of dwellings, many of which were formerly one-family homes but are now multiple family units. Ten or fifteen people crowd into these three or four room apartments. Often a toilet is shared by all. Many of the streets are unpaved in Vine City. When it rains the water washes dirt and cans and bottles into the sewers, clogging them. At times like this the trash floats about, wine bottles nodding like swans.

A random survey of 10% of the families reveals that over half the houses need painting, almost half have walls in need of repair, and an equal number have ceilings either buckling or cracking. Screen doors, good floors, adequate electric wiring and sanitary plumbing are all luxuries in Vine City. Approximately 80% of the residents rent the houses in which they live -- houses similar to the ones just described. They pay rents which in one year equal the tax assessed value of the houses. A house assessed at $750 often rents for $60 per month.

The people of Vine City are more difficult to describe. John Henry is an eight-year-old, sitting on a porch with a homemade checkerboard on his knees. He quietly describes the knifing he saw the night before, adding in detail how the cop clubbed the fighters to their knees and then dragged them into his car with its siren wailing.

Mrs. Johnson has lived in Vine City all her life. She is almost seventy. Her ankles are swollen double with arthritis. She is paid $71.55 a month social security. She says that "things gotta get better, 'cause God didn't mean for no peoples to live like this."

A middle-aged man, Mr. Williams, pulled the biceps muscle out of his shoulder on the job a year ago. He didn't know about workman's compensation, and his employer forgot to tell him about it. When he did find out about it, an operation was made possible but compensation has been held up until a hearing is scheduled. He waited too long to file, the agency told him.

Philip is nine years old and in the fifth grade. He can't spell his name but he has never failed a grade. On and on and on ...

Do What The People Want

Six people -- four Negroes and two whites -- met in late January of 1965 to discuss ways of working in Vine City. One of the Negroes was from Vine City. He spoke of the people and their problems. He told the group that the recent civil rights law meant nothing to the average Vine City resident. He criticized the new War on Poverty for not doing what was really needed. It was not bettering houses, jobs, streets, nor increasing welfare benefits; it was only attempting to help a small percentage of people overcome some personal inadequacies. He said the group needed to try to mobilize the people of Vine City into doing something about the conditions that caused personal shortcomings.

There were hours of talk of techniques, tactics, and philosophy. Was it possible to form loose coalitions with existing church, social and civic groups in the neighborhood? Should they try to organize around specific issues in the manner used so effectively by Saul Alinsky in northern slums? (The Alinsky method, as stated by Alinsky, is: "The community organizer digs into a morass of resignation, hopelessness and despair and works with the local people in articulating, 'rubbing raw,' their resentments. He must agitate to the point of conflict.") Were there enough dissatisfaction and

anger in the community for the Alinsky method to succeed? To the greatest extent possible the manipulation of people would be kept to a minimum.

The six decided to attempt a very simple-sounding plan. The group would offer to do what the people of the community wanted to do. The group of six did not know what needed to be done, therefore, they would ask. No one knew how to solve the problems even after they were identified, but they thought that enough people working together might be able to come up with a plan of action. They hoped they could fall back upon honesty and truthfulness when the inevitable mistakes began happening.

The question now was: How do you find out what the people want?

A very simple questionnaire was written. A sample of it follows:

_____ (address - street and number)

Surveyor _____

Date _____

Family Name _____

Does the occupant own the house? Yes _____ No _____

Who is the realtor? _____

How much is the rent? _____

Number of rooms in the dwelling _____

Number of residents in the dwelling _____

Approximate income per month _____

Space for general comments: _____

Person's estimate of the condition of the house:

The problems of most concern to the renter or owner (if the owner):

With this questionnaire, the group began the slow street-by-street, house-by-house survey, hoping that some general consensus on the most important problem would show through the response to the questionnaire.

The interviews were done slowly, usually in bi-racial teams, the interviewers asking a few questions and then sitting back to listen -- answering the questions on the questionnaire just by listening closely. At no time did an interviewing team merely go into a house and read off questions. Sometimes they spent two hours with a single family. Because of the amount of time necessary to cover a block, the group-of-six recruited volunteers from the city's campuses. The next Saturday, fifty students arrived ready for work. The leader of the group described the project and the idea behind the questionnaire. Two Saturdays later they had covered the area.

Now began the reading of the questionnaires. Again and again, interest in the young people of Vine City appeared

uppermost in the minds of the people. "Our children have no place to play"; "they play in the streets where cars hit them"; "there are no playgrounds." Other problems which received considerable mention were: police brutality, insurance collectors, landlords who refused to repair their buildings yet charged high rents, unpaved streets, lack of cultural opportunities, poor jobs, or no jobs at all.

Using the questionnaire as the basis for deciding which problem would be initially tackled, the group-of-six resolved somehow to get a playground in Vine City.

The Playground

They began a search for a lot that could be cleared and made into a playground. Several times it appeared that they had one, then either the landlord lived in Florida or an option to buy had been in force for the last three years. Finally a lot was located behind a store. The owners consented to the use of it as a play area, if it could be cleared and if they could remove themselves from liability.

Saturday after Saturday for seven or eight weeks, college students met at the small A.M.E. church for a brief orientation, and then walked to the lot to begin work. On the first day they found a bulldozer to do the heaviest work

and soon leveled the lot. All that remained was to build a wall in order to keep the playground from washing back into the street. Each Saturday, and many evenings during the week, one, two, sometimes four people met to work. Within moments fifteen or twenty young Negro children, ranging in age from three to fifteen years, would join them. Each workday older people of the area came by, stopped, and watched awhile, and then picked up a shovel.

Soon the playground would be finished. What then? From the beginning, the group-of-six had realized that Vine City people had to become involved so that one day they would take over the planning and work of the project and go on to work on more difficult problems. Door-to-door talk sessions began again. And, an advisory committee, made up of Vine City residents, was formed to advise the students and the original group-of-six.

The First Big Problem

The change of a dump-lot into a playground aroused an enthusiasm which forced the first problem into being. The group-of-six decided to rent an old house as a community center. Without asking for advice from the advisory committee, they did so. At an ensuing meeting of this committee, questions were asked about the house. Who was responsible for renting the

house? Where did the money come from? Who was going to pay the rent, and could the house meet building inspection?

Some personality problems had already risen, and now a definite split separated the advisory group and several members of the group-of-six. Looking back, it appears that perhaps the split was unavoidable. (It came about with questions of authority and money.)

The Vine City advisory group decided to take over direct control of the organization. It approved the renting of the house and the completion of the lot. A date for a mass meeting was set for later in the month. Mimeographed announcements of the meeting were passed out throughout the community under the name of the Vine City Improvement Association. The meeting was called to discuss the many different problems of Vine City, and to elect officers for the organization. Approximately 120 people came, some interested, some there just for something to do. Problems were discussed and officers elected, but no program of action was set forth.

The role of the group-of-six changed after the Improvement Association came into existence. The six were now the technicians for the Improvement Association, supplying information, suggesting plans of action, following the directions of the Association. No longer could the group-of-six set the

course of the Vine City Project by themselves with the occasional advice of the community people. Now instead, community people, though only loosely organized into an association, were running the project. This change in who was leading whom had happened very soon ---- perhaps too soon.

The Second Mass Meeting and a Carnival

Basic improvements were begun on the Community Center and a library was started. The officers of the Improvement Association decided to hold a street carnival, blocking off the street where the center and playground had been started. They borrowed one hundred dollars and bought chicken, for barbecue; chance games, ice cream, hot dogs, loud speakers, and records. The carnival was a great success. Over a thousand people crowded into the street outside of the center. People signed up with the Association and vowed to come to the next meeting. By dark the Association had made twenty dollars.

A second mass meeting was called attracting about 100 people. Committees on Housing, Streets, Recreation, Youth, Cultural Activities, Law Enforcement and Education were appointed. This designation of committees was perhaps a mistake. It later presented an excuse for not attending general meetings and idleness of committees when chairmen

failed to call meetings, or when the members did not attend.

It was now evident that there was a nucleus of about fifteen people who would work on committees, come to meetings, and actually act, if and when a situation called for action. As the group-of-six had already initiated work involving housing, this was given priority along with the completion of the community center. By using the former questionnaires and city tax records, owners of the Vine City Community property were identified and their addresses located. Names of the fifteen largest slum owners were pin-pointed, in the event that dissatisfaction with housing ever came to a protest action stage.

Weekly meetings continued, discussing what should be done, what little had been done, and why weren't more people at the meetings. Generally six or seven people would come to a meeting, sometimes two hours late. If a move was decided upon and actually carried through, it was not unusual for the committee's authority to be questioned later by a member who had been absent.

Several Small Successes

The Recreation Committee took an interest in the playground lot. A student ascertained dates of the aldermanic

committee meetings responsible for parks and recreation facilities. Twelve men and women from Vine City went to the aldermanic committee meeting and proposed that they furnish equipment for the playground and make immediate plans for a park in Vine City. The people then stopped by the mayor's office and paid their respects. This was the organization's first encounter with city authorities. Within two weeks the city sent a man to inspect the lot. Also, a lawyer drew up lease agreements and began title searches on areas for a park site. This was the Association's first success and a better political education experience could not have been. Vine City people discovered they did have some power to do things.

The Housing Committee has had several small achievements. It distributed one thousand summaries of the housing code in the community and plans an open hearing on housing. A petition was to be sent throughout Vine City for signatures of people whose houses do not come up to minimum standards. Housing inspectors, urban renewal people, poverty war people, the press, and hopefully, the mayor would be invited. Members from another organization across town who have threatened a rent strike were asked to participate as well as the state legislators from the area.

Two VISTA volunteers are now working at the Community Center. A teen-age youth group successfully sponsored three

Saturday night dances, inviting grown-ups to come and join them if they so desired. The local War on Poverty unit donated a swing set, but it is the backyard type and is not strong enough for a playground. It lies in a storage room.

Other Problems

Personality differences have plagued the project from the beginning. The group found that running a democratic meeting can turn into a nightmare of threats, insinuations, and chaos. Discussion of a project can be waylaid simply because some people who might not even understand the project, only that a certain individual has suggested it, therefore feel the project must be attacked.

Money has caused difficulties also. Who gave it? Why did they give it? How was it spent? Who decided to spend it on that?

The Association has not kept good books. A financial statement distributed monthly answering such questions would have alleviated many hassles.

Although the Improvement Association has only handled a total of 350 dollars, money occasioned a general distrust on several occasions threatening the entire program. On these occasions it was necessary to begin almost all over again, to gradually work back to a point where trust could be established before the next catastrophe happened. The

importance of money cannot be exaggerated. A man or woman living on $60 a month, not knowing if he or she can stretch this amount over food, clothing, and housing, puts a much higher value on $350 than do students who pay that amount each semester for tuition.

Recognition has also led to serious problems. The project, though small, poorly organized, and part-time staffed, excited considerable interest in the city. Newspapers have commended it several times. It is regrettable that on two occasions either a picture of one person or a mention that the project came into being because of one person caused divisions in the organization. Recognition and credit should be showered over the entire organization, emphasizing that such achievement would have been impossible without the cooperation of a large number of people.

Poor understanding of the function of various organizations or people in the project has caused difficulty. A self-help project should not be the work of one specific organization, but should be the project of the people who are banded together to do something for themselves. If they want help they should get it by asking other people, or an organization, to do a certain thing, to carry out a specific task, or to provide a service. Of course, many fruitful ideas originate from outside. But it is necessary that the self-help group make outside suggestions their own ideas through

sitting on them for a short time, or by reworking the ideas to suit themselves and their situation.

Full-time door-to-door work is still desperately needed. At no time has there been a full-time person doing this type of work. The project has full-time staff now, but they are occupied with improvement projects such as nursery schools, tutors, typing classes, and counseling, rather than as organizers. The project is almost trapped in the self-improvement cycle. This is to say that while pre-school nurseries, tutorials and secretarial training classes are important they are concerned with individual, not community, improvement. The slum child who benefits from a pre-school experience is still destined for a slum school elementary education. After the tutoring session the high school student continues to return to a tenement where the upstairs toilet leaks into his mother's sink. The fear of self-improvement programs is that they often place the cause of poverty on the individual's inadequacies, rather than on the surroundings that made him inadequate.

Whether you approach the individual person living in a slum with pity or the profit-making slum with anger is the difference. Self-improvement can become a forever and ever process of helping a few people overcome the slum. The alternative is community organization for the purpose of obtaining power, power enough to do away with the slum.

The appointment of committees was a mistake, as has been said. The need of planning for small achievement -- anything that could be construed to be an accomplishment -- was not given enough attention. Constant contact with the people about what is going on, what they think is important, the putting of information into their hands, detailing work to be done -- all need thorough planning. Meeting when there is no need to meet is a mistake. The only reason to have a mass meeting is to report to the whole community what has been accomplished and to bring information to the group. If there were enough weekly progress on an issue of importance (or if there were conflict with the powers that be), than a mass meeting could be planned once a week. The important thing is for leaders to have something to present at the meeting.

Prospects For The Future

The Association needs a paid organizer. The community is aroused and interested but the organization thus far has been a paper one; two or three active people have carried the burden of the work. More people must participate in the decision-making. Yet, for all the lack of organization, all the personality clashes, all the mistakes, and all the lack of people involved, the people of Vine City have started to

get together to help themselves.

Another group, The Vine City Council, started by people who grew disenchanted with the original handling by the group-of-six, has begun issuing a newspaper which reports Vine City happenings and prints pieces written by people from Vine City. It has been well received. This group has also started a thrift shop where used clothing is sold, the profits going into a fund for emergency loans to community people. It is hoped that eventually the two groups will work together on several issues and forget personal differences. Several members of the Improvement Association attend the meetings of the other group and the two factions have established a working relationship on one or two issues.

The possibility of creating small businesses which would help people to more financial independence, and/or which would be operated as cooperatives, has been discussed. A sewing cooperative has been successful in Mississippi and Vine City people have read with interest the plans and methods used there. Other interesting ideas which have been entertained are:

> Contracting with small farmers outside of town to sell their fruits and vegetables in Vine City. Another plan would include buying the vegetables at a farmer's market and then distributing them in the community.

Several white farmers are presently selling their produce in the area. The group-of-six feels confident that the people would buy from a Vine City enterprise (of a cooperative nature) rather than from the white farmers, if it offered the same quality produce.

Refinishing of furniture, hand-laundered shirt service, making rugs from rug samples, production of novelties such as arts and crafts kits for children with how-to-do-it instruction, the selling of homemade preserves and canned goods, sandwich making, preparation and delivery of hot meals to neighborhood businesses, all offer possibilities of employing one, two, or more people in a money-making business. Hopefully, the profits, or a percentage of them, would go into a "cushion" fund to begin a credit union -- an idea the group has discussed with interest.

Several groups have approached the Association about the possibility of tutoring children in Vine City. Arrangements are being made to begin this within the next two or three weeks.

The Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta has started an information and assistance bureau at the Center, which offers a reliable channel of communication for people who are faced daily with a maze of bureaucratic detail. Information about social security, medicare, workman's compensation, employment opportunities, low rent housing, loan facilities, and more, is available.

An ex-Peace Corps volunteer has offered her services for a year. She is organizing a pre-school program to begin as soon as she finds means to heat the Community House. She will also teach typing to anyone who wants it.

The Vine City Council and the Vine City Improvement Association recently cooperated in picketing a slum house and its owner's home across town. About fifty people carried signs protesting the condition of the house: no fire escape, high rent, ($71.50 per month for 3 rooms), rotted floors, dangerous electrical equipment, all criticized by the community people.

Reaction to the direct action varied --

-- "They shouldn't have picketed a Negro landlord," said one person.

-- "The group should have negotiated first," said another.

-- "We gonna write all those landlords a letter now,

sayin, fix up your trash-pile, brother, or you gonna look out your pretty picture window and see signs, and us, come next Sunday!" said the captain of one of the picket lines.

-- The landlord withdrew two eviction orders, changed realtors, reduced back rents owed by two families and hired a repairman.

Another house, a basement apartment, where four families share one toilet has been tentatively selected as the next target by the two organizations.

The Chance of Doing it All Over

Not much has changed in Vine City. No real organization has been formed. The people have started, however, and some learned something. Perhaps others can profit from the experiences of the people of Vine City.

Outsiders going into a community with the idea of helping to organize people to solve some of their own problems should find a way to let the people know that they are there to organize -- to work for changes in the community. Don't ask the people to trust you -- do things in such a way as to earn their trust. Questions of why outsiders are in a community are natural and should be expected. Answers of the "we-are-here-to-help-you" type sometimes lead to more questions concerning motivation. As an organizer a person can also remain on the

outside of the inevitable personality differences that will arise, perhaps using his role to reunite the group toward its goal after such differences come up.

The young people who decided to try to work in Vine City used a housing survey questionnaire to gain entry into the community. Perhaps it would have been better to have been invited into the community. If an organization or a church, or several churches and organizations, can together invite you, the initial period of distrust might be shorter, or eliminated.

The raising and spending of money demands accuracy and good bookkeeping from the beginning. Decisions of whether you will accept outside funds (which of course put some restrictions on an organization) or will try and raise all your funds from within the community should be made early in your effort. When you use money it is urgent to mimeograph financial reports and distribute them to the members of the organization. Co-signed checks are a must.

Should praise and credit come to a community organization, as many people as possible should be included in pictures and through quotes. The more an organization is referred to as a group of people working together to change their situation, the stronger it seems to become. Two or three people receiving all the praise or blame can split your organization.

The delegation of authority in an organization is very important to the growth and participation of the people. The organizer must realize that once an organization comes into being he then must respect its wishes and work with it, not lead it.

The beginning stages of the organization call for accomplishments at regular intervals. These gains hearten and reinforce the idea of cooperative effort as a means for accomplishment, and make it possible to try for larger achievements. If there are past accomplishments to report, future accomplishments are easier to envisage. There is really no need for meetings unless the people have something to say.

The selection of a primary issue for action is important, especially at the beginning. Committees have a way of dividing a group rather than uniting one. Delegation of problems, distrust of what others are doing, spending of funds, recognition, all enter when committees are formed.

A number of factors are demonstrated by the attempt at starting a community organization in Vine City:

-- Poor people know what the problems are. This idea assumes that people know that unlivable housing, over-crowded schools, and low-paying jobs or no jobs at all, are responsible for

their personal conditions. Poor people also realize their own inadequacies, such as lack of education or job skills.

-- Community action is possible in low-income communities. (Perhaps poor people are not as apathetic as they are said to be if they have alternatives on which to take action.)

-- Community organization does not require huge amounts of money. In fact, it can be quite inexpensive.

-- Leadership is relatively easy to find in low-income communities.

SUMMARY

Frank Reisman says that social action is becoming the fashion in America. Community organization projects by Saul Alinsky, the Students for a Democratic Society, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee have received nation-wide attention.

The South, as usual, has been slow to respond. Very few community organization efforts have been attempted in the urban South. We have much to learn.

-- What are the best techniques?

-- What methods do poor people respond to most favorably?

-- How do you know when a community is organized?

-- What is the ultimate goal of community organization?

-- Are there issues larger than local self-interest that could unite diverse local groups after they are organized?

-- Should self-improvement programs, such as tutorials which don't face the central problem of inferior schools, be included in community organization efforts?

-- Should efforts which only make slums slightly more comfortable be discouraged, in hopes

that larger issues involving real inequalities can be used for organization purposes?

-- How much emphasis should the organizer put on the necessity for conflict if the group is to realize the power it possesses?

-- Are coalitions between the poor, the civil rights movement, and/or the labor movement possible?

These questions perhaps are unanswerable at the present time. The Vine City Project certainly doesn't answer all of them. It does make a try in the only possible way, including the making of mistakes.

# # # #

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SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

Public Assistance: To What End?

Public Assistance:
To What End?

November, 1967
Price .30c each

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE - TO WHAT END?

Introduction

Much criticism of public welfare stems from the need for a basic change, a redefinition -- a restructuring of the premises upon which the present basic welfare programs were built. This report originated from the belief that such a restructuring is necessary and holds the basic hypotheses that, first, the poorest and most needy persons of the United States are not receiving and would not receive, even with the fair administration of welfare regulations, aid commensurate with their need and, second, the relatively and absolutely small amount of expenditures for public assistance is due not to the lack of need but rather to harsh welfare qualifications and a lack of sincere concern for the needy.

In order to test these hypotheses, the 100 poorest counties[1] of the United States were chosen for investigation. These were felt to be areas in which public assistance would be most needed and in which both the faults and the assets of assistance would be most pronounced. Ninety-seven of the 100 counties were in the southern states[2]: one in both

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[1] The median family income of the counties is used as a measure of poverty in selecting these counties, since it seemed to indicate better the central characteristic of the population than did other possible measures.

[2] The three non-southern counties were: Wade Hampton, Alaska; Bethel, Alaska; and Adair, Oklahoma, with respective rankings from poorest to least poor of 12, 46, and 89.

Louisiana and Virginia; three in North Carolina; four in South Carolina; six in Texas; eight in both Arkansas and Alabama; nine in Georgia; 11 in Tennessee; 22 in Kentucky; and 24 in Mississippi. The welfare programs decided upon for use were primarily Old Age Assistance; Aid to the Blind; Aid to Families with Dependent Children; and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled; and secondarily Medical Assistance to the Aged, and General Relief. Individual states' variations of these programs, such as Aid to the Aged for Old Age Assistance, Aid to Dependent Children for Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and General Assistance for General Relief, differ mainly in detail from those named as basic and are therefore included here in the basic programs. Since these programs formthe major part of public assistance efforts and are fairly widespread, they obviously should cover most cases of need. Most basic data was drawn from the U. S. Census of Population: 1960. There are no substantial reasons for questioning the relative validity of the figures obtained, though the concrete numbers used have undoubtedly changed. Information concerning the amount and distribution of public assistance was drawn from individual states' annual welfare reports and from regional offices of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW). Information concerning welfare regulations was drawn primarily from the latest (1964) edition of Public Assistance Report number 50, "Characteristics of State Public Assistance Plans Under the Social Security Act."

The investigation led to four major conclusions:

1. Need in the 100 poorest counties of the United States is extreme.
2. Public Assistance in the 100 poorest counties is totally inadequate to relieve existing need.
3. Not only is the total amount of public assistance expended inadequate for need, but the public assistance standards of living are also inadequate.
4. The qualifications necessary for the receipt of welfare work to restrict the number of recipients rather than to reach those in need.

Let us examine these conclusions one by one.

THE NEED IS EXTREME

Need in the 100 poorest counties of the United States is extreme. -- The median family incomes per year among the 100[3] counties ranged from a low of $1,260 in Tunica County, Mississippi ($1,740 below the generally accepted poverty level of $3,000[4] and $4,400 below the U. S. median family income), to a high of $1,956 in Atkinson County, Georgia ($1,044 below poverty level and $3,704 below the U. S. median family income). The percentage of unemployment of the civilian labor force in these counties ranged from 1.8 per cent in Robertson, Kentucky, to 21.3 per cent in Magoffin, Kentucky, with an overall median percentage of 4.9 per cent. Median unemployment for the entire nation was 5.1 per cent.[5]

(The U. S. Department of Commerce defines persons as employed if they are "either (a) 'at work' -- those who did any work for pay or profit, or worked without pay for 15 hours or more on a family farm or in a family business; or (b) were 'with a job but not at work' -- those who did not

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[3] While this report actually deals with only 97 of the 100 poorest counties, none of those omitted from comparison fall at the extreme rankings of either the poorest or the least poor. Because of the position of these counties, generalizations made concerning the 100 poorest were not felt to be prejudiced.

[4] This $3,000 level of income seems still to be the basic and generally accepted definition of poverty though it is being constantly limited and expanded, and qualified and broadened.

[5] Hereafter, all statistics concerning median family income will be noted merely as family income. Statistics identified as medians will generally refer to overall medians.

work and were not looking for work but had a job or business from which they were temporarily absent because of bad weather, industrial dispute, vacation, illness, or other personal reasons" [emphasis added].[6] By this definition, all sharecroppers, tenant farmers, many kinds of piece laborers, and unskilled workers in various services as well as industrial or other workers who have been on strike for several months or years, regardless of the amount of income earned or the constancy of the work done, may be counted as employed. While unemployment statistics are given in this report, it can be seen by the comparison of the median unemployment percentages of the 100 poorest counties and the United States that underemployment and not unemployment is the real problem.)

LOUISIANA AND VIRGINIA

Louisiana had one parish (county) among the 100 poorest; Tensas Parish ranked 32nd from the poorest in the nation in family income, $1,683. Seventy and nine-tenths per cent (1,836) of its families had an income of less than $3,000 per year, and unemployment stood at 4.9 per cent of the civilian labor force. Thirty-nine and one-tenths per cent (4,612 persons) of Tensas' population lived on farms.[7] Virginia also had one county in the poorest 100,

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6 U. S. Census of the Population: 1960 Final Report, PC (1)-1C, p. xxviii.

7 The U. S. Department of Commerce defines rural farm residents as "rural residents living on farms" -- "places of 10 or more acres from which sales of farm products amounted to $50 or more in 1959 or on places of less than 10 acres from which sales of farm products amounted to $250 or more in 1959." (U. S. Census of the Population: 1960 Final Report, PC (1)-1C, p. vii.)

Lee. Here the family income was $1,856 and unemployment was 10.0 per cent (634 persons). Sixty-nine and one-tenths per cent of Lee's families had an income of less than $3,000; 35.0 per cent lived on rural farms.

NORTH CAROLINA

North Carolina had three of the 100 poorest counties: Greene, Clay, and Tyrell, ranking 9, 90, and 92, respectively, with respective incomes of $1,451, $1,921, and $1,927. Unemployment rates were 5.0 per cent (237 persons), 9.8 per cent (154 persons), and 7.1 per cent (103 persons), respectively. The percentage of rural farm population varied from 31.9 per cent in Tyrell County to 61.9 per cent in Greene. Clay had 41.2 per cent. The families with incomes below $3,000 per year varied greatly in absolute numbers while staying fairly constant relatively, Greene having 2,444 families or 70.3 per cent, Clay having 971 families or 70.9 per cent, and Tyrell having 752 families, or 71.8 per cent.

SOUTH CAROLINA

South Carolina had four counties among the poorest: Williamsburg, ranking 24; Lee ranking 31; Calhoun ranking 49; and Clarendon, 98. Respective family incomes were $1,631; $1,680; $1,766, and $1,945. Unemployment ranged from 2.3 per cent (145 persons) to 7.5 per cent (701 persons).

The percentage of rural farm families ranged from 42.1 per cent (5,160) to 52.8 per cent (11,527). In these counties, the percentage of the families with an annual income of less than $3,000 had a median of 68.3 per cent; the range was 1.9 per cent.

TEXAS

Texas had six of the 100 poorest counties. These counties with these respective rankings were: Starr, 34; San Jacinto, 44; Zappata, 48; Kenedy, 63; Houston, 80; and Leon, 99. Family income ranged from $1,700 in Starr to $1,946 in Leon with a median of $1,803. The percentages of families with incomes below $3,000 had a low range of 5.9 per cent with a median of 67.6 per cent. The percentage of rural farm residents ranged from 5.0 per cent to 53.2 per cent with a median of 22.2 per cent. The greatest number of rural farm residents (3,836) were found in Houston County, where they comprised 19.8 per cent of the population.

ALABAMA

Eight Alabama Counties ranked in the nation's 100 poorest. They were: Lowndes, Greene, Wilcox, Bullock, Sumter, Perry, Hale, and Crenshaw, ranking 5, 6, 18, 19, 20, 29, 35, and 87, respectively, in descending order of poverty. The median family income of these families was $1,561. The median unemployment percentage was 4.6; the rural farm population, 36.3 per cent. Of these counties' families, a

median of 71.0 per cent had an annual income of less than $3,000.

ARKANSAS

Eight counties in Arkansas were among the poorest: Newton, Lee, Stone, Fulton, Sharp, Woodruff, Lincoln, and Madison, ranking 28, 39, 45, 76, 81, 82, 85, and 93, respectively. The family incomes in these counties ranged from $1,666 in Newton County to $1,928 in Madison. The median family income was $1,894. Per cent unemployment ranged from 2.1 per cent to 6.1 per cent with a median of 4.2 per cent. Rural farm families composed 31.9 per cent of the families in Lincoln County to 55.9 per cent in Lee, with a median at 43.7 per cent. The per cent of families below a $3,000 income had a rather narrow range of 13.5 and a median of 69.6 per cent. The total number of families below this $3,000 standard was 13,953.

GEORGIA

The state of Georgia had nine of the 100 poorest counties. These, with their respective rankings, were: Webster, 23; Baker, 27; Early, 36; Taliaferro, 56; Burke, 67; Union, 75; Calhoun, 86; Dooly, 97; and Atkinson, 100. These counties had a better-than-average median family income of $1,855 per annum but a still high unemployment median of 4.8 per cent. The median rural farm population was 34.5 per cent and the percentage of families making less than $3,000

per annum was 68.5 per cent.

TENNESSEE

Eleven of the poorest 100 counties of the United States were in Tennessee. These counties with their respective rankings were: Fayette, 3; Hancock, 8; Jackson, 33; Clay, 37; Haywood, 52; Johnson, 54; Lauderdale, 64; Claiborne, 73; Hardeman, 84; Lake, 88; and Fentress, 96. The median family incomes ranged from $1,363 in Fayette County to $1,942 in Fentress with a median of $1,784. The median percentage of unemployment was 3.8. Unemployment percentages ranged from 2.5 to 8.4. The percentage of families living in rural farm locations had a wide range of 52.2 per cent with a median of 54.8 per cent. In these poorer counties, the percentage of families with incomes of less than $3,000 had a range of only 12.1 per cent and a median of 69.2 per cent.

KENTUCKY

Kentucky had 22 counties included in the 100 poorest. Family incomes ranged from $1,324 in Owsley County to $1,939 in Adair County. The overall median was $1,818. Unemployment ranged from 1.8 per cent in Robertson County to 21.3 per cent in Magoffin County with a median of 6.5 per cent. Kentucky contained both unemployment percentage extremes for the poorest counties. The percentage of families living on rural farms ranged from 8.9 per cent in McCreary to 70.8 per cent in Metcalf with a median of 52.1 per cent. The range of percentage of families with an income of less than

$3,000 was narrow, 17.7 per cent, with a median of 72.1 per cent.

MISSISSIPPI

The state of Mississippi had the largest number of poorest counties -- 24. The median income of these counties was $1,760. One was under $1,300 per year, five were under $1,500, and 17 under $1,800. Unemployment ranged from 2.7 per cent in Kemper County to 8.5 per cent in Bolivar. The median unemployment percentage was 4.9. The percentage of persons living and working on farms, rural farm residents, had a surprising range for an agricultural area of from 20.8 per cent in Claiborne County to 64.8 per cent in Benton. The percentage of families with an income of less than $3,000 had a small range of 13.5 per cent with a very high median of 69.9 per cent. The highest percentage was 77.8 per cent (2,700 families) found in Tunica, Mississippi.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IS INADEQUATE

Public assistance in the 100 poorest counties is totally inadequate to relieve existing need. --Whether or not assistance is adequate for the existent need depends largely upon the definitions of the terms "adequate" and "need." In the context of this report, each of these terms has two possible meanings. "Need" may refer to a family's having an annual income of less than $3,000, or it may refer to a family's having less than a particular state's definition of need. (That which is adequate may be that which fulfills the need or that which fulfills a majority of the need.) When the poorest counties are spoken of, the choice of definitions is of little importance. These 100 counties have a median of 70.4 per cent of their families with income of less than $3,000. Of the standards which each state sets for its welfare programs, levels of income below which the individual or family is considered needy, only North Carolina was able to pay 100 per cent in all of its programs.

A LOOK AT THE STATES' EFFORTS

Louisiana made the fourth greatest effort in the nation in public assistance according to 1965 HEW figures. (See Figure 1.) Even with this effort, however, in January, 1965, the state was able to provide only $82 of the $123 standard it set for the aged woman on Old Age Assistance, 66.7 per

cent of the standard. For a typical family on Aid to Families with Dependent Children, a woman, a boy aged 14, a girl aged 9, and a girl aged 4, who were living in rented quarters, the state could pay only $108.00 of a $164.75 standard which it set, 65.6 per cent of the standard.[8]

For the fiscal year of 1965, Virginia made the smallest effort of any state of the nation for public assistance. (See Figure 1.) Although figures for the actual number of welfare recipients are not available, the Virginia welfare program is able to provide 100 per cent of what it defines as a minimum standard of living in its Old Age Assistance, Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled, and General Relief programs. It provided 90 per cent or 100 per cent, depending upon the funds of the local agencies, of what it considered a minimum standard for its Aid to Families with Dependent Children program. For the two-member assistance group, two related persons who are both eligible for assistance, basic needs are set at $74 for APTD and OAA. For a four-member assistance group under AFDC, a mother and three children ages 15, 11, and 5, basic needs are $108 at 90 per cent of need and $120 at 100 per cent of need. A

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[8] Although the states of HEW Region IV, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee, have now discontinued the practice of allowing differential amounts of aid for AFDC recipients depending upon whether the children are under 2 years of age, between 2 and 7, between 8 and 13, or between 13 and 18, Louisiana continues the practice. Whether or not this practice is continued in Texas, Arkansas, Kentucky, Virginia, and North Carolina was not determined.

maximum of $75 is allowed for shelter and utilities. Basic needs for two blind adults are set at $93, with the additional $75 for shelter and utilities. These are standards, amounts allowed those qualifying as completely needy. Virginia's actual state average for Old Age Assistance recipients last year was $73.39. For Aid to Families with Dependent Children recipients, it was $111.94 per family. For General Relief recipients, it was $53.95.

Adequate assistance is not available in the three poorest counties of North Carolina. The state is able to pay the full standard of living it sets in the various programs, but these standards are very low. A family of four receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children is entitled to $84 for basic needs, and a maximum of $60 for shelter and utilities. A single aged or disabled adult is allowed $34 for basic needs; an aged or disabled couple is allowed $57; a blind couple is allowed $81. The amount allowed for shelter and utilities in each of these cases is $60. The median amount spent per case per month in the North Carolina Old Age Assistance program for these three counties was $47.19. In the AFDC program, it was $84.07.[9]

South Carolina sets a standard for an elderly adult living alone under the Old Age Assistance program at $77.55 per month. Of this standard, funds permit the payment of a

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9 In North Carolina the Aid to the Blind program is headed by an agency separate from Public Welfare. The state average payment per recipient per month last year was $27.97 in the AB program.

maximum of $75 per recipient. For an elderly couple, the standard is $102.80. A maximum exists of $150. Here the $77.55 and the $102.80 are for basic needs. The additional money of the maximum is allowed for nursing care, custodial care, and housekeeping services when these are required. For blind adults and couples, assistance is available at about the same rate as it is for the aged. For the mother and three children in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program, South Carolina sets a standard of $155.80. Of this it is able to pay $77. The maximum amount payable for any case, regardless of the number of children or the need of the family, is $99.00.

According to January, 1965, HEW figures on Texas welfare, Texas set a standard of living - that level of income below which the individual was felt to be in need - of $82 for an average Old Age Assistance case, an elderly woman keeping house alone in rented quarters. The state was able to provide 100 per cent of this amount. Of a standard of living of $153.95 for the average case on Aid to Families with Dependent Children, a woman and three children, ages 14, 9, and 4, respectively, the state was able to provide $98, in effect, 63.7 per cent. The median amount per case per month of the actual expenditures in the OAA program for the past year in the poorest counties was $59.77. For the AFDC program, it was $87.85.

The latest HEW figures from Region IV indicate that the

Alabama standard of living for a single adult living alone under the Old Age Assistance program is $124.85. Of this standard, Alabama pays a maximum of $82. For an elderly couple, the state sets the standard of $199.30. Of this standard, it is able to pay a maximum of $164. For a typical case on Aid to Families with Dependent Children, consisting of a mother and three children, the state sets a standard of $177.00. For this family, the state can pay a maximum of $81. The maximum for a family of any size and need is $127. In percentages, Alabama is able to provide 66 per cent of what is declared minimal for the aged individual. For the aged couple, it is able to provide 82 per cent, and for the dependent family, less than 46 per cent of the need.[10] In actual expenditures, the median expenditure per case per month for the OAA program of Alabama in the poorer counties was $65.93. For the AFDC program, the median expenditure was $51.84.

According to the Arkansas Department of Public Welfare Manual, updated December 15, 1966, each eligible person for Aid to the Aged, Blind, and Disabled, AABD, can get a maximum of $81 per person for food, clothing, personal supplies, and medical supplies. Each eligible case for Aid to Families with Dependent Children can receive a maximum of $45 per adult

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10 While figures for Aid to the Blind and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled were not available, payments for the programs generally run the same as Old Age Assistance payments or a few dollars, $3 to $8, higher each month.

per case and $25 per child per case. The maximum payment for Aid to the Aged, Blind, and Disabled and Aid to Families with Dependent Children recipients' basic and other needs is $174.

HEW figures indicate that as of January, 1965, Arkansas was able to pay 88 per cent of the Old Age Assistance standard which it set and only 57.3 per cent of the standard which it set for Aid to Families with Dependent Children. A median expenditure for OAA per case per month of $66.93 was made in the poorer counties of Arkansas during the past year.

For the state of Georgia, the standard for the single elderly adult living alone is $87.25. Of this amount, the state is able to pay $80, 92 per cent of the standard. For an elderly couple, living alone, the state standard is $141.30. Of this amount the state has a maximum of $100, 71.0 per cent of the standard. Aid to the Blind and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled standards and payable amounts, which were unavailable, run about the same as Old Age Assistance. The Georgia Aid to Families with Dependent Children standard for a woman with three children is $197.60. Of this amount, the state is able to pay a maximum of $125.00, 63 per cent of the standard. The state is able to pay an overall AFDC maximum of $154.00. This amount is for any number of children. Georgia's actual payments in the OAA program per case per month for the past year had an average of $60.69.

The Aid to Families with Dependent Children program averaged $89.66.

For the single aged adult living alone under Tennessee's Old Age Assistance program, a standard of $92 is set. Tennessee is able to pay 98 per cent of its standard, $90, which is the highest absolute amount actually paid in Region IV. For the OAA case of an elderly couple living alone with both eligible, a standard is set by the state of $129. The state maximum payment for this case is $180. For a family of four, the standard is set at $198. Of this, the state of Tennessee is able to pay $120. A maximum, regardless of family size and need, is set at $150. In both the specific cases given and in the overall maximum, Tennessee provides more welfare than does Alabama, Mississippi, or South Carolina. In the past year, the median average amount actually paid in the poor counties per case per month to OAA recipients was $61.01. For Aid to Families with Dependent Children recipients, the median average was $98.40.

According to the latest HEW data, Kentucky sets a standard of $79 for an elderly woman living alone in rented rural quarters and $94 for the same recipient when living in urban quarters under Aid to the Aged, Blind and Disabled. For a woman living alone with three children ages 15, 11, and 5, respectively, in rented rural quarters, Aid to Families with Dependent Children sets a standard of $173. The same case in urban quarters has a standard of $189. Of these standards,

the AFDC program is able to provide $150 and $162, respectively.

For the single adult living alone, Mississippi sets the standard of living at $101.32. Of this standard, the state is able to provide $50. This is approximately 49 per cent. The situation for the elderly couple is a little better. Mississippi sets the standard at $151.35. Of this, it is able to provide a maximum of $100 or 66 per cent of the standard. For the mother and three children in the Mississippi Aid to Families with Dependent Children program, the state sets the standard of living at $194.09, and of this standard, it is able to pay a maximum of $50 -- 26 per cent of the standard. The state maximum for any family on AFDC is $90.

THE TWIN FAILURE: LITTLE HELP, LOW STANDARDS

Not only is the total amount of public assistance expended inadequate for need, but the public assistance standards of living are also inadequate. -- The standards for an aged adult living alone in rented urban quarters range from South Carolina's $77.55 to Alabama's $124.85. Texas sets a standard of $82.00; Arkansas, $83.00; Georgia, $87.25; Tennessee, $92.00; North Carolina, $94.00; Kentucky, $94.00; Mississippi, $101.32; Virginia, $115.00; and Louisiana, $123.00. This amounts to a range of annual income for the single aged adult of from $930 to $1,476.

According to the latest available figures, for the elderly couple living alone in rented quarters with both eligible, the range is from that of South Carolina, $102, to that of Alabama, $199.30. North Carolina sets a standard of $117; Tennessee, $129; Kentucky, $134; Texas, $138; Georgia, $141; Arkansas, $144; Virginia, $149; Mississippi, $151.35; and Louisiana, $191. These standards amount to a range of annual income of from $1,224 to $2,391.60.

Data on the specific states' standards for Aid to the Blind and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled recipients was unavailable. These standards are usually, however, only $5 to $10 higher than the standards of the Old Age Assistance recipients.

For the Aid to Families with Dependent Children case of a woman with three children, one between the ages of 2 and 6, one between the ages of 7 and 12, and one between the ages of

13 and 18, standards of living range from that of Arkansas at $124 to that of Tennessee at $198. North Carolina sets a standard of $144; Texas, $153.95; South Carolina, $155.80; Louisiana, $164.75; Alabama, $177; Kentucky, $189; Mississippi, $194.09; Virginia, $195; and Georgia, $197.60. These standards amount to a range of annual income from $1,488 to $2,376.

State welfare standards of living are the states' judgments as to what constitutes poverty. These are standards up to which each state attempts to bring all of its residents. Insofar as the standards are levels to which all persons will hopefully rise, they are ideals. Of great significance is that no state seen here has established $3,000 as the level of poverty - the level set by the federal government - and many have established it <u>much</u> lower.

EIGHT WAYS TO EXCLUDE THE NEEDY AND KEEP WELFARE ROLLS LEAN

The qualifications necessary for the receipt of welfare work to restrict the number of recipients rather than to reach those in need. --An examination of various qualifications necessary for the receipt of welfare by category by states shows this structured self-restriction:

a. Age limitations - While generally set up to prevent the overlapping of welfare programs, the age limitations placed upon recipients in some of the states deny aid to the needy. All of the states investigated require a minimum age of 65 years to qualify for Old Age Assistance. Recipients of Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled in most states must be over 18 and under 65. Kentucky, which places all of its adult programs in one category, Aid to the Aged, Blind and Disabled, has no upper limit. It must be assumed that at the age of 65, Kentucky recipients are reclassified with no change to their benefits. The state of Tennessee changes the upper limit from 65 to 66, i.e., recipients are eligible through their 65th year. Six of the states investigated (Kentucky, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia) make no provision for the age of Aid to the Blind recipients. Three states, Alabama, Arkansas, and Georgia, limit recipients to those who are 16 or over. Mississippi makes no provisions for age but requires that recipients under the age of 18 be attending either a school for the blind or a public school if the child is capable of attendance. Texas limits its Aid to the Blind recipients to 21 years of age or older. The 16

and 18 year age limitation seems at first to be of little importance since these might be thought to qualify for Aid to Families with Dependent Children. The blind do not, however, qualify for AFDC. Children under the ages of 16 and 18 must be cared for entirely by their parents and/or family. The states apparently feel that a blind child is no more trouble to care for than is a perfectly normal one. Children are assumed only to become problems when they turn 17 or 19. Texas' limitation of Aid to the Blind recipients to 21 years of age or over is one of the most stringent of all of the welfare qualifications.

Six states, Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee, limit Aid to Families with Dependent Children recipients to under the age of 18. Three states, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Virginia, limit recipients to under 16 years or if in school under 18 years. Georgia and Texas limit their recipients to those under 16 years of age. It would seem from the example of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Virginia that the 18 year requirement is set to correspond with graduation from high school. After this time presumably the child is prepared for independence from parental supervision. If this age limit is made to correspond with the completion of high school, Georgia and Texas effectively discourage individuals from completing high school.

b. Citizenship limitations - Of the 11 states' 44 programs investigated, five programs require a welfare recipient to be a citizen of the United States. South Carolina requires its Old Age Assistance recipients to be citizens. Texas requires citizenship of its Old Age Assistance, Aid to the Blind, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and Aid

to the Permanently and Totally Disabled recipients. The southern areas of Texas use vast numbers of seasonal agricultural laborers. Many of these laborers are Mexican-Americans. Without the welfare citizenship requirement, Texas apparently assumes that needy laborers, the majority of them, would flood the assistance rolls. Texas overlooks the fact that only a small number of these workers would have to receive assistance if adequately paid for their labor.

c. Residency limitations - Residency requirements effect, in all likelihood, the most severe restriction of the needy from aid. Only five of the 44 programs have no residency requirements. South Carolina makes no provision for residency for Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled recipients. Kentucky requires merely that welfare recipients in the Aid to the Aged, Blind and Disabled and Aid to Families with Dependent Children programs be living in the state at the time of application. Six states, Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee, require that the recipient have spent continuously one year immediately preceding application in the state. This is commonly known as the one-year durational residency requirement. Georgia requires durational residency of one year. This year may, however, have been spent up to one year before the application was made. Old Age Assistance recipients in Arkansas must meet the one year durational residency requirement as well as the requirement of having lived for

three of the last five or five of the last nine years preceding application in the state. Texas and Louisiana allow the recipient no choice. For Old Age Assistance, the recipient must have lived the duration of the year immediately preceding application in the state as well as a total of five of the last nine years immediately preceding the application.

Residency requirements for the Aid to the Blind programs are a little less stringent. Kentucky and Mississippi merely require the recipient to be in the state at the time of application. Alabama, North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee have the one-year durational requirement. South Carolina requires the one-year durational residency or the recipient must have been made blind while in the state and must have been in the state when the bill concerning residency was passed. Arkansas' requirement concerning AB residency is similar to its Old Age Assistance requirement, i.e., the recipient must have spent in the state either three of the last five years, or five of the last nine years, as well as continuously the year immediately preceding application. The AB recipient may also meet the requirement if he lost his sight while in the state. Louisiana also has the stipulation that an individual who lost his eyesight while in the state may be considered as meeting the residency requirement. Otherwise, the Louisiana recipient has to have spent five of the last nine years in the state as well as having continuously spent the year immediately preceding application in the state.

Texas makes no stipulation about having lost eyesight in the state. In order to receive Aid to the Blind in Texas, the recipient must have lived for five of the last nine years in the state as well as continuously the year preceding application. None of the residency requirements reveal more clearly attempts to exclude the needy than in the residency requirements for AB.

Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana almost say that they will take care of their own or those who happen to become blind in the state, but that any other needy blind are not welcome and will not receive aid. South Carolina's Aid to the Blind residency requirement borders on the absurd. The AB recipient must have met the one-year durational requirement or he must have lost his sight while in the state <u>and</u> have been in the state at the time the bill was passed. Apparently South Carolina feels that individuals would go to the extreme of putting out their eyes in order to receive AB, which in South Carolina is approximately $75 per month.

Residency requirements for the Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled program do little to weaken the feeling that the needy are unwelcome. While South Carolina has no residency provision for the disabled, Kentucky requires that the applicant only be in the state at the time of application. Five states, Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia, have the one-year durational requirement immediately preceding application. Georgia has the one-year

durational residency not necessarily immediately preceding application. Arkansas has its three of the last five or five of the last nine years requirement as well as the one-year durational requirement.

Most states' Aid to Families with Dependent Children programs require that either the child or the parent of the dependent child meet the one-year durational residency. Many allow this requirement to be fulfilled by a near relative with whom the child is living if the parent is not living with the child. Alabama and Louisiana allow payments to mothers of unborn children if the mother meets the one-year durational residency requirement. Two other states, Georgia and Kentucky, make no durational residency requirement upon AFDC applicants. AFDC residency requirements are fairly uniform.

d. Definitional limitations - Limitation of the number of qualified applicants for welfare is extremely varied, ranging from tight to extremely stringent. Limitation by definition does not occur in Old Age Assistance, since all persons 65 and over are eligible. More than minimal limitation does not occur in Aid to the Blind. Most states define blindness as having visual acuity of no better than 20/200 in the better eye with correcting glasses. A field defect in which the widest diameter of visual field subtends at an angular distance no greater than 20 degrees may also meet the definition of blindness in a few states.

The limitation of recipients of Aid to the Permanently

and Totally Disabled by definitions is in several states extreme. Mississippi's limitation is not so much in definition as in the proof of the disability. HEW Public Assistance Report #50 says that Mississippi defines a disability as, "Physical or mental impairment, or a combination of impairments, which is expected to continue and which subsequently prevents [the recipient] from engaging in useful work that is within his competency and that exists in community in which he lives. Permanent and total disability must both exist and must be determined by substantiated medical findings together with complete and specific social information on the patient." (Emphasis added).[11] Mississippi is the only state investigated which requires "complete and specific social information" on a patient with a physical disability. Texas does not require the social information but sets the definition of the actual disability so tightly that only those who should have the type of care found only in a nursing home can qualify. Report #50 shows Texas' definition of a permanent and total disability as being a "physical or mental impairment, disease, or loss which is irreversible or progressive and not amenable to ordinary treatment; renders the person completely invalid so that he is helpless or is bedfast, chairfast, or requires considerable

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[11] "Characteristics of State Public Assistance Plans Under the Social Security Act," Public Assistance Report No. 50, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C., 1964 edition, p. 58.

help in locomotion from others; and impairment renders him unfeasible for vocational rehabilitation."[12] Limitation by definition in Aid to Families with Dependent Children is also varied. One of the areas of limitation is in determining when a child is deprived of parental support. Most states merely require continued absence from the home. Apparently this is not for any specified number of days. In Louisiana, however, the parent must be away for at least 90 days before the child can be considered as non-supported. In Mississippi, "absence due to desertion or non-support must have existed for six months unless under specified conditions affecting the absent parent."[13] In these states, the family must manage to survive for three or six months before the departments will consider their need.

Individual states' definitions of non-support are varied. Many states say that not only must the father have deserted the family, but that there must be no individual who can act as a substitute for the father, particularly in regard to support. This stipulation, known as the "man-in-the-house ruling," is often extended locally to cover almost any male acquaintance of the mother. Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia all require that the child be living in a suitable home. That which is

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12 Ibid., p. 98.

13 Ibid., p. 58.

suitable is that which meets state standards of care and health. This requirement seems, unfortunately, to also be characteristic of the South's concept of public welfare. It sets up a state standard of what constitutes suitable health and care and ignores the fact that it is precisely those who are most extremely deprived whose home will be the most likely not to measure up to the standard. Theoretically, then, such regulations could produce a situation in which a child or family with some financial ability is eligible for aid, but make ineligible for aid a family who is totally destitute.

e. Need limitations - No state allows the highest possible amount exempt from personal income as allowed in the Social Security Act by Amendments of 1965. Many allow little more than that which is mandatory. The Social Security Act allows states to disregard as much as $5 of any income and of the first $80 additional earned income no more than $20, plus one-half of the remainder, in determining need for Old Age Assistance recipients. Of the states investigated, Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas disregard no income for OAA recipients. Virginia disregards a flat $10 per month of earned income. Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, and Louisiana disregard, of the first $50 of earned income, the first $10 plus one-half of the remainder. (Public Assistance Report #50 is dated 1964. Since this time, state allowances may have been changed.) Of the

total amount which the states may disregard for Aid to the Blind recipients in all of the states investigated, only that amount which was mandatory is disregarded, i.e., the first $85 of earned income plus one-half of the earned income in excess of the first $85. Income which may be disregarded is that which the individual may need for a plan for achieving self support approved by the state agency. In the Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled programs, states may disregard no more than $20 of the first $80 of earned income and up to one-half of the remainder of the first $80 earned income. States may also disregard income during the time in which the individual is undergoing vocational rehabilitation. Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia allow no disregard of income. Texas states that, "consideration must be given to income from legally responsible relatives who are financially able to support."[14] No state actually disregards any income of the APTD recipients. The Social Security Act also allows the state to disregard up to $50 of earned income for each child under 18 years of age in Aid to Families with Dependent Children up to $150 per household and no more than $5 of any other income. Only North Carolina and South Carolina allow any income to be disregarded in AFDC.

f. Property and income limitations - Property and

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[14] Ibid., p. 98.

income limitations on recipients vary greatly throughout the states investigated. The items limited and the strictness of limitations vary. Generally, however, recipients of all programs in all states are limited severely as to the amount of property they are allowed to have in order to qualify for assistance. Louisiana limits Old Age Assistance and Aid to the Blind recipients to a total value of property of $1,500 for an individual and $2,500 for a couple. Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled and Aid to Families with Dependent Children recipients' property value, excluding that used as a home, is limited to $400 if the recipient has no dependents, $600 if he has one dependent, and $800 if he has two or more dependents. Virginia's limitations in this area are restrictive. HEW Report #50 states the following as being Virginia's regulations concerning this limitation. "There are no statutory limits on the value of real property owned and occupied as home. Other real property, if non-productive, must be liquidated if possible. Sale value of income-producing personal property, if non-productive, is considered a resource. Cash assets may not exceed $300 for each assistance unit, including cash surrender value on insurance with face value in excess of $1,000. Recipients may own household equipment and furniture, but the ownership of non-essential automobile disqualifies. The recipient cannot have signed or transferred property within five years immediately preceding application in order to qualify."[15]

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[15] Ibid., p. 106.

(Emphasis added.) This same requirement is held for applicants of Aid to the Blind. The provision concerning transfer or assignment of property prior to application is excluded in APTD and AFDC.

Discouragement from applying is clearly seen in Old Age Assistance, for income-producing but non-productive property includes tools and machinery acquired by the skilled worker or artisan who is unable temporarily to use them. The provision concerning the assignment or transferral of property aimed directly at eliminating those persons with significant financial resources can also easily eliminate persons who have owned property which they were unable to use but which disqualified them for assistance.

North Carolina includes in its limitations "savings, cash value of insurance, bonds, and other cash reserves, or real property not used as a home."[16] All of this is limited to $500. Included are machinery and buildings which the individual or family might own, such as a sewing machine, wheelbarrow, shed, or washing machine. Poverty must be extensive to be even considered for aid in this Old Age Assistance program. In the Aid to the Blind program, the home and income-producing property may be kept. All other real property that is not income-producing, however, must be liquidated within a year or "proved to be unsaleable."[17]

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[16] Ibid., p. 76.

[17] Ibid., p. 76.

The $500 limit for the individual is still applicable though real property other than the home is not included in the figuring of the reserves.

South Carolina's property limitations are also rather strict. Old Age Assistance, Aid to the Blind, and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled recipients may own a home. "Other real property is considered in determining eligibility in each individual case. Personal property is limited to $500 for an individual plus $300 for the spouse. If neither has savings, the other may retain savings up to $800 for use by both as a burial fund, which may not be used for current living expenses. Each dependent group may retain insurance with face value of $1,000 regardless of loan or surrender value. If insurance is more than $1,000 face value, loan or surrender value may not exceed $750. A combination of insurance loan value and cash savings may not exceed the amount allowed for savings. Applicants may not have transferred property in order to qualify." Aid to Families with Dependent Children recipients have the same property limitations except that the applicant is limited to a total savings for dependent group of $800 which may not be used for living expenses.

Texas' Old Age Assistance recipients may own a homestead, defined as both a home and a small amount of land, and have less than $1,500 (for a couple, $2,500) of non-income producing property. No individual may have transferred

property to become eligible for welfare. These requirements also apply to Aid to the Blind recipients. Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled and Aid to Families with Dependent Children recipients are limited to 50 acres in their homestead; the homestead must also provide shelter.

The tone of Alabama welfare is evident in its Old Age Assistance program property limitations. A single recipient or couple is limited to a home value of $2,500 or less, and may retain a reserve of other property, real or personal, worth up to $1,000. The recipient or recipients may not in the past year have disposed of a homestead valued at more than $2,500 in order to become eligible for welfare. If the applicant is found to have disposed of a homestead within this time and is denied welfare because of this, he is ineligible for consideration for welfare for one year from the date of refusal of welfare unless "destitute and a community problem."[18] (Emphasis added.) Similar limitations are placed upon Aid to the Blind recipients although they have home property disregarded and may have other real property valued at up to $5,000 and other reserves up to $1,200. Alabama's Aid to Families with Dependent Children property limitations are the same as the OAA ones.

Arkansas' major limitation placed upon property is that the home property is "limited to a market value of from

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18 Ibid., p. 8.

$4,500 to $6,500 depending upon location."[19] When the price per acre of land and the price of even the most simple houses, particularly in urban areas, are taken into consideration, this requirement is not as lenient as it may seem. Georgia recipients of Old Age Assistance, Aid to the Blind, and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled have the value of home property disregarded. Other real and personal property is limited to $800. An automobile of a value over $1,000 disqualifies the applicant. If the applicant has transferred property within the past two years, he is considered ineligible for the period of time which the property income would have taken care of his need. Aid to Families with Dependent Children recipients have the same limitations except that property transferral limitation is lifted. Tennessee's property limitations are similar to those discussed although recipients are allowed a home property of a value of $5,000, if the property is unencumbered, and $7,000 if the property is encumbered. The owner's equity may not exceed $5,000. Kentucky disregards home property value and limits other income to $500 and a burial fund of not more than $1,000 or a cash surrender of a life insurance policy of not more than $1,000. Mississippi limits property to a home valued at $2,500 if owned by an individual, or $5,000 if owned by a group, less encumbrances. Other real property and personal property is limited to $500 for the

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19 Ibid., p. 14.

individual and $800 for a person with dependents. Essentially, the same limitations exist for AFDC recipients.

g. Other limitations - Other restrictions which are placed on the recipients of welfare are generally few but are among the most onerous of those existing in welfare. Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Texas all have some requirement which forces parents or relatives responsible for a child or children to accept "suitable work" if the work is available. "Work" in the various states differs. No state, however, draws distinct lines between what is and is not suitable. Mississippi states that the parent must accept employment if physically able and work is available, under certain specified conditions. While these conditions usually pertain to the care of children while the parent is at work, the work which the parent must accept is not specified. Here a tremendous amount of ambiguity exists and in the past has been a point of much discriminatory treatment. What white welfare workers regard as "suitable" work for Negroes may well be regarded as unsuitable for whites, for example, chopping cotton twelve hours a day at the accepted pay rate of $3.00 a day. Work which the parent is able to do may be more expensive in terms of energy and time than it can be possibly worth to his family. The expense is often not taken into account.

One curious limitation which is placed on North Carolina Aid to the Blind recipients is that the applicant may not be

soliciting alms at the time of his application for aid. If he is, he is declared ineligible.

Restriction of the number of welfare recipients does not come entirely from welfare regulations. Some states have laws which are less easy to uncover, but often more effective restrictions. Mississippi, for example, now requires the fine or imprisonment of up to 90 days of the parent of a second illegitimate child. Subsequent conviction carries a fine of up to $500 and imprisonment of up to six months. A similar Louisiana law sets the fine at up to $1,000, and imprisonment at up to one year. (Miss. Code Ann., Title II, §2018.6; La. Code Ann. 14:81, §79.2.) The relation here to welfare, of course, is indirect, but nonetheless real. A mother seeking aid for her dependent child must state the father's name. Where the child is illegitimate, she is making herself liable for imprisonment by telling the truth, as required by law.

h. Recoveries, liens, and assignment limitations - The recovery of aid, while existing in only four of the states investigated, in three of these states is so set up as to discourage any needy person from applying for welfare. Tennessee states that "payments made to an abandoned or deserted wife or dependent child shall be recoverable against the husband or parent as a debt due the state."[20] While a provision such as this is defensible on the grounds that a

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[20] Ibid., p. 97.

family is the responsibility of parents, the much more extensive provisions of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia are not. North Carolina makes a provision for the recovery after death of all assistance given through Old Age Assistance. HEW Report #50 states that "receipt of assistance after October 1, 1951, creates a general lien on real property owned by recipient and a claim against him and his estate. May not be satisfied while property is occupied as homesite by recipient, surviving spouse, minor dependent child, or dependent adult child, if such person is incapable of self-support because of total mental or physical disability. Recoveries are mandatory."[21] (Emphasis added.) South Carolina also makes a provision for the recovery of OAA. Recovery is, however, not mandatory. Report #50 states that the "total amount of assistance paid subsequent to July 1, 1956, (is) allowed as unsecured claim against estate on death of recipient. No recovery is made on real property used by dependent relatives nor when gross market value of estate is less than $500."[22] Virginia, while making no provisions for the recovery of aid given through Aid to Families with Dependent Children, makes strong provisions for Old Age Assistance and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled. Report #50 states that "total assistance paid

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21 Ibid., p. 77

22 Ibid., p. 93.

constitutes claim against estate upon death of recipient prior to all other claims except prior liens, funeral expenses not in excess of $200 and hospital bills, doctors' bills, and medical expenses not in excess of $150. Not enforced against real estate occupied by the surviving spouse, if remains unmarried, or dependent child. Provision for requiring deed of trust or for filing notice or receipt of assistance creating lien against real property of recipient but no deed of trust or lien enforced while recipient is eligible for assistance unless the real property is disposed of."[23] Provisions for aid given through Aid to the Blind are the same except that no deed of trust is required.

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[23] Ibid., p. 107.

CONCLUSION

Public assistance is lacking in areas in which it is most desperately needed. It is lacking, in large part,[24] because it is so structured as to be self-restricting, to expend exactly enough to soothe the consciences of those with comfortable standards of living and no more.

This self-restricting nature of public welfare is not due to discriminatory administration which is widespread in many states. Discriminatory administration only redoubles the faults of an already impotent structure. What produced such a structure is a concept of welfare at once sentimental and condescending. The poor must be taken care of, that concept says, but they must never be allowed to forget that they are poor and that they exist entirely on public sufferance. Exponents of welfare reform argue that a comprehensive program must include, in addition to adequate monetary payments, a rethinking of approach to the problems of people who make up our welfare rolls. In any such rethinking the place of the aged, for example, in a modern technical society would have to be examined and evaluated and, in all likelihood, the modern technical society would have to loosen its

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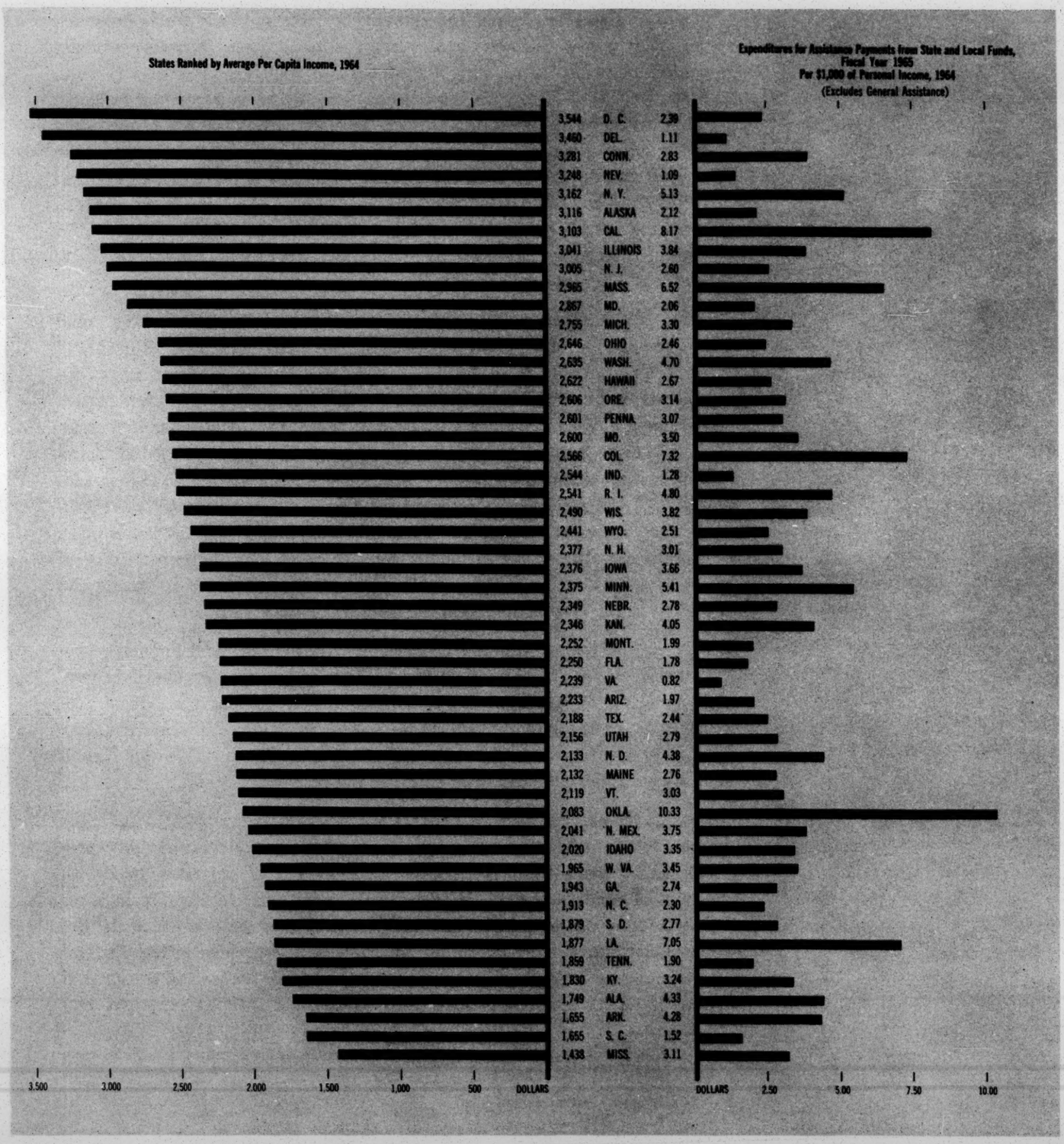
24 While it is true that some states are unable to provide the funds necessary for the public assistance standards which they set, this lack is by no means the cause of inadequate welfare payments, since the majority of the states' welfare aid is of federal origin. (See Table 3.)

joints a little to accommodate humanity. The blind and the disabled would have many more and much more comprehensive training and rehabilitation centers, and society would have to strike its prejudices and admit that the blind and disabled are often less blind and more able than the physically normal person. Desertion and illegitimacy would have to be recognized as facts of life and adequate provisions made for the care of the dependent.

Most important, men would have to realize, emotionally as well as intellectually, that no individual is ever or can be completely responsible for his social situation.

STATE FISCAL ABILITY AND FISCAL EFFORT FOR PUBLIC WELFARE



Source: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; Welfare Administration. Bureau of Family Services.

Figure I

TABLE 1

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 100 POOREST COUNTIES

State and County	Rank	Median Family Income	Population	Rural Farm Per Cent (Absolute No.)	Civilian Labor Force	Unemployed Per Cent (Absolute No.)	Below $3,000 Per Cent (Absolute No.)
Alabama							
Lowndes	5	$1,387	15,417	38.6 (5,951)	4,593	5.1 (234)	72.1 (2,122)
Greene	6	1,404	13,600	38.3 (5,209)	4,239	4.9 (206)	74.0 (2,077)
Wilcox	18	1,550	18,739	37.3 (6,990)	5,412	4.7 (253)	74.1 (2,746)
Bullock	19	1,557	13,462	32.7 (4,402)	4,067	4.4 (179)	69.4 (1,966)
Sumter	20	1,564	20,041	38.1 (7,636)	5,898	3.3 (192)	72.3 (3,044)
Perry	29	1,675	17,358	31.4 (5,450)	5,513	6.8 (375)	69.2 (2,490)
Hale	35	1,703	19,537	35.3 (6,897)	5,823	3.5 (201)	69.9 (2,855)
Crenshaw	87	1,914	14,909	32.3 (4,816)	4,926	4.5 (223)	69.5 (2,564)
Arkansas							
Newton	28	1,666	5,963	43.8 (2,612)	1,475	2.2 (33)	76.7 (1,155)
Lee	39	1,710	21,001	55.9 (11,740)	6,116	4.9 (297)	71.8 (3,216)
Stone	45	1,740	6,294	39.9 (2,511)	1,807	4.9 (89)	78.0 (1,332)
Fulton	76	1,886	6,657	43.5 (2,896)	2,074	4.0 (82)	70.2 (1,282)
Sharp	81	1,902	6,319	45.5 (2,875)	1,922	2.1 (41)	67.7 (1,186)
Woodruff	82	1,902	13,954	38.2 (5,330)	3,900	4.3 (169)	66.6 (2,210)
Lincoln	85	1,911	14,447	31.9 (4,609)	3,529	6.1 (215)	64.5 (1,883)
Madison	93	1,928	9,068	49.2 (4,461)	3,495	3.1 (110)	68.8 (1,689)
Georgia							
Webster	23	1,612	3,247	54.0 (1,753)	955	2.1 (20)	71.2 (494)
Baker	27	1,660	4,543	46.3 (2,103)	1,258	2.6 (33)	74.1 (728)
Early	36	1,703	13,151	34.5 (4,537)	4,454	6.7 (299)	70.4 (2,119)
Taliaferro	56	1,795	3,370	31.5 (1,062)	925	6.9 (64)	68.5 (511)
Burke	67	1,855	20,596	32.3 (6,653)	6,531	4.8 (311)	67.4 (2,908)
Union	75	1,885	6,510	37.6 (2,448)	1,964	3.6 (71)	67.1 (1,093)
Calhoun	86	1,913	7,341	22.8 (1,674)	2,476	5.5 (137)	68.7 (1,107)
Dooly	97	1,942	11,474	53.7 (6,162)	3,779	4.7 (179)	65.1 (1,701)
Atkinson	100	1,956	6,188	25.3 (1,566)	1,679	6.6 (111)	67.5 (908)

TABLE 1 - Continued.

State and County	Rank	Median Family Income	Population	Rural Farm Per Cent (Absolute No.)	Civilian Labor Force	Unemployed Per Cent (Absolute No.)	Below $3,000 Per Cent (Absolute No.)
Kentucky							
Owsley	2	$1,324	5,369	61.5 (3,301)	1,104	4.6 (51)	80.5 (1,000)
Breathitt	7	1,432	15,490	30.9 (4,786)	2,760	10.3 (284)	76.0 (2,473)
Wolfe	11	1,455	6,534	53.4 (3,489)	1,400	3.6 (50)	80.8 (1,153)
Magoffin	15	1,504	11,156	40.7 (4,540)	2,112	21.3 (450)	75.9 (1,870)
Jackson	26	1,651	10,677	50.8 (5,424)	2,366	6.6 (156)	75.7 (1,893)
Russell	38	1,704	11,076	53.4 (5,915)	3,168	5.9 (188)	70.7 (2,031)
Clinton	40	1,714	8,886	50.7 (4,505)	2,649	5.3 (141)	72.6 (1,602)
Knox	41	1,722	25,258	14.9 (3,763)	5,329	9.4 (501)	70.5 (4,054)
Wayne	42	1,729	14,700	42.0 (6,174)	4,030	6.3 (255)	73.4 (2,594)
Menifee	43	1,733	4,276	59.6 (2,548)	1,193	7.6 (91)	76.6 (804)
Casey	58	1,802	14,327	69.2 (9,914)	4,024	4.7 (189)	71.4 (2,455)
Clay	59	1,833	20,748	28.9 (5,996)	4,319	12.1 (521)	73.0 (3,150)
McCreary	61	1,835	12,463	8.9 (1,109)	2,254	12.7 (287)	71.5 (1,907)
Leslie	62	1,838	10,941	12.8 (1,400)	1,800	7.8 (140)	73.0 (1,575)
Lee	65	1,847	7,420	25.8 (1,914)	1,603	7.8 (125)	65.9 (1,163)
Monroe	69	1,856	11,799	56.7 (6,690)	4,162	5.1 (213)	70.4 (2,132)
Knott	74	1,876	17,362	12.4 (2,152)	3,008	11.4 (343)	70.6 (2,544)
Rockcastle	78	1,898	12,334	40.4 (4,982)	3,326	9.1 (304)	67.7 (2,021)
Cumberland	79	1,898	7,835	55.5 (4,348)	2,795	4.9 (138)	69.0 (1,420)
Metcalfe	91	1,922	8,367	70.8 (5,923)	2,945	3.4 (100)	68.3 (1,545)
Robertson	94	1,930	2,443	70.5 (1,722)	741	1.8 (13)	63.1 (420)
Adair	95	1,939	14,699	56.2 (8,261)	4,582	3.1 (141)	65.0 (2,448)
Louisiana							
Tensas	32	1,683	11,796	39.1 (4,612)	3,057	4.9 (149)	70.9 (1,836)
Mississippi							
Tunica	1	1,260	16,826	63.6 (10,701)	5,254	4.9 (258)	77.8 (2,700)
Jefferson	4	1,370	10,142	28.0 (2,840)	2,942	7.9 (233)	74.0 (1,586)
Holmes	10	1,453	27,096	37.2 (10,080)	7,947	6.1 (485)	72.0 (4,229)
Issaquena	13	1,479	3,576	49.4 (1,767)	960	4.2 (40)	77.2 (580)
Carroll	14	1,484	11,177	58.6 (6,550)	3,488	5.8 (201)	75.2 (1,799)

TABLE 1 - Continued.

State and County	Rank	Median Family Income	Population	Rural Farm Per Cent (Absolute No.)	Civilian Labor Force	Unemployed Per Cent (Absolute No.)	Below $3,000 Per Cent (Absolute No.)
Mississippi (cont'd.)							
Kemper	16	$1,515	12,277	59.4 (7,293)	3,672	2.7 (100)	73.6 (1,971)
Quittman	17	1,517	21,019	47.0 (9,879)	5,942	6.1 (362)	72.3 (3,120)
Humphreys	21	1,580	19,093	24.8 (4,735)	5,592	5.9 (331)	71.5 (2,798)
T'hachie	22	1,588	24,081	39.8 (9,584)	7,906	4.6 (367)	74.4 (3,826)
Claiborne	25	1,647	10,845	20.8 (2,256)	3,159	6.1 (192)	70.4 (1,593)
Noxubee	30	1,676	16,826	56.7 (9,540)	5,043	5.1 (255)	70.5 (2,488)
Tate	47	1,752	18,138	58.6 (10,629)	5,644	3.6 (201)	68.0 (2,606)
Bolivar	50	1,768	54,464	46.7 (25,435)	16,509	8.5 (1,402)	68.8 (7,762)
Jeff. Dav.	51	1,772	13,540	49.0 (6,635)	3,773	4.1 (156)	67.1 (2,040)
Marshall	53	1,784	24,503	51.8 (12,693)	6,769	3.5 (234)	67.0 (3,182)
Sunflower	55	1,790	45,750	30.2 (13,817)	13,235	5.0 (660)	68.1 (6,210)
Panola	57	1,799	28,791	54.7 (15,749)	8,957	3.9 (350)	68.0 (4,362)
Choctaw	60	1,833	8,423	37.7 (3,175)	2,617	4.6 (120)	68.9 (1,465)
Benton	66	1,853	7,723	64.8 (5,005)	2,332	4.7 (110)	71.0 (1,229)
Webster	70	1,857	10,580	41.3 (4,370)	3,381	3.5 (117)	66.2 (1,695)
Sharkey	71	1,859	10,738	55.7 (5,981)	3,710	4.9 (183)	69.3 (1,507)
Madison	72	1,862	32,904	36.8 (12,109)	10,638	4.8 (515)	64.3 (4,320)
Leake	77	1,892	18,660	55.7 (10,394)	5,477	4.9 (271)	67.8 (2,941)
Pontotoc	83	1,903	17,232	51.0 (8,788)	5,532	5.6 (311)	66.9 (3,040)
North Carolina							
Greene	9	1,451	16,741	61.9 (10,363)	4,768	5.0 (237)	70.3 (2,444)
Clay	90	1,921	5,526	41.2 (2,277)	1,574	9.8 (154)	70.9 (971)
Tyrrell	92	1,927	4,520	31.9 (1,442)	1,457	7.1 (103)	71.8 (752)
South Carolina							
Williamsb'g	24	1,631	40,932	54.9 (22,472)	12,579	3.7 (471)	68.3 (5,433)
Lee	31	1,680	21,832	52.8 (11,527)	6,346	2.3 (145)	68.6 (2,959)
Calhoun	49	1,766	12,256	42.1 (5,160)	3,752	5.6 (210)	68.2 (1,775)
Clarendon	98	1,945	29,490	52.0 (15,335)	9,374	7.5 (701)	66.7 (3,824)

TABLE 1 - Continued.

State and County	Rank	Median Family Income	Population	Rural Farm Per Cent (Absolute No.)	Civilian Labor Force	Unemployed Per Cent (Absolute No.)	Below $3,000 Per Cent (Absolute No.)
Tennessee							
Fayette	3	$1,363	24,577	66.8 (16,417)	6,570	3.3 (215)	75.3 (3,744)
Hancock	8	1,442	7,757	77.3 (5,996)	2,055	2.8 (58)	78.0 (1,448)
Jackson	33	1,684	9,233	62.7 (5,789)	3,129	3.7 (116)	75.4 (1,816)
Clay	37	1,704	7,289	56.7 (4,133)	2,416	2.5 (60)	72.4 (1,317)
Haywood	52	1,773	23,393	65.4 (15,299)	7,236	2.8 (200)	68.6 (3,487)
Johnson	54	1,784	10,765	54.8 (5,899)	2,919	6.8 (198)	70.3 (1,886)
Lauderdale	64	1,847	21,844	46.9 (10,245)	6,928	5.9 (407)	68.1 (3,521)
Claiborne	73	1,865	19,067	52.2 (9,953)	5,599	4.9 (275)	69.2 (3,215)
Hardeman	84	1,906	21,517	38.5 (8,284)	5,870	3.8 (221)	65.9 (2,942)
Lake	88	1,916	9,572	46.2 (4,422)	3,012	6.1 (184)	66.8 (1,528)
Fentress	96	1,942	13,288	25.1 (3,335)	3,629	8.4 (305)	69.1 (2,015)
Texas							
Starr	34	1,700	17,137	14.4 (2,468)	4,786	6.9 (328)	71.4 (2,384)
S. Jacinto	44	1,737	6,153	24.5 (1,507)	1,625	4.6 (74)	68.6 (1,061)
Zapata	48	1,766	4,393	5.0 (220)	1,237	8.0 (99)	65.5 (595)
Kenedy	63	1,839	884	53.2 (470)	304	- (-)	71.2 (136)
Houston	80	1,901	19,376	19.8 (3,836)	5,891	4.8 (283)	65.6 (2,960)
Leon	99	1,946	9,951	32.3 (3,214)	3,085	3.5 (107)	66.6 (1,732)
Virginia							
Lee	68	1,856	25,824	35.0 (9,038)	6,323	10.0 (634)	69.1 (4,238)

TABLE 2

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN THE POOREST COUNTIES BY STATE

State and County	Total Public Assistance	OAA		AB		APTD		AFDC		MAA		GR	
		Total	Avg.	Total	Avg.	Total	Avg.	Total	Avg.	Total	Avg.	Total	Avg.
Alabama[2 and 3]													
Lowndes	741,406.71	599,942.35	66.91	4,946.00	68.33	41,797.00	44.16	93,840.00	56.37	881.36	0	0	0
Greene	765,757.97	690,439.70	65.26	6,116.00	54.88	37,810.00	44.41	28,733.00	49.55	2,584.27	0	75.00	0
Wilcox	881,604.29	747,884.45	63.72	12,531.00	66.44	49,794.00	41.61	67,378.00	54.04	4,016.84	0	0	0
Bullock	773,311.98	671,307.36	65.77	8,509.00	66.64	47,113.25	44.34	44,711.55	50.99	1,670.82	0	0	0
Sumter	1,107,553.21	945,199.15	66.25	17,538.00	71.32	61,866.00	46.85	79,174.50	51.91	3,775.56	40.00	0	0
Perry	1,025,898.31	862,961.34	65.93	12,314.00	64.11	55,890.00	49.46	87,699.00	51.77	7,033.97	0	0	0
Hale	1,027,697.41	865,375.62	65.92	10,962.00	71.91	46,527.00	47.81	99,796.00	53.59	4,456.79	0	580.00	11.50
Crenshaw	1,179,159.21	969,844.48	74.38	11,332.00	70.93	104,695.50	59.39	90,957.59	49.21	2,279.64	0	50.00	0
Arkansas[2 and 4]													
Newton	527,866.00	311,470.00	77.48	14,075.00	69.00	99,369.00	66.78	82,896.00	71.87[1]	4,608.00	64.00[5]	20,054.00	NA
Lee	1,001,045.00	703,141.00	65.69	32,438.00	73.06	120,729.00	75.08	104,622.00	71.87	21,504.00	64.00	40,108.00	NA
Stone	482,985.00	323,336.00	68.56	28,730.00	72.55	59,323.00	70.62	54,046.00	71.87	13,824.00	64.00	17,547.00	NA
Fulton	519,453.00	401,710.00	63.28	9,856.00	91.26	51,551.00	99.91	36,280.00	71.87	32,256.00	64.00	20,054.00	NA
Sharp	452,256.00	354,918.00	65.87	4,252.00	118.11	47,429.00	79.05	28,106.00	71.87	13,056.00	64.00	17,547.00	NA
Woodruff	753,184.00	536,585.00	70.53	16,145.00	79.14	81,912.00	86.41	90,964.00	71.87	15,360.00	64.00	27,574.00	NA
Lincoln	851,495.00	542,659.00	68.00	24,276.00	80.92	95,143.00	72.08	156,824.00	71.87	19,200.00	64.00	32,588.00	NA
Madison	461,378.00	362,525.00	60.66	8,236.00	62.39	47,294.00	80.43	25,773.00	71.87	22,272.00	64.00	17,547.00	NA
Georgia[2 and 6]													
Webster	84,413.66	62,669.36	60.69[1]	1,731.10	62.18[1]	14,893.20	63.29[1]	5,120.00	89.66[1]	NA		0	0
Baker	227,070.29	129,066.10	60.69	5,046.00	62.18	34,895.49	63.29	58,062.70	89.66	NA		0	0
Early	784,715.41	437,775.47	60.69	14,521.53	62.18	138,787.84	63.29	193,258.57	89.66	NA		372.00	31.00
Taliaferro	183,273.17	121,744.61	60.69	1,694.00	62.18	29,296.56	63.29	30,538.00	89.66	NA		0	0
Burke	914,032.63	624,515.23	60.69	20,679.60	62.18	128,793.81	63.29	139,896.98	89.66	NA		147.01	10.50
Union	308,436.27	192,370.50	60.69	5,151.00	62.18	45,359.90	63.29	65,554.87	89.66	NA		0	0
Calhoun	284,412.73	210,878.84	60.69	10,527.34	62.18	41,846.98	63.29	21,159.57	89.66	NA		0	0
Dooly	483,692.01	295,260.22	60.69	10,971.40	62.18	70,877.69	63.29	106,557.70	89.66	NA		25.00	25.00
Atkinson	438,400.64	163,806.08	60.69	5,563.06	62.18	93,596.48	63.29	174,262.37	89.66	NA		1,172.65	20.57

TABLE 2 - Continued.

State and County	Total Public Assistance[8]	OAA Total	OAA Avg.	AB Total	AB Avg.	APTD Total	APTD Avg.	AFDC Total	AFDC Avg.[9]	MAA Total	MAA Avg.	GR Total	GR Avg.
Kentucky[2] and 7													
Owsley	339,208.00	171,650.00	64.14	20,186.00	84.11	39,746.00	78.86	91,156.00	32.05	16,468.00	17.59	NA	
Breath't	1,400,320.00	558,847.00	65.50	80,193.00	75.94	182,628.00	81.39	546,670.00	30.45	31,980.00	20.19	NA	
Wolfe	495,792.00	205,513.00	64.14	14,894.00	65.32	78,037.00	77.42	184,473.00	31.70	12,872.00	15.55	NA	
Magoffin	759,123.00	337,688.00	68.47	53,149.00	76.36	86,386.00	80.89	262,699.00	31.68	19,199.00	17.98	NA	
Jackson	742,087.00	342,581.00	62.61	25,823.00	76.85	91,837.00	72.20	255,957.00	30.00	25,886.00	20.74	NA	
Russell	559,707.00	342,105.00	63.92	13,879.00	82.61	64,487.00	74.64	116.940.00	29.71	22,293.00	22.94	NA	
Clinton	627,154.00	313,110.00	68.66	15,145.00	90.15	82,757.00	84.10	198,024.00	32.74	18,117.00	21.88	NA	
Knox	1,679,356.00	716,602.00	65.62	57,800.00	81.64	214,246.00	79.35	646,168.00	29.52	44,538.00	20.28	NA	
Wayne	787,993.00	447,853.00	65.82	30,587.00	70.80	88,399.00	72.94	201,216.00	30.43	19,936.00	17.49	NA	
Menifee	303,814.00	177,730.00	72.60	6,709.00	79.87	45,489.00	90.26	66,691.00	29.56	7,192.00	19.98	NA	
Casey	625,666.00	343,117.00	66.65	33,925.00	74.40	70,915.00	83.23	164,925.00	29.30	12,781.00	22.19	NA	
Clay	1,615,847.00	553,753.00	66.49	134,176.00	73.56	229,409.00	74.97	661,754.00	28.93	36,753.00	20.69	NA	
McCreary	837,731.00	368,518.00	65.20	23,867.00	73.66	91,809.00	75.75	320,754.00	27.58	32,780.00	18.84	NA	
Leslie	949,665.00	355,722.00	64.16	67,350.00	71.04	87,403.00	80.93	415,560.00	29.60	23,627.00	17.42	NA	
Lee	552,397.00	278,568.00	67.29	24,516.00	72.96	63,316.00	81.17	162,292.00	29.92	23,705.00	18.64	NA	
Monroe	722,544.00	409,813.00	74.73	7,167.00	74.66	90,926.00	92.40	192,702.00	34.68	21,934.00	21.25	NA	
Knott	1,228,858.00	502,254.00	67.18	45,549.00	77.46	147,526.00	75.89	492,051.00	28.75	41,476.00	20.45	NA	
Rockc'le	637,928.00	319,248.00	65.85	12,538.00	69.66	86,082.00	78.83	201,111.00	29.51	18,947.00	17.74	NA	
Cumberl'd	565,399.00	254,820.00	69.85	19,001.00	87.97	72,239.00	79.21	199,182.00	33.20	20,155.00	18.26	NA	
Metcalfe	334,305.00	203,395.00	69.47	8,492.00	88.46	43,664.00	80.86	71,481.00	30.55	7,270.00	14.42	NA	
Robertson	81,110.00	53,073.00	70.20	3,555.00	98.75	7,719.00	71.47	14,162.00	32.78	2,599.00	24.06	NA	
Adair	675,003.00	358,367.00	63.81	16,325.00	80.02	84,386.00	79.91	200,152.00	32.70	15,771.00	25.77	NA	
Louisiana													
Tensas	1,019,081.20	756,764.80	NA	10,339.00	NA	75,842.85	NA	149,577.30	NA	NA		26,557.25	NA
Mississippi[2]													
Tunica	374,404.40	265,249.40	33.70	15,285.00	39.80	54,366.00	32.83	39,504.00	27.90	NA		0	0
Jefferson	498,452.68	291,949.68	36.04	23,599.00	43.70	80,364.00	37.84	102,540.00	32.12	NA		0	0
Holmes	1,235,882.93	721,115.43	35.04	33,868.00	42.12	195,493.00	36.28	272,187.00	29.08	NA		13,219.50	26.81
Issaq'na	121,106.98	74,089.98	33.56	2,824.00	39.22	21,881.00	31.99	22,312.00	22.95	NA		0	0
Carroll	446,506.76	250,954.76	33.51	8,214.00	38.03	93,267.00	36.66	92,271.00	27.36	NA		1,800.00	48.65
Kemper	398,304.74	242,056.74	35.51	7,920.00	41.25	88,810.00	37.19	59,018.00	24.35	NA		500.00	10.00
Quitman	515,925.66	363,613.66	33.67	17,245.00	41.06	85,453.00	35.78	49,614.00	23.76	NA		0	0
Humphreys	522,523.05	307,301.05	34.33	15,243.00	38.49	105,472.00	36.47	94,507.00	24.84	NA		0	0

TABLE 2 - Continued.

State and County	Total Public Assistance	OAA Total	OAA Avg.	AB Total	AB Avg.	APTD Total	APTD Avg.	AFDC Total	AFDC Avg.[9]	MAA	GR Total	GR Avg.
Mississippi - Cont'd.												
Tallah'che	799,166.20	529,159.10	36.69	18,818.00	41.27	134,745.00	35.42	112,149.00	27.65	NA	4,295.00	14.04
Claiborne	409,822.17	230,143.17	37.83	9,300.00	40.79	87,022.00	33.89	83,257.00	28.67	NA	100.00	7.69
Noxubee	655,988.00	380,507.00	36.45	17,106.00	43.20	127,386.00	38.05	130,989.00	26.69	NA	0	0
Tate	394,694.45	282,857.45	31.81	12,747.00	37.94	62,926.00	32.98	35,474.00	22.40	NA	690.00	11.13
Bolivar	1,621,960.35	1,056,194.35	36.70	41,680.00	42.36	222,505.00	33.41	301,581.00	25.64	NA	0	0
Jeff. Davis	410,007.99	223,355.99	34.43	4,145.00	31.40	121,287.00	37.43	61,220.00	28.19	NA	0	0
Marshall	543,439.11	343,561.11	33.56	10,463.00	45.89	95,255.00	34.22	94,065.00	29.92	NA	95.00	47.50
Sunflower	1,164,638.95	762,891.95	35.94	34,791.00	38.15	183,224.00	33.27	181,092.00	23.92	NA	2,640.00	15.71
Panola	586,097.84	428,744.42	34.49	11,037.00	41.81	114,529.00	33.14	31,564.00	21.04	NA	223.42	12.41
Choctaw	388,811.76	264,647.76	36.94	8,600.00	35.83	63,843.00	35.47	51,721.00	27.63	NA	0	0
Benton	198,095.60	135,645.60	33.74	4,937.00	45.71	27,989.00	31.95	29,524.00	22.78	NA	0	0
Webster	425,730.54	301,619.74	39.21	7,842.80	40.85	75,582.00	36.83	40,686.00	25.49	NA	0	0
Sharkey	344,677.48	178,197.48	33.90	6,860.00	38.11	71,829.00	32.36	87,356.00	26.38	NA	435.00	29.00
Madison	1,048,705.05	648,540.05	34.67	19,040.00	41.75	166,905.00	35.21	214,220.00	28.20	NA	0	0
Leake	844,694.78	500,693.57	37.79	16,950.21	44.14	168,797.00	36.07	158,254.00	28.30	NA	0	0
Pontotoc	724,022.73	485,222.41	35.91	14,453.32	43.02	161,848.00	37.36	62,499.00	23.78	NA	0	0
North Carolina												
Greene	155,749.80	75,522.00	55.21	NA		42,152.00	50.91	37,667.00	89.68	NA	408.80	17.03
Clay	209,942.00	105,905.00	47.19	NA	NA	41,277.00	49.14	62,750.00	83.00	NA	10.00	NA
Tyrrell	160,914.00	77,422.00	46.08	NA		37,076.00	55.17	46,411.00	84.07	NA	5.00	NA
South Carolina												
Williamsb'g	NA											
Lee	NA											
Calhoun	NA											
Clarendon	NA											
Tennessee[10]												
Fayette	488,483.10	272,452.03	61.01	14,947.00	47.19	84,444.28	55.00	92,975.26	98.61	23,664.53 8.61	NA	NA
Hancock	372,497.65	134,715.61	65.86	7,442.27	60.86	53,615.40	60.36	155,249.65	101.50	21,474.72 19.88	NA	NA
Jackson	383,932.76	193,886.78	61.62	8,559.00	54.18	67,950.58	59.29	93,859.09	98.40	19,677.31 10.31	NA	NA
Clay	344,332.78	154,335.76	59.34	6,946.00	49.73	54,930.73	57.30	114,232.27	93.75	13,888.02 9.26	NA	NA
Haywood	517,154.02	252,400.70	62.96	14,008.72	56.25	65,967.17	55.10	161,620.08	111.87	23,157.35 9.23	NA	NA
Johnson	355,912.02	125,851.83	58.99	9,174.00	51.93	47,495.87	51.42	143,021.91	94.59	30,368.41 13.25	NA	NA
Lauderdale	541,910.55	337,555.00	61.33	11,042.40	43.05	63,967.85	56.59	87,594.82	96.40	41,750.48 10.45	NA	NA
Claiborne	733,703.19	253,833.03	62.73	9,825.00	57.88	139,548.68	56.13	293,294.69	92.10	37,201.79 15.12	NA	NA
Hardeman	566,676.17	289,234.28	60.25	6,185.46	62.78	75,039.49	55.70	175,316.65	104.08	20,900.29 11.53	NA	NA

TABLE 2 - Continued.

State and County	Total Public Assistance	OAA Total	OAA Avg.	AB Total	AB Avg.	APTD Total	APTD Avg.	AFDC Total	AFDC Avg.	MAA Total	MAA Avg.	GR Total	GR Avg.
Tennessee - Cont'd.													
Lake	313,044.30	118,226.96	59.81	2,512.00	56.25	51,385.01	55.82	129,874.33	92.99	11,046.00	7.42	NA	NA
Fentress	403,192.03	182,390.40	59.96	8,141.72	47.19	46,258.55	49.95	126,357.38	99.50	40,043.98	11.43	NA	NA
Texas[11]													
Starr	757,908.00	517,793.00	58.31	18,814.00	71.27	39,467.00	54.82	181,834.00	89.66			NA	NA
S. Jacinto	543,205.00	429,232.00	55.72	8,392.00	77.70	26,813.00	54.50	78,768.00	85.25			NA	NA
Zappata	184,517.00	160,348.00	59.65	2,537.00	70.47	6,668.00	55.57	14,964.00	103.91			NA	NA
Kenedy	9,515.00	5,030.00	59.88	402.00	33.50	0	0	4,083.00	85.06			NA	NA
Houston	1,208,285.00	1,020,780.00	59.49	21,568.00	66.57	54,412.00	58.89	111,525.00	86.05			NA	NA
Leon	675,963.00	588,165.00	59.63	16,883.00	70.35	33,544.00	58.24	37,371.00	94.37			NA	NA
Virginia[2 and 12]			[1]				[1]		[1]		[1]		[1]
Lee	570,200.00	147,751.00	73.39	9,120.00	NA	110,627.00	77.60	240,150.00	111.94	56,713.00	92.88	5,839.00	53.95

EXPLANATORY NOTES FOR TABLE 2

The abbreviations OAA, AB, APTD, AFDC, MAA, and GR stand for Old Age Assistance, Aid to the Blind, Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Medical Assistance to the Aged, and General Relief.

Unavailability of program or data indicated by N/A (not available).

1. State averages given. County averages unavailable.

2. Vendor payments included.

3. Averages approximated from the averages of September, 1966. Totals are those of the year October 1, 1965, to September 30, 1966. Applies to Alabama only.

4. Averages approximated from the number of June, 1966, recipients and the total welfare expenditures of 1966. Applies to Arkansas only.

5. Both total county expenditures and the state average expenditures for the MAA in the Arkansas program were approximated from the state's total June, 1966, MAA recipients, the state's total expenditures for MAA for 1966, and the number of MAA recipients per county in June, 1966.

6. The state averages given for the Georgia programs exclude cancellations and include vendor payments for medical care and cases needing medical care only.

7. Averages for the Kentucky programs were approximated from the average number of recipients per month per county and the total annual expenditures per program per county.

8. Respective county totals in Kentucky do not equal the sum of the program totals due to rounding.

9. Data on AFDC per family was unavailable for Kentucky. Here figures represent AFDC per recipient.

10. Due to the presentation of data in the Tennessee annual welfare report and in order to prevent as much as possible distortion, the total amounts spent in each of Tennessee's counties include vendor payments. The averages for each program do not.

11. Averages for Texas are approximated from the number of August, 1966, recipients and the total welfare expenditures of 1965.

12. Hospitalization of the indigent not included in vendor payments. Hospitalization expenditures amount to approximately 6.6 per cent of the total welfare expenditures of the state.

TABLE 3

FEDERAL SHARE OF TOTAL STATE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE EXPENDITURES

July 1, 1963 through June 30, 1965

State	Federal Medical Percentage	Federal Percentage
Alabama	78.29	65.00
Arkansas	80.00	65.00
Georgia	73.69	65.00
Kentucky	75.27	65.00
Louisiana	73.46	65.00
Mississippi	80.00	65.00
North Carolina	74.99	65.00
South Carolina	80.00	65.00
Tennessee	75.53	65.00
Texas	61.45	61.45
Virginia	65.05	65.00

In brief, these percentages are used as follows in determining the Federal share of assistance:

1. OAA: The Federal Government pays $29 of the first $35 of the average monthly grant per recipient. Of the amount in the average grant above $35 and up to $70 the Federal Government pays the "Federal percentage". Of the amount in the average grant above $70 and up to $85--assuming this amount equals or is less than the average vendor payment for medical care--the Federal Government pays the "Federal medical percentage"; as an alternative to this last provision, however, the State may receive from the Federal Government 15 percent of the average vendor payment for medical care up to $15.
2. AB: The Federal Government pays $29 of the first $35 of the average monthly grant per recipient. Of the amount in the average grant above $35 and up to $70 the Federal Government pays the "Federal percentage".
3. APTD: Same as for AB.
4. AABD: If State has chosen the 2-category pattern of administration (Aid to the Aged, Blind, or Disabled and AFDC), the provisions outlined for OAA above apply to AABD.
5. MAA: The Federal Government pays the "Federal medical percentage" of total expenditures under the program, which is limited to vendor payments for medical care.
6. AFDC: The Federal Government pays 14/17ths of the average monthly grant per recipient up to $17. Of the amount in the average grant above $17 and up to $30 the Federal Government pays the "Federal percentage".

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

HUNGRY CHILDREN

1967

INTRODUCTION

Increasingly across the rural South in recent years have come reports of poverty so extreme as to be -- in an era of comparative national prosperity -- beyond the comprehension of middle class America. A great deal of statistical data already has been compiled on conditions. During the past twenty years, for example, over 200,000 farm laborers in Mississippi have been displaced by mechanization of farming operations. According to Bureau of Census figures Mississippi has the lowest per capita income in the nation -- $1,608 in 1965 compared to a national average of $2,746. The median family income for whites in 1959 was $4,209; for Negroes, $1,444.

But what do figures such as this mean in human terms, in terms of day to day existence for thousands of impoverished people in the rural South? In May of this year a team of physicians toured a six-county area of Mississippi to survey the health and living conditions of a representative group of Negro children enrolled in a pre-school program sponsored

by the Friends of the Children of Mississippi (FCM)*. Their preliminary findings together with an individual report filed by Dr. Raymond Wheeler of Charlotte, North Carolina, who serves as chairman of the executive committee of the Southern Regional Council, are released in the hope that immediate solutions can be sought -- throughout the South as well as in rural Mississippi - to what the entire medical team saw as the region's most pressing health problem, the terrible fact of hunger among children in poverty.

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*FCM is an organization which came into being in Clarke, Wayne, Neshoba, Humphreys, Leflore, and Greene Counties as an independent agency modeled along the lines of a federal Head Start program, following the refusal of OEO to permit the Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM) any longer to operate in the six-county area. Lacking in substantial funds and opposed by powerful forces in the state, FCM has survived largely on the spirit and courage of its people, plus modest private grants and donations.

CHILDREN IN MISSISSIPPI

A Report by:

Joseph Brenner, M. D.	- Medical Department, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Robert Coles, M. D.	- Harvard University Health Services
Alan Mermann, M. D.	- Department of Pediatrics, Yale University Medical School and private practice, Guilford, Connecticut
Milton J. E. Senn, M. D.	- Sterling Professor of Pediatrics Yale University
Cyril Walwyn, M. D.	- Medical Adviser to Friends of the Children of Mississippi; private practice, Yazoo City, Mississippi
Raymond Wheeler, M. D.	- Private practice, Charlotte, North Carolina

We are physicians who have had a continuing interest in the medical problems of rural American children in the South and in Appalachia. One of us works every day in Mississippi with impoverished children.[1] One of us has worked throughout the South with both Negro and white children, and specifically spent two years observing migrant and sharecropper children, and treating them as a physician associated with a mobile public health clinic.[2] Two of us have recently been doing a medical study in

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[1] Cyril Walwyn, M. D., in Yazoo City, Mississippi.

[2] Robert Coles, M. D. (see "Lives of Migrant Farmers," American Journal of Psychiatry, September, 1965).

Appalachia.[3] One of us -- a pediatrician -- has observed southern children at close hand,[4] and another of us -- also a pediatrician -- spent several weeks last summer in Lowndes County, Alabama, living in a Negro community and observing its pediatric problems.[5] And, one of us practices medicine in North Carolina and is the chairman of the executive committee of the Southern Regional Council.[6]

In addition, four of us recently made a team-study of conditions in rural Mississippi, concentrating on the health of the children there. What we saw there we have seen in other areas of the South and in Appalachia, too. The issue at hand is the medical (and social and psychological) fate of those literally penniless rural families who are often enough removed from any of the services that even the poor in America can usually take for granted: that is, these families are denied medical care, adequate sanitation, welfare or relief payments of any kind, unemployment compensation, protection of the minimum wage law, coverage

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[3] Robert Coles, M. D., and Joseph Brenner, M. D. (see "Report on Appalachia," presented at Annual Meeting of American Ortho-psychiatric Association, April, 1967, Washington, D. C.).

[4] Milton J. E. Senn in field trips to the South.

[5] See the paper, "Report on Medical Conditions in Lowndes County, Alabama," by Alan Mermann, M. D.

[6] Raymond Wheeler, M. D., in Charlotte, North Carolina.

under Social Security, and even recourse to the various food programs administered by the federal and local governments. In sum, by the many thousands, they live outside of every legal, medical, and social advance our nation has made in this century.

What Children Need to Grow

We are here primarily concerned with children -- though obviously it is parents who have to teach children what the world has in store for them. Before reporting our recent observations in Mississippi, we want to emphasize the barest needs of infants and children, if they are to survive and grow. Even before birth or at the moment of birth a child may be decisively and permanently hurt by the poor health of the mother, or the absence of good medical and surgical care. Again and again children are born injured, deformed, or retarded because their mothers could not obtain the doctor, the hospital care, they needed.

From birth on children need food, and food that has vitamins and minerals and an adequate balance of protein, carbohydrates, and fats. They also need from time to time a variety of medical services -- vaccines, drugs, diagnostic evaluation, corrective surgery. While all these facts are (or should be) obvious, we have to say them once again -- because in various counties of Mississippi we saw families who could not take food for granted, let alone any medical

care. We shall now briefly state what such a state of affairs does to children.

Mississippi's Hungry and Sick Children

In Delta counties (such as Humphreys and Leflore) recently visited by us and elsewhere in the state (such as Clarke, Wayne, Neshoba, and Greene Counties, also visited by us) we saw children whose nutritional and medical condition we can only describe as shocking -- even to a group of physicians whose work involves daily confrontation with disease and suffering. In child after child we saw: evidence of vitamin and mineral deficiencies; serious, untreated skin infections and ulcerations; eye and ear diseases, also unattended bone diseases secondary to poor food intake; the prevalence of bacterial and parasitic disease, as well as severe anemia, with resulting loss of energy and ability to live a normally active life; diseases of the heart and the lungs -- requiring surgery -- which have gone undiagnosed and untreated; epileptic and other neurological disorders; severe kidney ailments, that in other children would warrant immediate hospitalization; and finally, in boys and girls in every county we visited, obvious evidence of severe malnutrition, with injury to the body's tissues -- its muscles, bones, and skin, as well as an associated psychological state of fatigue, listlessness, and exhaustion.

We saw children afflicted with chronic diarrhea, chronic sores, chronic leg and arm (untreated) injuries and deformities. We saw homes without running water, without electricity, without screens, in which children drink contaminated water and live with germ-bearing mosquitoes and flies everywhere around. We saw homes with children who are lucky to eat one meal a day -- and that one inadequate so far as vitamins, minerals, or protein is concerned. We saw children who don't get to drink milk, don't get to eat fruit, green vegetables, or meat. They live on starches -- grits, bread, flavored water. Their parents may be declared ineligible for commodities, ineligible for the food stamp program, even though they have literally nothing. We saw children fed communally -- that is, by neighbors who give scraps of food to children whose own parents have nothing to give them. Not only are these children receiving no food from the government, they are also getting no medical attention whatsoever. They are out of sight and ignored. They are living under such primitive conditions that we found it hard to believe we were examining American children of the Twentieth Century.

In sum, we saw children who are hungry and who are sick -- children for whom hunger is a daily fact of life and sickness, in many forms, an inevitability. We do not

want to quibble over words, but "malnutrition" is not quite what we found; the boys and girls we saw were hungry -- weak, in pain, sick; their lives are being shortened; they are, in fact, visibly and predictably losing their health, their energy, their spirits. They are suffering from hunger and disease and directly or indirectly they are dying from them -- which is exactly what "starvation" means.

Specific Medical Observations

We have the following specific medical observations to report. They were made -- be it remembered -- on children who are not in hospitals and not declared "sick" by any doctor. They are, in fact, children who are getting absolutely no medical care. In almost every child we saw in the above six counties during our visits in the May 27-30 period, we observed one or another parasitic disease: trichinosis; enterobiasis; ascariasis; and hookworm disease. Most children we saw had some kind of skin disease: dryness and shrinkage of skin due to malnutrition; ulcerations; severe sores; rashes; boils, abcesses, and furuncles; impetigo; rat-bites. Almost every child we saw was in a state of negative nitrogen balance; that is, a marked inadequacy of diet has led the body to consume its own protein tissue. What we saw clinically -- the result of this condition of chronic hunger and malnutrition -- was as follows:

wasting of muscles; enlarged hearts; edematous legs and in some cases the presence of abdominal edema (so-called "swollen" or "bloated" belly); spontaneous bleeding of the mouth or nose or evidence of internal hemorrhage; osteoporosis -- a weakening of the bone structure -- and, as a consequence, fractures unrelated to injury or accident; fatigue, exhaustion, and weakness.

These children would need blood transfusions before any corrective surgery could be done -- and we found in child after child the need for surgery: hernias; poorly healed fractures; rheumatic and congenital heart disease with attendant murmurs, difficult breathing, and chest pain; evidence of gastro-intestinal bleeding, or partial obstruction; severe, suppurating, ear infections; congenital or developmental eye diseases in bad need of correction.

The teeth of practically every child we saw were in awful repair -- eaten up by cavities and poorly developed. Their gums showed how severely anemic these children are; and the gums were also infected and foul smelling.

Many of these children were suffering from degenerative joint diseases. Injuries had not been treated when they occurred. Bleeding had occurred, with infections. Now, at seven or eight, their knee joints or elbow joints might show the "range of action" that one finds in a man of seventy, suffering from crippling arthritis.

In child after child we tested for peripheral neuritis -- and found it, secondary to untreated injuries, infections, and food deficiencies. These children could not feel normally -- feel pressure or heat or cold or applied pain the way the normal person does. What they do feel is the sensory pain that goes with disease: pricking, burning, flashes of sharp pain, or "a deep pain," as one child put it.

The children were plagued with colds and fevers -- in a Mississippi late May -- and with sore throats. They had enlarged glands throughout the body, secondary to the several infections they chronically suffer. Some of them revealed jaundice in their eyes, showing that liver damage was likely, or hemolysis secondary to bacterial invasion.

What particularly saddened and appalled us were the developmental anomalies and diseases that we know once were easily correctable, but now are hopelessly consolidated: bones, eyes, vital organs that should long ago have been evaluated and treated are now beyond medical assistance, if it were available. In some cases we saw children clearly stunted, smaller than their age would indicate, and drowsy or irritable.

In sum, children living under unsanitary conditions, without proper food, and with a limited intake of improper food, without access to doctors or dentists, under crowded

conditions, in flimsy shacks, pay the price in a plethora of symptoms, diseases, aches, and pains. No wonder that in Mississippi (whose Negroes comprise 42% of the state's population) the infant mortality rate among Negroes is over twice that of whites; and while the white infant mortality rate is dropping, the rate for Negroes is rising.

Recommendations

What are we to say? The communities we saw desperately need more and better food, and a beginning of medical care. (The communities we saw are of course not the only ones in the South where these recommendations would be applicable. Indeed, a first recommendation would be for a survey of the South to determine all places where children suffer these intolerable conditions.) Right now the government pours millions into a welfare program, a food program, and a public health service that are not reaching these people. We met families who have no money coming in. The father is declared "able-bodied" and so they are ineligible for welfare. The family does not have the money necessary to buy food stamps; they certainly have no money for doctors or hospitals -- and they are not offered any care by the county or the state. Welfare and food programs (including the commodity food program) are in the hands of people who use them selectively, politically, and with obvious racial considerations in mind. What is a human

need, a human right, becomes a favor or a refusal, and if the person is "lucky," that is, given some commodities and a welfare check, her children still don't get the range of food they need, or the medical attention.

We therefore feel that the food stamp program should be changed so that the rural poor can obtain food stamps free. The food distribution activities of the states should be closely regulated and supervised -- and if necessary taken over by the federal government or people within the particular (poor and aggrieved) communities. The government should change its system of welfare support, so that its funds directly reach those who need them, without political or racial bias, and reach them in an amount adequate to their minimum needs for food, clothing, and medical care.

Medical facilities and programs supported by the federal government should be required to serve these people, and emergency medical treatment provided them. The government should provide vitamin pills for such poor children, and other drugs such as antibiotics. Local doctors can be called upon -- and paid by money provided by the government to these families. If necessary, new medical institutions and training centers can be created and supported. (There is now exactly one Negro medical student in Mississippi's only medical school. Hundreds of Negro nurses are needed --

and are not being trained.) The U. S. Public Health Service could place in the face of this crisis one or two doctors and nurses in each county, to work with the rural poor. Emergency dental services also are needed.

It is unbelievable to us that a nation as rich as ours, with all its technological and scientific resources, has to permit thousands and thousands of children to go hungry, go sick, and die grim and premature deaths.

REPORT OF RAYMOND M. WHEELER, M.D. OF A FIELD TRIP TO HUMPHREYS AND LEFLORE COUNTIES, MISSISSIPPI

Each doctor was taken separately into the homes of a number of young children who attended the FCM centers. We saw the children, talked with their parents and gained a mass of information from which emerged a pattern that seemed to fit every community we visited.

The homes were tiny, usually two or three rooms, in poor repair, located in narrow alleys, and surrounded by accumulated filth and debris. Most houses had running water, but few had inside toilets. Many were without screens or adequate ventilation. The land allocated to each dwelling was so limited that the houses were oppressively close, allowing for virtually no play area for the children and certainly no room for a garden through which a family might supplement its diet.

At one house the landlords reportedly had forbidden the tenants to have a garden, although in this particular case, there was obviously ample space for one. This -- from all reports -- is

common practice by landlords in the towns as well as on the plantations, though why this should be so in view of the well-known need for food seemed inexplicable on any ground other than outright spite.

Driving through the Delta one could see the tenant houses, grouped closely around barns and equipment sheds, crops planted almost up to doorsteps, leaving the tenants no room for garden, pig pen, cow or chicken coop.

The homes visited were usually occupied by mothers, worn and tired and looking much older than their actual ages. Their children would range in number from four to ten. Most often there was no father. Questioned as to his absence the response would be "we are separated" or, simply, "I don't know where he is." Although neat, the houses were pitifully bare. The children were often poorly clothed and always barefooted, in spite of a soil infested with broken glass and rusty tin.

When questions were asked about diet the answers were always the same: a little rice or biscuit for breakfast, dried beans or peas with occasional salt pork for lunch -- if lunch could be afforded -- and for supper more rice or bread

with occasional servings of molasses or peanut butter. Only one of the families I visited ever had milk at all and this was reserved for "the sickliest" ones.

One mother summed up the question of diet in a single, poignant sentence: "These children go to bed hungry and get up hungry and don't ever know nothing else in between." The physical appearance of the children made her comment easily believable. Running noses and legs covered with indolent sores were the rule -- evidence of lowered resistance to disease due to malnutrition and poor hygiene. Thin arms, sunken eyes, lethargic behavior, and swollen bellies were everywhere to be seen. Even cursory examinations of tongues, eyes, and nailbeds disclosed unmistakable evidence of anemia and vitamin deficiencies. An orthopedic surgeon in Jackson and a Negro physician in Yazoo City told me that almost without exception these children required pre-operative blood transfusions before any surgery could be performed.

Iron, vitamins, medicines were simply unobtainable, for there was no money to purchase them. In almost every household, serious illnesses of one or more children had occurred in the recent year. Yet mothers told me that they rarely even sought

medical services due to their inability to pay doctor's fees. I was told of the outright refusal of some hospitals to provide care for some youngsters due to the known poverty of their parents. One mother, however, with an incredibly small income told me of her struggles to make her weekly payments on a hospital bill for her child. Another said that she only went to the doctor herself or took her child when she was absolutely convinced that not to go would mean death.

At county health departments, we were repeatedly told, Negroes are not only segregated but subjected to personal indignities and discouraged from using the facilities. I saw a little girl who had a nasty, partially healed laceration of her hand. She had been taken to the health department for a tetanus booster. The child was given the necessary injection, but the nurse -- I was informed to my dismay -- not only failed to dress the cut, but refused even to look at it.

The health centers apparently do perform a few services such as tuberculin testing and innoculations for those whose parents know about such things and are able to transport their children to the centers. However, county medical authorities,

I was told, have formally and in writing refused to participate in organized immunization programs for children attending the FCM centers. The reason given for such refusal seemed flimsy, indeed, to me. Parents must accompany their children to the centers in order to be instructed in possible reaction to the shots.

Occasionally, it seemed, charity clinics are provided for ailing children but exams are brief; no follow-ups are scheduled and, most important of all, no medicine is provided for people who have no means to purchase it.

Hospital facilities for Negro poor in rural Mississippi are nearly non-existent. As one man told me, "If you are not protected through an employer with hospital insurance and if you don't have the $50.00 down-payment, your only choice is to go home and die."

The administration of medical care is still on a strictly segregated basis in most of the state. Negro doctors are not permitted membership in local medical societies. In communities where all-Negro hospitals exist, such as in Yazoo City, white doctors refuse to serve on its staff. Thus the one Negro doctor in town is forced to provide all of the hospital care for Negroes, including

obstetrics and surgery. Complicated cases, beyond his experience, must be sent forty or fifty miles to Jackson, regardless of how grave the condition of the patient.

County sponsored programs in preventative medicine, health education, basic sanitation were unknown to the people whom I interviewed. No program of birth control is available to the poor, although every mother with whom I talked expressed a desire for help in limiting her family. A few who did know about "the pill" had not been able to afford it. Almost all of the mothers said they have had their babies at home, sometimes unattended, sometimes with the help of a midwife.

Over and over the urgent need for food was emphasized, so that any medical needs must be subordinated to seeing that the children are adequately fed. The very accomplishment of this would provide the single most important measure for maintaining good health.

Yet from a purely medical point of view, certain needs did seem most urgent and most possible of accomplishment with available facilities. These, as I saw them, would include:

(a) Physical examinations of each child to include blood count, urinalysis, stool examination,

tuberculin tests.

(b) Follow-up treatment and/or referral as indicated.

(c) A vitamin supplement for each child. This would need not be given daily since most daily vitamin preparations contain far more than minimal daily requirements.

(d) Immunization program. This could be done by a public health nurse under the supervision of a county medical director.

(e) Birth control information and medication. This program could be organized and conducted by the county health counselor under the supervision of the medical director and would not require his personal attention.

(f) A fund must be made available to buy medicines for those who cannot afford them.

(g) The above program, in my estimation, would cost a minimum of $50.00 per child per year.

(h) The above recommendations do not make provision for hospitalization of the children. Title 19 of the Social Security Amendments of 1965 may offer the ultimate solution of this problem, but much depends on what each state is willing to do. A much wider definition of the term "Crippled Children" would offer hospital and

physician's care to a larger number of children. Apparently now in Mississippi the Crippled Children's Fund will provide only for neuro-surgical, plastic and orthopedic surgical needs of children. The state board of health could broaden that definition but has refused to do so and would probably need pressure put on it in the future to do so. This problem, unfortunately, seems almost insoluble given the apparent absence of Charity Hospitalization Funds and the state of public indifference to the health of the poor.

To summarize briefly, the medical needs of the people I talked with encompass the entire range of medical knowledge, from nutrition, sanitation and health education to the more technical and highly skilled services for medical needs, birth control and hospitalization. They are without them all and they desperately need them all.

Their financial resources, however, are so meager as to make it beyond rational comprehension as to how they were able simply to exist, to say nothing of being able to pay expensive medical bills. A few examples, I think, illustrate the point.

One young mother of five children worked a 55-hour week for weekly wages of $15.00. Her job was as a domestic for a locally prosperous family. Out

of her weekly income she paid $8.50 a week for rent and bought food and clothing for herself and her children with the rest.

Another mother said she managed to earn $25.00 a week, by holding three jobs.

Sources of public assistance are totally inadequate to provide even for survival. Dependent children receive payments amounting to approximately 25% of what the state of Mississippi estimates is necessary for minimal subsistence. Aid to dependent children in fact has actually decreased since June of 1964 from $13.30 to $11.35 in June 1965 and to the current amount of $9.25 in 1966.

Programs for the provision of food supplies by the welfare departments and the United States Department of Agriculture need to be reformed on the highest level of authority. Under present arrangements a family may use its welfare checks to purchase food stamps, but if it does, it has no money left for rent, medical care or clothing. If it subsists on surplus commodities, it is faced with attempting to survive on the most inadequate of diet, both in quality and amount. Commodities -- and there is only one issue available each month regardless of the condition in which commodities are received -- normally consist of flour, dried

beans, dried milk, and occasionally a little peanut butter or a can of processed meat. Food stamp programs and surplus commodity programs are not allowed to operate simultaneously in any county. Given a free choice in the matter most welfare recipients, however, prefer the commodities program since they at least are able to retain some of their welfare payments for other necessities.

Time after time we were told stories of dehumanizing treatment or refusal of aid by county welfare departments. There seemed to be no pattern or standards by which one could determine whether he could receive welfare help. There did seem to be a pattern of active discouragement by the welfare department of anyone applying for aid. Personal indignities, unexplained cuts in the size of checks, lack of welfare aid for hospitalization or medical care were frequent complaints.

One such report is burned indelibly in my memory. A 49-year-old woman told me that she herself had been the mother of 14 children, all but one of whom had died in infancy. Her husband was also dead. A year ago, she related, her husband's newphew abandoned his three small children, ages three, four and five, leaving them with her. She resolved to give them a home. Her eyes kindled as

she spoke. "Doctor, ever since I took these children on, my life has been hell." Then the story poured out.

She earns, she said, $5.00 a week working two days as a domestic. The welfare department supplies a maximum check of approximately $27.00 per month aid to dependent children. Her rent is $8.00 a week.

Each month as she goes to the welfare department for her check she is questioned extensively about her sex life. At regular intervals she is awakened at around 2:00 A.M. by white men who represent themselves as working for the welfare department. They demand to be admitted to her house and then they proceed to search the place for an alleged male occupant. On other nights, she said, she can hear them prowling around her home, listening at her windows evidently for sounds to indicate the presence of a man in the room with her. Her check may be delayed for days or arbitrarily cut while, according to her case worker, "we make an investigation." Her neighbors have been encouraged to report her activities by the simple expedient of a threat to their own welfare checks if they do not.

The pre-school centers, dotted about both the rural and urban areas of six Mississippi counties,

offer an immediate and painful distillation of all the despair and aspirations, the dignity and the pathos of the parents and children connected with FCM. We visited a large number of the centers, some in churches, others in plain little wooden, barracks-like buildings and one in an American Legion hut. The impact was the same wherever we went.

The centers were crowded, oppressively hot, and filled with lovely little children between the ages of three and five. All children were scrubbed and dressed in their best clothes and all wore shoes. Mostly they were shy with strangers, but when unaware of observation, were smiling and obviously enjoying themselves. Some seemed healthy and sturdy; others weak and apathetic. Coughs and dripping noses were common and on several occasions acutely ill children were brought up to us by the teachers who had no place to turn for medical help. There were a significant number with congenital defects such as harelips and cleft palates; a few were mentally retarded or exhibited evidence of brain or spinal cord damage. All of these should have qualified for special schools or institutional care or for corrective medical care.

The teachers were usually mothers with children in the centers. Their devotion to the children and the pride in their work was unmistakable. Time after time we talked with a woman, uneducated, the mother usually of six to ten children, with no previous work experience except as a field hand or a domestic. Amazingly she would be articulate, poised and competent in her role as teacher. Through their love and concern for their children, these mothers had acquired the very sense of self-respect, dignity, and independence which they so much desire to nurture in their charges.

Repeatedly we asked what changes the teachers had observed in the children after they had been in the centers for a few days. The answers were usually the same. The children, previously shy, withdrawn or apathetic, became cheerful, outgoing, and active. They had learned to share, to participate cooperatively in group activity and to communicate with each other and their teachers. For the first time many of the children experienced a relationship with someone who cared and to whom they could turn when troubled.

One teacher told me with pride of how she had handled a youngster who had come to the school

defiant, combative, overly aggressive and generally unable to adjust to his group. Instead of punishment, she had given him simple tasks not assigned to the others and, as he performed them, she rewarded him with praise and affection.

Many of us go to school for years to gain the insights these teachers have acquired as they work with children in the centers.

The centers themselves were distressingly bare. There was never enough equipment. The few toys available were made by the teachers. Crayons, books, paper and musical instruments were all too scarce.

But most distressing of all was the lack of food. On the day of our visit, not a single center had been able to supply a full meal to its hungry children. Most had scraped together a few bites -- a cookie, Kool-aid, but some had nothing at all. "The most difficult part of this program," a teacher at one of the centers told me, "is when a child licks his plate clean and says, 'I want some more,' and you look in the pot and there ain't no more."

After visiting the homes and the centers for two days, we ended our stay in the Delta by attending a mass meeting of those associated with

FCM from Humphreys and Leflore Counties who came primarily to hear their visitors tell what they had seen and felt as they traveled around the communities. Two hundred strong they packed the tiny Legion hut and it took only a short while for us to sense their need for hope and encouragement and for assurance that what they were doing was right and necessary and important -- not only for their children, but important in bringing new meaning to our concepts of democracy and human dignity.

We learned that for too long they had experienced no contact with or encouragement from anyone outside their communities and that some were having doubts as to whether the difficult struggle was worth the pain and anguish it demanded of them. That hour of uninhibited exchange of thoughts and feelings between those parents and their only contact with a friendly world beyond was an experience that will always live in our hearts.

Frequently throughout the Mississippi Delta we heard charges of an unwritten but generally accepted policy on the part of those who control the state to eliminate the Negro Mississippian either by driving him out of the state or starving him to death. At first, the charge seemed to me

beyond belief. And yet reviewing now all that we saw and heard it becomes more and more credible. Mississippi, it seems to me, is for its poor - and particularly its Negro poor - a kind of prison in which live a great group of uneducated, semi-starving people from whom all but token public support has been withdrawn. They are completely isolated from the outside world. They have nowhere to turn for material aid or moral support. Their story needs to be told not merely for their sakes -- but for the sake of all America.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

EVENTS AT ORANGEBURG

A report based on study and interviews in Orangeburg, South Carolina, in the aftermath of tragedy

by Pat Watters and Weldon Rougeau

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February 25, 1968

Price .30 each

EVENTS AT ORANGEBURG

INTRODUCTION

The events of the tragic week of February 5-10, 1968, in the small (population, 13,852) Negro college city of Orangeburg, South Carolina, tell a story in microcosm of years of racial struggle in the southern pattern in that one locale, centering overtly on segregation of a bowling alley, but involving deeper down such public problems as poverty, racial animosity, discrimination, and educational deprivation. The events also would at least suggest the implications of forces in motion not just in Orangeburg but across America in 1967-68, including black power and white over-reaction to its emotional mood, the tendency to violence by Negroes dismayed by the failure of nonviolent and other peaceful protest against social injustice and inequity still enduring, the national tendency nearing public policy to a fear of riots amounting to phobia and a response to Negro unrest with massive police and military force. The events also point to the emergence, in the South at least, of the Negro college with its legacy of discrimination, educational deprivation, and lack of academic freedom as a setting for the meeting of these dangerous and explosive tendencies.

In Orangeburg, the result was tragedy -- the death of three students and wounding of 28 others, the death of whatever true and whatever false was contained in a South Carolina

image of nonviolent settlement of ancient racial animosities, and the death of one knows not what amount more of hope in the hearts of white and Negro Americans alike for the achievement of racial justice and peace.

The following report, based on interviews with students and faculty of South Carolina State College and Claflin College, with newsmen, and with townspeople and officials, and based on press and other data about Orangeburg past and present, is submitted in the hope that a careful and impartial reading of the surface facts and underlying complexities in this one specific situation might provide insights into preventing its tragic pattern being repeated in a coming spring and summer of unprecedented national racial tension.

EVENTS AT ORANGEBURG: I.

MONDAY THROUGH WEDNESDAY

On Monday night, February 5, a group of Negro students from South Carolina State College and Claflin College in Orangeburg visited the All-Star Bowling Lanes, the only bowling alley in town, in a shopping center just east of the downtown business section, and about three blocks from the two campuses. (South Carolina State, the only state-supported predominantly Negro college in the state with 1,854 students, and Claflin College, also predominantly Negro, a private, church-related institution with 818 students, are located side by side on Watson Street.)

In the background of the visit to the bowling alley was Negro resentment of its segregated status, the resentment dating back at least to 1963 and 1964 when massive demonstrations protested and the Civil Rights Law ended for the most part segregation of public accommodations in the city. Negotiations since then on the local level (and efforts to involve the national government) to desegregate the bowling alley had all failed. The students seeking service that Monday night included some members and/or followers of a small State College organization called the Black Awareness Coordinating Committee, variously described as black power oriented or devoted to black culture. Harry L. Floyd, proprietor of the bowling alley, refused service to the

Negroes and asked them to leave. He had contended that the bowling alley was a private club and that lanes every night were contracted for by members of bowling leagues.

When the students refused to leave, according to the local newspaper, the Times and Democrat, he went out to obtain warrants for their arrest on trespassing charges. While he was gone, Orangeburg Chief of Police Roger E. Poston cleared the bowling alley of all persons and closed it for the night. On Tuesday morning, Mr. Floyd protested this action to the City Council and asked for city police protection and arrests of Negroes should they return Tuesday night, saying also he had conferred with state police officials. Chief Poston was quoted as telling Mr. Floyd anent Monday night, "I am not going to ask my men to violate the law in interfering with those who are not breaking the law by being in your place." The Times and Democrat carried no story in its Tuesday edition about the Monday night confrontation at the bowling alley, but later in the week began referring to rock-throwing by students that night. Persons interviewed on campus and off, however, were adamant: no rock-throwing occurred Monday night.

On Tuesday night, February 6, local police were present when a group of students appeared again at the bowling alley seeking service. It was not clear whether state police were on hand at this time, about 7 p. m. The door of the bowling alley was locked to the students. When Chief of Police Poston arrived on the scene, the door was opened to him, and some 25

students rushed the door, gaining entrance. They were asked to leave; some did. Fifteen who refused were arrested on trespassing charges, and taken to jail.

Word of the arrests quickly spread across the two campuses and by 7:45 p. m., a crowd of approximately 300 students gathered in the shopping center parking lot. By this time, state police, members of the State Highway Patrol, and the State Law Enforcement Division (SLED), along with city police and, either then or subsequently, sheriff's deputies, were on hand. The students apparently had no organized protest strategy; they were, as one faculty member who was there described it, an unstructured group milling around. A mark of their emotional distance from the extreme alienation and cynicism of northern ghettos was the fact that they were singing freedom songs, reminiscent of the naive spirit of the early 1960's Negro movement in the South.

Alarmed at the potential danger of their presence in the parking lot, city officials, including the chief of police, decided to release the fifteen Negroes who had been arrested on the promise that they would urge the students in the parking lot to go back to the campus. They arrived at the parking lot to big cheers, and kept their part of the bargain but saying, with their urgings to go home that night, that they had made no promises about the following night. According to sympathetic witnesses, at this point students were in a jovial mood, a sense of victory in the air, and were slowly dispersing. But at this moment also, for reasons not clear, a city fire

engine pulled into the parking lot, and because perhaps of a memory which would date back to grade school for most of the students of the use of fire hoses by the city of Orangeburg on nonviolent sit-in demonstrators in 1960, there was a return of anger, and a return by most of the crowd to the parking lot, to surround the fire engine. Still, at this point, there had been no violence. The truck was ordered out of the lot, but the students, newly agitated, moved now to the bowling alley, swarming about its glass front. Police from 15 or 20 cars in the parking lot closed in behind them. Someone kicked in a glass panel of the bowling alley door. Police seized a student presumed to have done the kicking, grabbing and jerking him roughly. The other students pressed close, refusing to clear a path for police with the arrested student. Police shouted at them; they shouted back, such violence of language common in 1968 to both races, previously only to the whites. Police pushed at the crowd and then, city and state police alike, they began beating back the crowd with billy clubs. The crowd broke, students, shouting of police brutality, fleeing. More than one witness told of a young woman held by one policeman, hit with a billy club by a second, also of a young woman begging not to be hit again, even as a policeman swung his club. The brief melee sent eight students and one policeman to the hospital. Four of the students were kept overnight for observation of head lacerations. Only the one student was arrested. From responsible reports, students did not

fight back. The local radio station alleged a student had attacked police with a lead pipe; Chief of Police Poston later was quoted as saying a young woman had squirted hair spray at one policeman.

The students from both colleges poured back onto the State College campus. In this retreat, students -- availing themselves of an ample supply of bricks from a partially demolished building -- broke windows in white businesses along the way. The Times and Democrat listed four businesses reporting such damage, including an automobile agency where it said cars were damaged also.

M. Maceo Nance, Jr., acting president of State College, was quoted in the Columbia State as saying the next day to a city official: "I do not condone destruction of property, but for the record, it happened after the young ladies were hit." When the students got back to the campuses (some time after 9 p. m.), an impromptu mass meeting began in one of the college buildings. Among speakers was Cleveland Sellers, a 23-year-old native of nearby Denmark, South Carolina, former leader of southern nonviolent demonstrations and voter registration efforts of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Apparently still a part of the dwindled SNCC organization but also apparently acting on his own, Mr. Sellers had moved into a house across the street from the two campuses in the fall of 1967, some said on the presumption (later proved wrong) that his wife would enroll

at South Carolina State. Frequently on campus, Mr. Sellers had been an advisor to, if not instrumental in, organization of the BACC. A soft-spoken man, he said at the mass meeting he could not tell students what to do, but would offer suggestions if requested. Other speakers, including Robert Scott, president of the State student body, and George Campbell, president of the State College NAACP branch, strongly asserted the need for a further show of student indignation, but eventually urged waiting until morning when a permit for a protest march might be obtained from the city. Asked for his suggestions, Mr. Sellers urged students to go back out that night and block with their bodies key intersections in the city, with a demand that Chamber of Commerce officials come immediately to confer about the bowling alley. This essentially nonviolent mode of action was, according to all witnesses, the extent of recommendation from Mr. Sellers, who was later to be lambasted in the South Carolina press and by the governor as the prime fomenter of black power violence in the situation. Students at the mass meeting meanwhile not impractically asked what strategy they might follow to keep from getting beaten by police again. Finally, the plan to seek a city permit to march the next day was adopted, and two Negro attorneys advised the students on their legal rights of protest. The students agreed to meet at nine o'clock the next morning.

Start here

The attempt to obtain the permit to march began at about eleven Tuesday night, resumed at about seven Wednesday

morning, finally succeeded about 8:30. A meeting was held with the mayor, the chief of police, and City Manager Robert T. Stevenson, who were urged to allow the march even if it meant seeking federal troops to keep order. They countered with a proposal that the mayor and city manager and heads of the Chamber of Commerce and Merchants' Association appear before the students and attempt to answer grievances. This unprecedented gesture was accepted.

The effect of the appearance on students was described as devastating. One who was there said it reflected glaringly both the inappropriateness of the white dignitaries' approach to the serious mood of the students, and the students' distrust of the dignitaries. When the mayor tried to say with southern effusiveness that he was glad to be there, he was hooted. When he said the city believed in good race relations, he was hooted even louder. An assertion by the city manager that the city had not made a lot of progress in race relations, but had made some, met the same response. Only the Chamber president seemed to impress the students. He agreed to read at the next meeting of his organization a list of grievances the students had drawn up hastily the night before.

State College President Nance, sharply critical in remarks during the day of police treatment of students Tuesday night, urged a boycott of merchants rather than further direct action. Similar recommendations were made by the administration at Claflin. Students met through the day, trying to decide what to do.

The list of student grievances asked (1) closing of the All-Star Bowling Lanes and a change of its policy of segregation before reopening; (2) investigation of police brutality . . . ("The action taken by the SLED officers was uncalled for, especially the beating of the young ladies."); (3) "immediate suspension pending investigation of the officer who fired a shot unnecessarily into the State College campus"; (4) establishment by the mayor of a biracial Orangeburg Human Relations Committee, with the recommendation that each community select its own representatives; (5) that the Orangeburg Medical Association make a public statement of intent to serve all persons on an equal basis regardless of race, religion, or creed; (6) a fair employment commission; (7) a "change [in] the dogmatic attitude of the office personnel at the Health Department and the segregated practices used there"; (8) "extension of the city limits of Orangeburg so as to benefit more than one segment of the community;" (9) that officials "give constructive leadership toward encouraging the Orangeburg Regional Hospital to accept the Medicare program"; (10) the "elimination of discrimination in public services, especially in doctors' offices"; (11) integration of drive-in theaters; (12) that officials "fulfill all stipulations of the 1964 Civil Rights Act by leading the community so that it will serve all the people."

It was not until Friday that the Times and Democrat reported City Council reaction to the grievances, the story

on the front page beneath photographs of students slain by police gunfire. The City Council's answers, drawn up at a meeting Thursday afternoon before the shooting, were essentially negative, saying either that the city had no authority to do what was requested, as with closing the bowling alley, or that present arrangements were adequate to needs, as with fair employment, or that the council saw no legitimate cause of complaint, as with the allegations of police brutality.

If in its essence the list of grievances might be interpreted as an eloquent plea by the students to the city for law and order, specifically adherence to the 1964 Civil Rights Law and the federal constitution, the events of Wednesday evening (February 7) indicated the degree to which the situation had deteriorated during that day of meetings and indecision, frustration and anger. On Wednesday evening, students from both campuses, mainly males, rampaged for several hours, shouting and moving in large crowds, and (the extent of their violence) throwing rocks at automobiles with white passengers passing the campuses. A 19-year-old State College student, mild and middle-class, evoked the mood of the evening a few days later in telling how he had attended a meeting "over their whipping our girls" ("We said no young man could stand to see ladies beat. There were on hand a group of fellows who had one thing in mind: 'Get Charlie,'") and of how, later, on the yard of the campus, he encountered a mob on the move. "What's up?" he asked.

"We're going to get Charlie," they answered.

"So, I picked up a brick and went with them."

Campus police and later state police moved quickly to avert cars with white passengers from streets leading by the campuses. But cars were hit and the rampage went on for a matter of hours. Two other instances of violence occurred. Three male students from Claflin were wounded by buckshot fired from a dwelling just off the State College campus. There were apparently no arrests in connection with the shooting. The white residents claimed they were defending their property; the students denied trespassing. Word of the shootings, with presumably the usual exaggeration in such an atmosphere, fed the mood of anger and hysteria. So did word of the second incident, the appearance on the State College campus rather amazingly of a car containing whites. A student described the apparition: "Nobody in the car hollered 'Soul' so we began to holler 'Honkey.'" At one point, the driver, ducking down, raced the car toward a crowd of students. The car was hit by a number of rocks and bricks, and damaged considerably. "We stoned it," the student said. "How they ever got out of that was just luck." Two shots were fired from the car while it was on the campus; a student witness said this was after the stoning. The car was stopped by state police about a mile after it left the campus, with no accounting in the local press of the disposition of the case.

At one point, the students on that rambunctious Wednesday

evening were throwing rocks at cars on Watson Street. Some stood in the yard of the State College campus where the next night, Thursday, they gathered again in a similar mood. Meanwhile, units of the National Guard, alerted by Governor Robert E. McNair after Tuesday night's melee, moved into active duty Wednesday night, guarding the shopping center, and state police in larger numbers than the previous night were strongly in evidence. The stage was set for Orangeburg's lethal confrontation of student protest turned to rampage with the full force of South Carolina's measures of riot control.

EVENTS AT ORANGEBURG: II.

THURSDAY NIGHT

On Thursday, February 8, there was a crucial meeting of the students who had met with the mayor on the previous day. Everyone was dissatisfied with the outcome of that meeting. Many were disappointed with a memo from Dr. Nance requesting that students remain on campus, for many still wanted to march. Almost everyone felt something should be done in protest of police action Tuesday night.

At this meeting on Thursday, there occurred a split between the Black Awareness Coordinating Committee (BACC) and other elements of the student leadership. BACC members learned that an agreement to refrain from marching had been reached without consulting them. They felt betrayed and

voiced their disapproval of this change in plans. Moreover, BACC members felt that the students in the NAACP chapter and the other student leaders had compromised their original position.

BACC members reportedly asked participants what was to be done in light of the "betrayal." A high-ranking member of the administration said, "Do what you want to do," and the meeting broke up with no one having decided on a course of action. Most students returned to their dormitories. Between 75 and 130 male students milled around the edge of the campus facing Watson Street and Highway 601. They were frustrated and without leadership. They wanted to do something.

Someone suggested building a bonfire on Watson Street, the street that borders the campus area near Highway 601. Everyone agreed. It was cold. The fire was started and students gathered materials from a dilapidated house adjacent to the campus. The flames licked straight up at the sky. There was no perceivable wind. The fire grew in intensity.

According to one observer, about 50 highway patrolmen along with 45 guardsmen and a number of city police were present. The patrolmen along with a few policemen were closest to the students and the bonfire, while the guardsmen were in the background with their rifles at port arms.

Another observer (a coed from South Carolina State)

told of seeing an undetermined number of students gathered on the embankment above Watson Street as highway patrolmen, city police, and guardsmen drew closer to the bonfire area. Everything was quiet in the area except for the students' sporadic shouts of, "Hey honkey! Hey honkey, here we are. Hey honkey, come on and get us!" The "popping" sounds the coed had heard coming from the Claflin College area had stopped almost a half hour earlier. (Another student interviewed said these may have been shots from a .22 caliber weapon that one of the students was firing in an attempt to break a street light.) Cars and trucks passed on Highway 601 and in some of these, the occupants brandished rifles and shotguns and looked toward the State campus area. There was a tenseness, a foreboding, that made one of the coed's friends say, "Something's gonna happen tonight. Look how all those men [the police forces] are down there [near the Highway 601 and Russell Street intersection]. Something's gonna happen <u>tonight</u>, child!"

The bonfire, which had been fed by the addition of bannisters, shutters, sticks, grass, and a "Yield" sign, began losing its intensity. Then a fire truck appeared, accompanied by an ambulance. The students looked at the police, the fire, and the fire truck and shouted, "Floyd's a bastard! Honkies, get <u>him</u>! Hey, honkey, here we are. Go get Floyd!" From all accounts, the police said nothing and firemen had still not attempted to extinguish the waning fire.

There is some question about whether Molotov cocktails were thrown. One reporter on the scene, Warren Koon, of the Charleston Evening Post, stated that the students threw some into the street. There is no account of any officer's being hit by a Molotov cocktail. Some students in the crowd contend that only torches made of sticks and sheets from their dormitory rooms were thrown. One eyewitness told of a torch or something resembling a flaming roll of toilet tissue on a stick thrown near the house adjacent to the campus. It quickly died out.

At this point, firemen began putting out the dying bonfire. A fireman reportedly yelled that they were being shot at from the campus. Warren Koon described the scene:

> A line of patrolmen trotted, in orderly ranks, to the bank in front of the campus [the bank referred to is a part of the campus], to protect the firemen. They had rifles, pistols, and shotguns at port arms.
>
> Suddenly the line of patrolmen began shooting over the bank toward the mob. It was a crackling gunfire, almost as if an order had been given for all patrolmen to shoot at once.

Persons who were injured or who were on the scene essentially agreed with Koon's account of what happened up to the time of the shooting. There is one exception: Many said a whistle was blown prior to the shooting and just before the gunfire ceased.

The state government maintains that no order to fire was given. According to Governor Robert McNair, the officers

began shooting only after students fired upon them. But no one has been able to find any weapons that the students might have used. No one, including newsmen on the scene, saw any students with guns. And students said they heard no shots immediately preceding the gunfire of the patrolmen.

Another account of what precipitated the gunfire is that Officer D. J. Shealy was felled by a missile thrown by one of the students. Shealy apparently shouted, "I'm hit," or someone else shouted, "He's shot," and the officers, thinking Shealy had been shot, began firing without either warning the students or verifying Shealy's injury. One report had it that Shealy was in an open space between the delapidated house on Watson Street and the thicket which separates the State campus from private residences in the area. If this was the case, it raised the question of why was Shealy that near the crowd of students.

Three students (Samuel Hammond, 18, of Fort Lauderdale, Florida; Henry Smith, 18, of Marion, South Carolina, and Delano Middleton, 18, a high school student of Orangeburg) were killed and at least 28 others were injured during the short, intensive burst of gunfire. One of the injured was Cleveland Sellers. As an indication of the mood of extreme distrust in the Negro community, some of the most responsible adult Negro leaders were in the aftermath of the shootings giving serious consideration to a theory that a deliberate effort was made to shoot Mr. Sellers. They cited as circumstantial evidence similarities in size, clothing, or hair style to those characteristic of Mr. Sellers among the

three fatalities. Mr. Sellers was arrested and charged with arson (a capital offense), breaking and entering, larceny, and assault and battery, and placed under $50,000 bond, later reduced to $20,000.

In the air of shock and tension and on-running anger after the shooting, a report circulated that students had been armed with rifles taken from the ROTC armory. Later, both sides generally agreed that rifles had been taken after the shooting and then returned without being fired. College officials said there were ten .22 calibre rifles in the armory, one inoperable.

Police and student accounts of the shooting and the moments leading up to it were at variance. The police version was that they opened fire in self-defense against gunfire, fire bombs and hurled missiles. The student version was that without warning shots were fired into a defenseless, unarmed crowd, and that persons in the yard were hit while running or hugging the ground for protection. Questions of fact and of national significance beyond Orangeburg were raised. In the aftermath, there were to be calls for further investigation and clarification.

EVENTS AT ORANGEBURG: III.

IN THE AFTERMATH

The Friday, February 9, front page of the Times and Democrat of Orangeburg described the events of Thursday night

with the banner headline: "All Hell Breaks Loose -- Three Killed, Many Wounded In College Nightmare," and with a sub-head: "Officers Blast Rioting Negroes." The Associated Press story of that day said in morning papers that Negroes "opened fire" on the state police, and in afternoon papers that the three Negro students were killed in a "brief exchange of gunfire with police."

Later, an AP photographer whose eyewitness account of the shootings was featured in the stories was quoted by the Los Angeles Times as saying he had been misquoted on Negroes' having opened fire on state police. NBC reports from the scene on national television that Friday forthrightly stated that most eyewitnesses agreed the Negro students had not opened fire on or exchanged gunfire with the state police.

During the day Friday, Governor McNair expressed what came to be a sort of official version of the shooting and the justification thereof. According to AP, "Governor McNair, calling it 'one of the saddest days in the history of South Carolina,' said the deaths and injuries came only after a long period of sniper fire from the campus 'and not until an officer had been felled during his efforts to protect life and property.' The governor said, 'Although the patrolman's injury was caused by some type of thrown missile, there was reason to believe at that instant that he had been shot. The other patrolmen, with instructions to protect themselves and others, responded with gunfire.'"

The same story also quoted the governor as saying: "It has become apparent that the incident last night was sparked by black power advocates who represented only a small minority of the total student bodies at the schools." The story continued: "The governor said the trouble had been caused by Cleveland Sellers, 23 years old, state coordinator for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee." In an interview in the New York Times a week later, the governor was still making these charges, and his official representative in Orangeburg, Henry Lake, was still maintaining that students firing on state police precipitated the killings. Mr. Lake was quoted in the Los Angeles Times as saying: "A fire truck moved in to douse that fire and another one the students started near a warehouse across the street. Policemen moved in to protect the firemen. Some shots were fired from the campus, I don't know whether for harassment or what because the fire truck was not hit. Then students came off the campus throwing rocks, pipes, sticks, and bannisters. One thrown by Sellers . . . hit Officer Shealy in the mouth. Some shots were fired about the same time and anyone seeing it would assume Shealy had been shot. Then a Molotov cocktail was thrown by a dwelling and that just sparked it." (This, Mr. Lake said, was based on police accounts. Student witnesses repeatedly asserted that students had not fired at the state police and that it was not Mr. Sellers who hit Shealy.) All concerned agreed that the National Guard had not fired.

The South Carolina press and apparently its white public for the most part seemed to accept the official interpretation and justification of events at Orangeburg. The national press did little to look behind it, with the already noted exception of NBC's initial coverage, and of such reports as that of Jack Nelson in the Los Angeles Times and Jack Bass in the Charlotte Observer. Mr. Nelson, in a story February 18, reported that "at least 16 of 28" wounded students and at least one of the dead "were struck from the rear," and quoted on-the-scene newsmen as saying that the state police "panicked" when they mistakenly thought one of their number had been shot.

Mr. Bass, in an interpretative story on February 15, seemed to raise a key issue of the police situation. "It was perhaps the first real test of the new riot control strategy devised since the burning of some U. S. cities last summer," he wrote. "The consequences for South Carolina were tragic. If underreaction by civil authorities may encourage rioters, events at Orangeburg indicate that overreaction may escalate a legitimate protest into a riot."

With the initial impression awry of exactly what transpired and with the official stance of white South Carolina, all the way up to the governor's office, adamantly supporting the state police, it was not surprising that national reaction was, if not indifferent, muted. There was no general public outcry for a fuller investigation of the specific incident, or the national implications. Such

demands came either from all-Negro or biracial civil rights organizations. These included the Orangeburg, South Carolina NAACP who sent telegrams to the White House and Justice Department asking that National Guard troops be sent in "from neutral areas outside of South Carolina." The Justice Department declined comment; the White House said it had not received the telegram. Later, 800 Orangeburg Negroes called for removal of the South Carolina National Guard, a measure of their distrust of this arm of white power. Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, sent a telegram to Governor McNair asking for a "prompt and thorough investigation" of the shootings and disciplining of those responsible. SNCC proposed to protest the "Orangeburg massacre" to the United Nations, and various SNCC leaders spoke of eye for an eye revenge. The South Carolina Council on Human Relations, a biracial organization of 1,350 members (affiliated with the Southern Regional Council) called for a Justice Department investigation, and urged an official state biracial commission, saying emphasis should be placed on righting the wrongs that cause racial unrest rather than on "the state government's capacity for violence."

Investigations were underway in Orangeburg immediately after the shootings by the state police, the United States Justice Department, and the South Carolina Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. There were indications that the latter might subsequently hold a public

hearing. The Justice Department probe, according to press reports, included examination of whether there had been violation of the civil rights of the slain students.

In the meantime, the Justice Department initiated two suits in Orangeburg, one calling for the desegregation of the All-Star Triangle Bowl, Inc., the other seeking desegregation of the Orangeburg Regional Hospital, actions which at least raised the question of why they came so late -- both in the life of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and in the day of Negro hope in Orangeburg.

On Saturday, Governor McNair had under emergency powers declared a nighttime curfew in Orangeburg which remained in effect for more than a week. State troopers, which at their peak numbered 200, and the South Carolina National Guardsmen, who at their peak numbered 600, were still on the scene more than a week later. Students from the two campuses were dismissed Saturday after the shootings, and the colleges were closed for the following two weeks. Ku Klux Klansmen who had planned to hold a rally in Orangeburg on the Sunday after the shootings were dissuaded. A full page John Birch Society advertisement addressed "To the Negroes of America," advising them that the civil rights movement was Communist led, appeared in the Times and Democrat on that Sunday. The Monday paper described "Race Relations Sunday" sermons by local ministers, deploring the violence, urging love. Twenty ministers had on Friday signed a statement endorsing a biracial committee

and urging restraint of passions.

Under the leadership of the NAACP, a boycott by Negroes of all white businesses was announced on the Sunday following the shooting. It was accompanied by an extensive list of demands, including most of those previously made by the students, calling for: restitution by the state to the families of the slain and wounded students; suspension of law enforcement officers "responsible for the police brutality"; inclusion of an equitable number of Negroes in all levels of law enforcement, city, county, and state; establishment of a police-community relations force; desegregation and fair employment at the bowling alley; investigation of alleged discriminatory practices within the Orangeburg penal system, and employment of Negroes in it; investigation of local radio station WDIX for possible violation of FCC regulations in attacks on Negro leaders; establishment of a food stamp program; payment of national minimum wage levels to Negro domestic and other workers; establishment of job training programs; adoption of Medicare at the Orangeburg Regional Hospital; creation of public housing and passage of fair housing laws; appointment of additional Negro registrars; annexation of large areas of Negro residences where citizens have already petitioned for same; integration of the county draft board; elimination of dual public school systems and full and complete integration of schools, faculty, and students; acceptance of public school compulsory attendance laws in the county; placing of Negroes on school boards; "positive and concrete

steps to change the status of South Carolina State College from a state-supported institution of higher learning designed to educate Negro youth to a regular branch of the University System, serving the whole community"; a biracial community relations task force with immediate goals of establishing a fair employment commission, investigation of complaints about discrimination in medical services, specifically in hospital wards, physicians' offices and public health centers; evaluation of coverage of the Negro community in news media, and integration of drive-in theaters.

The combination of the boycott, though not well organized at its outset, and the curfew hurt business, local merchants were quick to acknowledge. Of the complaints, the one regarding status of State College came closest, from all indications, to representing the strongest discontent of students, the real issue for which the bowling alley was a surface outlet for outrage. And the recommendation for a biracial community relations commission had already been acted on. The mayor and city council (which had seemed to reject the notion only the day before, though saying it would welcome further suggestions) began Friday the formation of such a group, reportedly on strong direction of Governor McNair. Almost immediately, the organizational effort became embroiled in factional dispute among Negro leaders, white officials having designated a Negro minister who formerly headed the NAACP to name Negro members, and the current

officials of the NAACP insisting that they should have this prerogative.

Of these matters in the aftermath of tragedy, three -- the issue of quality education, the record of Orangeburg in race relations past and present, and the question of the extent and meaning of black power influence on the two college campuses -- seemed at the center of the events at Orangeburg and their significance for the South and the nation.

EVENTS AT ORANGEBURG: IV.

THE SCHOOL ISSUE

Clearly the most pressing issue in the minds of the students at South Carolina State College was not black power, but the quality of education they were receiving there. Students at State College, like students at other black colleges in the South, had begun to see the disparity between their school and its white counterparts, Clemson, and the University of South Carolina. A corollary of this recognition had been a campus revolt in the spring of 1967.

At that time, the failure of State College to renew the contracts of three white instructors, among other things, had led to a "98 per cent effective" boycott of classes and the subsequent granting of numerous concessions by the administration. Among some of these concessions were the abolition of certain Sunday dress regulations, a halt in compulsory vesper attendance, and the promise that the

students would receive more and better educational facilities and a permanent president to replace the retired Dr. B. C. Turner. The students left school last spring thinking that when they returned in the fall they would at least have a permanent president who could plead their case for more funds from the 1968 General Assembly.

Instead, the students were greeted by an acting president, Dr. Maceo Nance, who did indeed submit a budget calling for more funds to make needed improvements in the physical and academic plants at State College. Dr. Nance submitted, in addition to an early request of $3.3 million, a $5.5 million budget to the General Assembly. The latter amount was to cover costs for maintenance and permanent improvements. The $3.3 million was appropriated but only about $300,000 of the $5.5 million had been granted when the school was closed on Friday, February 9. Many students were angered by this action of the General Assembly and felt that it amounted to a total disregard for the amount requested by Dr. Nance.

The budget breakdown for state-supported schools from 1967 through 1969 was:

	1967-1968 Appropriation	1968-1969 Request
University of S. C.	$10,702,813	$16,518,250
The Citadel	2,604,735	3,193,114
Clemson University (Education & General)	7,320,534	9,793,500
Winthrop College	3,125,809	3,809,582
State Medical College	8,930,318	13,603,006
State College of S. C.	2,588,690	3,298,414

These figures indicate that white or predominantly white schools in South Carolina received $32,684,209 in 1967-68 as compared to $2,588,690 for the only state-supported Negro college. These figures, and the differences included therein, said many students, constitute the major problem: inferior education.

Students cited other disparities between the two systems of higher education. For instance, Clemson's library is worth more than two-thirds of the entire plant at South Carolina State. And the University of South Carolina is now building a stadium in Columbia that is worth more than the entire plant at South Carolina State College.

At the time the bowling alley emerged as a target of nonviolent direct action, the students still rankled over not having the permanent president they had been promised and over the cutbacks in the budgetary requests of Dr. Nance. Harry Floyd's bowling alley was a symbol of segregation and the educational strangulation the students experienced as a result

of it. So, the bowling alley became a catalyst for igniting a revolt that was to involve the entire black population of Orangeburg. The students merely reacted to this overt symbol by waging a campaign of moral rectification against it.

And so news of the killings in Orangeburg cited the bowling alley as the apparent cause of troubles there. But as one ranking member of the State College administration said, "The simple problem at South Carolina State College is money and the students' recognition that they are not getting the type of education that white kids get at Clemson and the University of South Carolina."

EVENTS AT ORANGEBURG: V.

BLACK POWER

The Black Awareness Coordinating Committee (BACC) on the South Carolina State College campus is a black power oriented student organization. First organized in the spring of 1967, the group was described as starting out as nothing more than a kind of "study group." BACC was organized according to the rules governing formation of student organizations at State College and remained a legitimate organ of the student community. In the words of a ranking member of the administration, "My position as a member of the administration did not allow me to discourage the formation of the Black Awareness group. They had as much right to organize as anyone else." Approximately 35 persons

joined initially.

BACC members provoked discussions of contemporary social movements and personalities involved in them. They also invited speakers like George Ware of SNCC and Julian Bond of the Georgia House of Representatives. An instructor at neighboring Claflin College felt that BACC served a very useful and constructive purpose on the college campus. But its appeal was ostensibly not very great; membership fell to around 12 or 13 persons. BACC was small and its ideology was not overly attractive to the largely rural-oriented student body. Up to and including the tragedy of February 8, BACC's membership made no appreciable gains.

Indications were that Mr. Sellers, though popular with BACC, had little influence on the campuses. He was a frequent visitor to the State College campus, but from what was said of him, Cleveland Sellers was not one who possessed charismatic authority on the campus. Students interviewed, from the conservatives to the radicals, said he was respected for his ideas, but did not have a following. Students were emphatic in saying Mr. Sellers was not responsible for student actions on the night of February 8. And each said the confrontation at the bowling alley would have come without black power.

Such opinion needed to be weighed in assessing statements linking black power with the violence. The Orangeburg Times and Democrat's editor, Dean B. Livingston, stated that "Floyd and black power were on a collision course";

perhaps it was merely that Floyd and black Orangeburg were on a collision course. Similarly, the "strength" that State College trustee Wallace C. Bethea was "shocked" by in Orangeburg was rather than black power as an ideology espoused by "15 or 20" followers, the kind of unyielding unity of black people that white Orangeburg had seen before -- in 1955, 1960, and 1963.

Black power was not the issue in Orangeburg.

EVENTS AT ORANGEBURG: VI.

RACE RELATIONS BACKGROUND

The two sets of Negro demands on the city of Orangeburg were a profile of perceived failure in most of the nation's objectives in race relations and against poverty. The statistical profile of Orangeburg and Orangeburg County in rawest census data indicated the extent of need for success rather than failure of national objectives in this one rather typical southern locale. County population by outdated but indicative 1960 census figures was 68,559, with 41,221 or 60.1 per cent Negro, and 13,852 (5,516 or 39.7 per cent Negro) in the city of Orangeburg. (The disparity in proportion of Negroes in the city is one result of a city limits which Negroes termed gerrymandered, running through what seems a continuous urban area, the outside mostly Negro, the inside mostly white.) Between 1950 and 1960, for whatever it says of past race relations

and opportunity, despite a gain in overall population, the county saw a total of 15,429 citizens move away, all but 1,668 of them Negro.

Median family income, according to the 1960 census, was $2,603 in the county, $4,617 in the city. For Negroes the figures were $1,461 and $2,075.

Median school years completed, according to 1960 census data, in the county was 8.2 years, in the city, 11.1 years. But for Negroes (and this in a college community), the medians were 5.7 in the county, 6.5 in the city.

Orangeburg is in rich farm country, is a trading center, and has four sizeable manufacturing plants among industries. The amount of desegregation as required in the various aspects of community life by the 1964 Civil Rights Law was in 1968 in the southern pattern of tokenism; this included six Negro officers on the police force. Negro leaders termed a War on Poverty Community Action Program less than fully effective. Voter registration in the county prior to the 1968 re-registration was 48.8 per cent of potential Negroes, 99.0 per cent of potential whites.

A perhaps unusual degree of right wing influence has been at work in the city and county for some time. Besides the Klan, local residents said there exists a Wallace-for-President headquarters, a strong Citizens' Council organization, strong John Birch Society organizations, a Carl McIntire organization, and the home base of a state association of private schools.

Desegregation disputes of sizeable dimensions began as early as 1955 when 57 Negroes petitioned for public school integration. A white Citizens' Council was formed and began a campaign of economic intimidation against the 57, soon reducing their number to a hard core of 26 who would not budge. Negro leaders countered with a boycott of white merchants involved in the economic intimidation. A fund of $50,000 was raised around the country to provide small loans to victims of the Citizens' Council intimidation. By the spring of 1956, both sides were willing to compromise on the economic impasse, but there was small success with integration. Indeed, the city -- which until then even as in 1968 after the campus slayings held in its white public opinion a belief that race relations were excellent -- suffered a setback in these relations typified in a refusal during 1955 of white ministers to meet with Negro ministers merely to discuss the problems.

In 1960, Orangeburg was among the first southern cities to experience sit-in demonstrations by Negro college students seeking service at lunch counters. Official white resistance was notably fierce; police used fire hoses and tear gas against the demonstrators, arrested some 338 students, and incarcerated them in an outdoor compound.

In 1963, massive marches by much of the adult and student Negro population protesting segregated public facilities again resulted in numerous arrests, rough

police tactics, and little desegregation until the 1964 Civil Rights Law got merchants "off the hook," as one citizen put it. A full-page story in the National Observer of December 23, 1963, by George McMillan included a quotation with obvious portent for 1968 from a young man who was then a student at South Carolina State College: "Sometimes I think the only places where anything has been accomplished is where there has been some rioting . . . Then I thought how would you feel if somebody got killed, maybe somebody's daughter. But I'll say this: The white man has forced his religion on the Negro, the religion that has taught the Negro to turn the other cheek. Now the Negro has only one cheek left. He doesn't have another one to turn."

The bowling alley in Orangeburg slipped by efforts to secure compliance with the 1964 Civil Rights Law. As one leader explained it, those who had marched were mainly people who couldn't afford to bowl. It was decided to leave the problem up to bowling enthusiasts among the Negro population who had to drive the 50 miles to Columbia for their sport. Complaints about the bowling alley to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights which were forwarded to the Justice Department date back to 1965, and various unsuccessful local efforts -- including pleas by other white merchants -- were made to persuade the owner to change his policy.

Establishment of a biracial committee was urged in

various quarters during the 1963 impasse (which also included an economic boycott by Negroes), but met with no success. A white citizen who was involved in an effort to establish one then told of almost solid public opinion against it. By contrast, he said, when news of the 1968 attempt to form one was made known, congratulatory calls came from all over town. "Before," he said, "you could walk the streets up and down and not find two to support you." An unofficial committee with three white members and a representative group of Negro leaders met from October, 1966, to January, 1967, and then just gave up out of failure to attract other white members, and adamant refusal of the mayor to grant it official status. Even in the aftermath of the events of the week of February 5-10, Mayor Pendarvis, admitting there were problems, was saying, "I would put our race relations up against any in the world for a town this size and proportion of races." Governor McNair, generally considered a racial moderate and supported heavily by Negro votes, included in most of his statements about the events at Orangeburg praise for the state's good race relations, and lament over Orangeburg's being the first notable outbreak of racial violence in recent South Carolina history. Behind such statements lay a disparity in what white and what Negro citizens perceived as good race relations. This was expressed by an Orangeburg Negro leader who recalled the official attitude when Clemson University was desegregated.

"They said they didn't want that Negro student, but if they had to take him, they would do it without violence. Not being wanted -- that hurts worse than any violence."

Whatever hope there was of a real turn in Orangeburg race relations in the aftermath of the campus slayings centered on whether the biracial committee would effectively represent Negro interests, and whether the city would honestly deal with problems. At the outset, there were no provisions for student membership, let alone representation of the black consciousness element. A measure of hope might be seen in the enthusiasm of some white citizens at least for a new try. But the gap, as in so much of the South, seemed frighteningly wide between what whites conceived of as "being good" to the Negroes, and what Negroes, in expectation of full citizenship and dignity of treatment, were demanding. And patience and faith of Negroes was sorely strained. The student rampage, the withdrawal aspects of the scant black consciousness movement on the campus, were only the most raw of manifestations of this general despair among all classes of Negroes. A student leader may have expressed the mood that would continue to influence the future in Orangeburg, the South, and the nation when he said slowly, "I don't believe in violence. But I don't blame Negroes for becoming involved in extremism, since there is extremism on the other side."

EVENTS AT ORANGEBURG: VII.

REFLECTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Investigations that were underway by federal and state authorities would, one assumed, eventually resolve conflicts in interpretation and fact about the events at Orangeburg. It was of national importance that full findings of such investigations might somehow be made public. A thorough hearing by the state Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights seemed eminently desirable. For the events at Orangeburg had significance for all Americans, Negroes across the land already wary and bitter and fearful and angry by varying degrees, whites alarmed over black power and riots. Some of the significance is suggested in the following points:

1. Police Action. Some assessment needs to be made of whether the killing and wounding of students by gunfire might have been averted. Why were not less lethal methods of riot control such as tear gas or MACE (a stronger irritant) employed? Why were there not warnings by shots overhead or by bullhorn? If, as official versions seem to have it, officers were under campus sniper fire for a period of hours and were in a state of tension where a hurled missile made them think they were being attacked by gunfire, why had not members of the administration been asked to clear the campus and break up crowds?

Beyond these immediate questions, broader ones emerge. In South Carolina, public policy not unlike that being

enunciated by most other American states and indeed by the federal government had been stated by Governor McNair (among southern governors a generally progressive and moderate chief of state) on June 15, 1967. In an address to the South Carolina Law Officers Association, he said:

> Today we are faced with the so-called advocates of nonviolence <u>who leave a trail of violence</u> [our emphasis] wherever they go. Throughout our nation there are groups and increasing numbers of individuals who would take the law into their own hands . . . but should it come [to South Carolina], let me assure you that the full weight and authority of the state is behind you as keepers of the peace and enforcers of the law.

Such "get-tough" policies, wherever put into effect, carry into highly volatile situations new elements of danger. Order must be maintained, but the duty of society and of police is that it be so with a minimum of force. At least suggested in Orangeburg and evident in other situations that have arisen in the South and in other parts of the nation is the frightening spectacle of an over-escalation of police and military force (the question has been raised of whether alerting of the National Guard on Tuesday night was necessary), a pouring of large numbers of heavily armed men into tense situations, increasing the emotionalism of race involved, increasing a dependence on force to suppress people rather than honestly deal with the social problems at the

source of their disorder or violence, and a conditioning of the American public already far along to an acceptance of violence and death in the resolution of problems. In the South, where state police have records of violence against Negroes through history, and where in the recent past such police have been instruments of segregationist policy, there is considerable cause for concern and caution regarding "get-tough" policies. This is a concern for riot control; a breakdown in respect and trust for law enforcement officers is at a crisis point among Negroes and protesting whites in the South and nation.

2. Law Enforcement. Order must be maintained; law must be enforced. In the South, a terrible tradition of defiance of federal law regarding desegregation, centering at the top of state governments and permeating much of white society, has only recently somewhat abated. In Orangeburg, Negroes on Tuesday night were confronted by the spectacle of policemen seeming to guard an establishment whose adherence to the 1964 Civil Rights Law was at best questionable. Allegations of other violations of this law within the city and county were parts of Negro grievance lists, and of the two federal court suits filed after the shootings. Failure of the federal government across the South to enforce civil rights laws, laggardness in filing the necessary suits has been an increasing cause of Negro anger. And failure of the poverty program to reach the root causes of an even more explosive anger extends across the nation. Rioting and

black racism are not rational responses to these failures, but the nation must correct the failures if it is to expect rationality from citizens.

3. Black Power. It is possible to suggest that the events at Orangeburg, with their fatal consequence, converted more Negroes in that city and across the nation to the kind of violent anger that white hysteria over black power envisions than Cleveland Sellers or all the advocates of black power might ever achieve. The findings of this report were that few students on the two campuses were attracted to the black-consciousness movement there. The findings of this report were also that protest over the bowling alley began in traditional nonviolent fashion. Indeed the events in Orangeburg contain in microcosm the history of this decade in civil rights: A nonviolent protest was met with police resistance and ensuing violence, all of the violence to persons by police. The response to this was violence against property and a state of near-riot by Negroes which in turn prompted heavier violence from police. It seems worth noting that the record of violent resistance to Negro rights in the South spawned the black power movement and turned the very organizations and individuals who did most during direct action days to maintain nonviolence among volatile crowds of untrained student demonstrators into agencies and people whose current enunciated beliefs encourage violence. Meanwhile hysteria over black power, a failure of white America to see its

positive values and an inclination to over-react to its negative ones, was evident in the events of Orangeburg, from the readiness of whites up to the highest levels of government to believe the worst about intentions of the protesting students, to the possible lessening of effectiveness of adult Negro leadership, a standing-off attitude, out of fear of being tarnished with the black power brush. In such hysteria, the real causes of conflict, the real issues of discontent are lost.

4. Student Revolt. A distinction needs to be made between campus protest, campus rioting, and urban ghetto rioting, if only in the superficial sense that students are able to enunciate their grievances better for middle-class white understanding than poor and hopeless ghetto dwellers. The findings of this report are that students in Orangeburg were acting on a legitimate grievance against the bowling alley, were enunciating other legitimate grievances of the larger Negro population (later amplified by the adults of the NAACP), and, most of all, were expressing their resentment of palpably inequitable educational opportunity. Such inequity begins in most southern locales in predominantly Negro kindergartens and comes to its sad climax in many of the predominantly Negro colleges. Such failure to provide equal education is not restricted to the South. But it is notable that the most of the violence approaching riot proportions that has occurred in the South (and this has not been a great deal) has occurred at colleges -- in

Jackson, Mississippi; Nashville, Tennessee; Houston, Texas; Baton Rouge, Louisiana; and Alcorn, Mississippi. Demonstrations protesting the shooting in Orangeburg spread across southern campuses; rock-throwing and window-smashing erupted at one -- in Durham, North Carolina. The nation would be as tragically deceived as in ghetto rioting if it viewed Negro student protest only as a police problem in riot control. However unruly in the past or in what seems likely a continuation of them, these protests go to the center of the nation's racial problem -- deprivation of opportunity. They also suggest a hope not always evident in the equally eloquent anguish expressed in ghetto riots; the students are demanding equal opportunity to participate in the American system. The presidents of the five colleges that compose Atlanta University, among the most prestigious Negro institutions of higher learning in the nation, addressed themselves to another aspect of the campus situation in the aftermath of Orangeburg. In an open letter to President Johnson, they declared:

> The invasion of college campuses by various police powers in the United States is a trend which can no longer be continued without public protest by responsible educators and other persons interested in preserving the freedom of institutions of higher learning in our country.
>
> Here in America we seem to have adopted a "get tough" national policy based on the use

> of armored and armed police and guardsmen in killing American citizens at the slightest provocation.
>
> The frustrations of our society which stem from the perplexities of our present involvement in Vietnam coupled with the complexities involved in solving the dual problems of race and ghetto have led many officials to believe that a resort to naked police power and brutality is the proper avenue for handling major social problems.
>
> That was the avenue taken by Nazi Germany and other police power states. This has not been the way of modern America.

A few days after the tragic events of Thursday night at Orangeburg, Dr. Benjamin F. Payton, who is from Orangeburg, the president of Benedict College in Columbia, a private Negro institution, happened to be the first Negro ever to address a white civic club in Columbia. During the course of his remarks to the Kiwanis Club there, he said: "Was it necessary that three people be killed because one hundred of them threw bricks? I have difficulty conceiving in my imagination of the highway patrolmen firing point-blank at students at the [predominantly white] University of South Carolina and Clemson on doing the same thing."

At a small church on the outskirts of town, plowed fields alongside it and across the highway, funeral services were held for Delano Middleton. There was no official representation from white Orangeburg. As his family (his

mother a maid at State College where he had hoped to be a student) and a large crowd of Negro citizens of all ages wept (his father crying out, "He never bothered nobody . . . ."), the funeral's ritual of death's meaning and the special ache of death of the young brought the sober and somber reality of the events at Orangeburg home. America somehow needed to find the way to nurture the hope of all its youth, not killing nor allowing hope to die.

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SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

IN MEMPHIS:
MORE THAN A GARBAGE STRIKE

by J. Edwin Stanfield

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March 22, 1968

Price .30¢ each

INTRODUCTION

This report is written and published as the strike and accompanying Negro protest -- the old civil rights movement still alive -- in Memphis continues. Perhaps by the time this report reaches the reader, the strike and turmoil will have been settled. This is to be wished -- but only if the settlement is honorable, if it reaches honestly to the issues, from the surface economic ones to the deep-lying ones of human dignity. Otherwise -- as in the past in Memphis and all too many other southern and American locales -- the time of danger and of disaster will have only been postponed, with an ever-increasing store of anger and loss of faith. There is the real possibility, too, that the situation in Memphis may have deteriorated into violence and repression. If so, this report can only contribute to the record, so badly misread and misunderstood in America, of how such tragedy comes about, and of how it might be averted. In simplest terms, avoiding such tragedy was in Memphis and across America merely a matter of government and society living up to their responsibilities to all citizens.

There have been at work through the time of tension in Memphis forces and influences for positive and intelligent action meeting the highest obligations of society and

government. Such forces and influences come from both races of men in Memphis. It remains a problem in all of American life how such positive people and institutions might be supported and encouraged. It is toward that end, primarily, that this report is submitted.

THE STRIKE

On Monday, February 12, 1,375 men (mostly sanitation workers but also other employees of Memphis' Department of Public Works) went out on strike.

The walk out originated over a sewer workers' grievance. Twenty-two employees of that department who reported for work on January 31 were sent home when it began raining. White employees were not sent home and, when the rain stopped after an hour or so, were put to work and paid for the full day. The Negro workers complained. The city then paid them two hours' "call up pay." When they saw their pay envelopes at the end of the week, they called a meeting of Memphis Local 1733 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO). Local 1733 is all Negro. The local had no official status, a result of the city of Memphis' policy of not recognizing a particular union as bargaining agent for municipal employees. The question of recognition of the union was to become a central issue in the strike.

Mayor Henry Loeb, who was elected in October, 1967, took the position that the strike was illegal and that the strikers had to return to work before their grievances could be discussed. He declared that he would never sign a contract, that the city could not recognize a particular union as bargaining agent for municipal employees, and that

he would not agree to a dues check-off. The union insisted that federal precedent supported its demand for recognition. Indications were that the mayor would not be adamant on any of the other points.

Coming even as it did in the shadow of the devastating, nine-day sanitation strike in New York City, the Memphis strike received little notice outside the state. It did not create a "newsworthy" crisis as the New York strike did. The reason is simple: Memphis has a population of just over 500,000. Using non-union workers and supervisors, the city managed to keep picking up garbage and trash downtown and from vital institutions, such as hospitals. They also kept enough scab crews operating to pick up in designated residential sections each day. The daily papers printed maps showing which neighborhoods would get service on that day, and the location of city dumps so that citizens could dispose of their own accumulations, if they wished. The garbage problem was kept below crisis proportions.

Mayor Loeb, a tall, big-boned, darkly handsome man, spoke of plans he still had in reserve, such as one to place garbage trucks at shopping centers to which citizens could bring their garbage. When 317 men reported for work on the seventeenth day of the strike (108 non-strikers, 62 strikers who returned, and 147 new men) the mayor was

delighted and spoke of the possibility of tapering off on hiring as soon as the force "gets high enough to provide once-a-week pickups."

The strike was merely a symptom of Memphis' larger problem.

More than 200,000 of the city's citizens are Negroes -- about 40 per cent of the population. The 80,000 Negro voters were almost solidly against Loeb when he was elected last October; but Negroes failed to vote in a bloc for any other candidate, including A. W. Willis, Negro representative to the Tennessee House. Mayor Loeb's handling of the sanitation strike, with concurrence of the City Council, apparently triggered the release in the Negro community of built-up resentment over low wages generally and under-employment of Negroes in local government. Their resentment was heightened by disappointment, for there had been hope that the new mayor-council form of city government (changed from commission form in January) and a new police commissioner would mean a change for the better.

On February 16, the local chapter of the NAACP threatened massive demonstrations unless the city met the demands of the strikers. A group of Negro ministers, with the Reverend James Lawson as chairman, became interested in the strike, since many of the workers were members of

their congregations. They began by sponsoring a series of meetings between city and union officials.

On Monday, February 19, while the second of this series of meetings was in progress, representatives of the NAACP and some of the strikers picketed in front of city hall. Little progress was made in the negotiations. The demonstrators continued their vigil through the night and left at dawn without incident.

THE "SIT-IN"

The City Council's Committee on Public Works scheduled a public hearing for Thursday at 10 a. m. Some 100 people, including union officers, ministers, and sympathizers were present when the hearing began. Fred Davis, committee chairman, hinted that the union representatives might not be speaking from the viewpoint of the strikers. "We are going to pay particular attention to what the men themselves have to say on the issues," he declared. "We are concerned that the men as individuals have not been able to bring out their views."

With that, union officials called the Rubber Workers' Hall, where the daily rally of strikers was to begin at noon. In a short time, roughly dressed sanitation workers began to drift into the City Council's

chamber. Soon the room, which has a seating capacity of 407, including chairs for councilmen, clerks and reporters, was crowded with about 700 people, mostly sanitation workers.

Chairman Davis insisted that the rank and file were being misrepresented. Officers of the union local insisted that they were the proper spokesmen, not some unlettered member chosen at random. Mr. Davis declared that due to overcrowding of the chamber contrary to fire laws, the committee would recess.

The workers and their leaders and friends said that they would remain in the hearing room until they got satisfaction. Speaker after speaker exhorted the workers and voiced grievances of the strikers in particular and of Memphis Negroes in general. There was singing of spirituals, patriotic songs and the anthems of the civil rights movement. "The plush, red-carpeted council chamber," reported the Memphis Commercial Appeal, "was jammed with strikers who vaulted across the railing onto the dais reserved for city officials."

Since no one had eaten lunch, union leaders sent for bread, bologna, cheese, luncheon meat, ham, and mustard. The city attorney's table was appropriated for making sandwiches. "The usually immaculate carpet of the chamber," the Commercial Appeal complained, "soon became spotted with

bread crumbs and tiny pieces of paper despite the small trash cans placed in each aisle for refuse."

Meanwhile, Inspector Sam Evans of the Memphis Police Department had 142 officers converge on city hall. They remained parked within a block, five to a car, with car motors running.

The committee eventually capitulated. It reopened the hearing and finally, about 5:30, agreed to recommend that the city recognize the union and agree to "some form of dues check-off." A newsman asked Councilman Davis what the mayor replied when told of the committee's recommendation. "He maintained a polite silence," said Mr. Davis. The recommendation was to be presented to the City Council in a special meeting at 2:30 p. m. the next day.

A cartoon published in the Commercial Appeal on Friday, February 23, after the sit-in at city hall on Thursday, silhouetted a fat Negro sitting atop a garbage can surrounded by a pile of rubbish and overturned receptacles. The garbage can was labeled, "City Hall Sit-in." Wavy lines indicated an odor rising from the garbage from the garbage heap and the black man. Above his head these fume-lines formed the legend, "Threat of Anarchy." The cartoon was titled, "Beyond the Bounds of Tolerance."

"Memphis garbage strikers have turned an illegal

walk out into anarchy," said an accompanying editorial, "and Mayor Henry Loeb is exactly right when he says, 'We can't submit to this sort of thing!' . . . When the Council deals with the problem today it should not be intimidated or stampeded into imprudent decisions by yesterday's belligerent show of force." (Ironically, on Wednesday evening, scarcely twenty-four hours before that cartoon and editorial were published, Commercial Appeal Editor Frank R. Ahlgren had received a brotherhood award at the annual affair of the local National Conference of Christians and Jews.)

THE FEBRUARY 23 MARCH

On Friday afternoon, so many people showed up for the Council meeting that it was moved to a municipal auditorium. (The Memphis Press-Scimitar estimated one thousand. An observer sympathetic to the strikers estimated two thousand. Estimates of crowds at meetings and marches by the two Memphis dailies were, with notable consistency, about half those of Negro leaders.)

In view of what ensued, the Negro ministers and union leaders wondered why they bothered. The meeting was called to order at 2:30 p. m. with the traditional cry of the sergeant-at-arms: "Oyez, this honorable City Council of the City of Memphis is now in session. All persons having business to transact or matters to bring before the City Council draw nigh, give attention, and ye shall be heard." The Public Works Committee's resolution was never heard. Another resolution,

obviously prepared and discussed by the councilmen in advance, was substituted and passed by a vote of nine to four. (The four opposed were three Negro councilmen and one white man who thought the recommendations too compromising.) The substitute resolution suggested concessions by the mayor on all points, except the vital issues of a signed contract recognizing a union and a system of union dues check-off. After passage of this resolution, Council Chairman Downing Pryor announced that members would not, at that meeting, hear citizens -- and the Council was adjourned at 2:45.

This had an electric effect on the assembled strikers and their leaders. As on Thursday, union officers and community leaders, including some recognized even by the white press for their "responsibility," got to their feet to express anger and resentment. T. O. Jones, president of Local 1733, was quoted by the Press-Scimitar as saying, "We are ready to go to their damned jail." Dr. Vascoe A. Smith, Jr., a Memphis dentist and NAACP leader, was reported in the press to have said, "Don't let them hoodwink you. You are living in a racist town. They don't give a damn about you . . . ."

A march along Main Street was quickly organized after the meeting and an understanding was reached with

the police that marchers would stay on the west side of the street.

For several blocks all went smoothly. Then, in the marchers' version, a police cruiser edged over the center line, bumping and nudging the marchers, crowding them closer to the curb. The Tri-State Defender reported that the car stopped on a woman's foot and that marchers tried to push it off. Other accounts were that it ran over the woman's foot, and in anger, marchers tried to shove it back over the center line. The white press questioned whether the car even touched the woman's foot. Whatever the case, marchers were under the impression that it had; there was pushing of the police car.

Indeed, in the police version it was claimed that (for unspecified reasons) an attempt was made to overturn the squad car. Officers quoted one marcher as yelling, "Let's turn the patrol car over," and said that men then started rocking the car. At any rate, five policemen jumped from the cruiser and, joined by other officers, began spraying the marchers with Mace, a new tear gas-like chemical causing temporary blindness and severe facial discomfort. They sprayed not only the men in the immediate vicinity of the squad car, but other marchers up and down the block. In the ensuing confusion, they gassed a number of bystanders and even fellow officers.

Jacques Wilmore, staff director of the regional office of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, whose office is in Memphis, saw the police grab a man in the crowd, pulling him toward the curb. According to Wilmore, "a third policeman came up and just cracked the man across the head. I walked up to them and pulled out my identification. That's when they squirted me two or three times directly in the eyes with Mace." Bobby Doctor, another employee of the Civil Rights Commision, and Baxton Bryant, Executive Director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, were with Wilmore at the time and were sprayed in the same sweeps of the gas canister.

Gerald Fanion, director of Shelby County Community Relations Commission, a Negro, said he was helping a woman out of the ruckus when a policeman walked up to him and squirted him in the face. "I told him who I was and that I was acting as liaison for the county and he squirted me again," said Fanion.

P. J. Ciampa, white field director for the striking union, was sprayed repeatedly. On the following Monday he still had raw, peeling skin under his left eye. He was treated for abrasions and bruises inflicted by the police. "I've never seen such brutality," said Ciampa.

The Tri-State Defender, a Negro-owned weekly, published a page of photographs of the fray. One showed a policeman sprinting directly toward the camera, club in

hand. The cameraman reported that a few seconds after he snapped the picture, the policeman yelled, "Gimme that camera, nigger," and chased him into the crowd.

The lead editorial in the Press-Scimitar on February 24, the day after police broke up the march, lamented that "leaders of the union have shown no respect for Tennessee law . . ." It continued:

> On the other hand, Memphis can take deep pride in the prompt and efficient way its law enforcement officers handled the volatile situation. Police were on the job as the strikers and their leaders boiled out of the meeting and started a march on Main Street.
>
> They had guns, but they didn't shoot.
>
> They had Mace, the new irritant gas which incapacitates but does not permanently injure -- and they used it. They went into action as soon as fired-up marchers attacked a police car . . .
>
> How much better to do it this way than to be late and soft as were police in Detroit and other places . . . letting disturbances grow into full-scale rioting.

The use of Mace and billy clubs by the police resulted in unprecendented unity among Memphis Negroes. According to residents, Negro ministers who in other years were often

leaders of divisive factions were virtually unanimous in calling for support of the sanitation workers and the union.

The ministers cancelled a demonstration scheduled for Saturday and had a strategy meeting instead. Next day they went into their pulpits and called for a boycott of (1) all downtown stores; (2) the two daily newspapers*; and (3) every establishment doing business under the name of "Loeb." (Mayor Henry Loeb's brother, William, owns a chain of barbecue and fried chicken restaurants, and a laundry chain.) They also announced downtown marches in support of the strikers and the boycott for both Monday morning and Monday afternoon, and a mass meeting at

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*Memphis has two daily newspapers, the Commercial Appeal and the Press-Scimitar. Both are Scripps-Howard publications. At a mass meeting, Dr. Ralph Jackson dubbed them "lying newspapers" and called upon the people to cancel their subscriptions. "Anybody who buys an insult to himself is a fool. Let it be known that we are not fools! Maybe they don't know it," he explained, "but all the Hambones are dead."

This was in reference to a single-panel cartoon that the Commercial Appeal has been printing for decades. Titled, "Hambone's Meditations," and authored by J. P. Alley, it depicts a caricature of a Negro, balding, wearing baggy pants, and sometimes a defeated-looking hat. Hambone is always engaged in some menial activity, such as bringing in an armload of wood or sweeping and dusting. He utters pithy sayings. "Kun'l Bob says hit lak dis," he said recently, "--de top man ain't necessary alluz de bes' man!!" On another day: "Ef tomorrow evuh do come, I reck'n ole Tom gwine be de busies' man in de whole worl'!!!" Mayor Loeb, in a meeting with Negro leaders, expressed puzzlement at their being offended by Hambone.

Clayborn Temple AME Church on Monday night.

The action of the police greatly strengthened the strikers. It made the preachers mad, and preachers still have influence among Negroes in the South. One of them, still furious on Monday night, urged the boycott of all Loeb businesses in this manner: "Somebody tried to explain to me that William Loeb who owns the cleaning places is just Henry Loeb's brother. I don't care if it is his brother or his sister or his mother or his father or his uncle or his auntie or his cousin -- if it says 'Loeb' on it, you stay out of there! If it says 'Loeb' on the sign or on the front of the store or on the back of it, on the side or on the top of it or on the bottom of it -- you stay out of there!"

The boycott was effective, and again the actions of the police had helped. Downtown streets and stores were virtually empty throughout the next week. Clerks straightened and restraightened stock, arranged and rearranged window displays. Negroes apparently were supporting the boycott. Speculation was that white people stayed away from town out of fear of another melee.

D E M O N S T R A T I O N S

In spite of Friday's bitter experience, marches were conducted daily throughout the following week (February 26-

March 2).

In Monday's march, which was typical of others during the week, most of the demonstrators were adults and nearly all were Negroes. There were four white girls from Southwestern at Memphis and a couple of young white men from Memphis State. Not many Negro youngsters were in the lines. Quite a few were on the sidewalks, watching and chuckling.

Some of the signs were neatly stenciled and carried pointed, but judicious messages: "Dignity and Decency For Our Sanitation Workers," and "Keep Your Money In Your Pocket," and "Jim Crow Must Go," and "We Are Together Once And For All."

Others were crudely lettered and blunt: "Only God Is King, Henry," and "Watts Also Waited Too Late," and "Watts Also Fired Negroes," and "Sign Contract Blue-Eye Soul Brother."

The march moved slowly up Beale Street and turned north on Main. Trying to keep two car-lengths apart, as instructed, the marchers moved past the pawn shops on Beale; past dozens of fashionable shops on Main. All but a few of the stores were empty. So were the streets, except for clerks who had stepped out to watch and people waiting on corners for buses.

Asked how the boycott was affecting business, a

dime store clerk answered, "Well, it ain't helping any. People stay away for fear of getting involved."

An elderly woman carried her sign and faced straight ahead, lips pursed and eyes darting from side to side. She was dressed simply, but neatly, and wore a hat. Asked if she were a member of a striker's family, she answered, "No, I'm just a church member and a friend. It's easier for me to march because I am alone now, and don't have children to take care of. I could be home in bed. But I remember. I been there. I've been without work. And I've been too poor and hungry to go to work when I had it."

On Saturday, March 2, 400 to 500 college and high school students picketed downtown stores all day. That afternoon there was a joint march by the young people, the ministers and their followers, and the sanitation men. The papers estimated 1,000 people in that march; again observers sympathetic to the strikers guessed twice that many.

Meanwhile, on the day after the use of Mace on marchers, Mayor Loeb and City Attorney Frank B. Gianotti decided to seek an injunction against the strike in Chancery Court. Chancellor Robert Hoffman issued an injunction prohibiting engaging in a strike against the city; causing, authorizing, or inducing employees to strike against the city; picketing city property and coercing the city by striking, picketing,

or other means to recognize the union as bargaining agent. Officials explained that it would be difficult to enforce the injunction so as to require the men to return to work, but 23 persons specifically named could be cited for contempt and jailed for up to ten days. These included Jerry Wurf, president of the union international; P. J. Ciampa, the union's field director; T. O. Jones, president of the local; and other national and local officers.

CITY COUNCIL MEETING - FEBRUARY 27

The City Council agreed to give Jerry Wurf thirty minutes at its regular meeting on Tuesday, February 27, to present the views of the union and the purposes of the strike. Even as they sought to do well, however, insensitivity and, perhaps, fear caused the Council to wound the feelings of Negro citizens.

Mr. Wurf was scheduled to appear at 3:30 p. m. Strikers at the noon rally were urged to fill the Council chamber. The daily march from Clayborn Temple was timed to arrive at city hall just before the council session began at 2:30. Police had ruled that the public seating capacity of 407 would not be exceeded, stating that fire laws prohibited standing in the aisles. But strike leaders wanted a show of strength and determination and urged the men to fill the lobby outside the chamber. Loud-speakers

were arranged so that persons in the lobby could hear the proceedings.

Shortly before 2:30 the doors of the chamber were opened and people started filing through the two entrances. Four to six policemen were stationed at each, counting the people going in, murmuring, "If you will go in two by two, we would appreciate it." Neat cardboard signs scotchtaped to the marble wall beside each door stated, "Council Chamber - Public Seating Capacity 407."

The first hour of the session was taken up with bone-dry business having to do with licensing and zoning. Then Council Chairman Downing Pryor observed that it was time for Mr. Wurf's presentation and he had received word Wurf was delayed, so there would be a recess until he arrived.

Pryor did not tell the crowd that Wurf, along with other union officials, had been cited for contempt and summoned to Chancery Court. The summons had come, Wurf said later, just as he arrived at city hall for the Council meeting. Aware that he was to appear in court at precisely 3:30, he had asked Council Chairman Pryor if it would be possible for him to make his presentation earlier in the meeting. Pryor told him the agenda of the Council was fixed by law, but assured him that the Council would recess and stay in session until he completed his business

at Chancery Court -- unless, of course, he was sent to jail for ten days. (At the mass meeting that night, telling the crowd the Council should be credited with decency about this matter, Wurf said when two members of the Council made him that promise, the attorney for the city told them they might be in contempt of court.)

When the recess of the council meeting was announced, people began milling around. After an hour of growing restlessness, Baxton Bryant, with others, persuaded Chairman Pryor that it would relieve tension if some of the ministers were allowed to speak while the audience was waiting for Wurf. Pryor called the meeting back to order and nervously laid down the rules. Each speaker would be limited to five minutes, a standing rule, he said, and not new for the occasion. If Wurf arrived, the person then speaking would be allowed to finish, then Wurf would speak. If he had not arrived after thirty minutes, the council would recess again and wait for him.

With only five minutes apiece, the preachers wasted no time on amenities. The clerks sat round-eyed, spellbound, giving the impression that they had never heard anyone address the Memphis City Council in such tones before -- certainly not Negroes.

The Reverend S. B. Kyles said that all the policemen

at the door and the five or six "emergency cars" outside made him think he was in Russia. He resented the thirty-minute time limit -- "I'll tell you, we have all night!" He rebuked spokesmen for the ministers for agreeing to speak to the Council on the Council's terms: "We aim to talk to you on our terms."

"If you don't settle it here," he told them, "it is going to be settled, anyway. You may have to settle it down where we are."

The Reverend James Lawson, chairman for the group of ministers, said he was so flustered and angry that he hardly knew how to begin to express himself. Negroes, he said, are still the victims of two "sticks": (1) the police -- "those symbols of repression" guarding the door and (2) rigid structure. "If you don't beat us over the head with a night stick, you hit us over the head with an agenda!"

"Some of us want to settle this in this council," he told them, "but if we can't, we may just go back to our studies, perhaps just go fishing, and let whatever happens happen! Just forget it! This is not a threat, because Memphis is a part of this country, and this country is in turmoil, whether we like it or not!"

It was during Lawson's speech that Wurf arrived. During the preachers' speeches, the police had moved along

the sides of the chamber and stood there, watching. One had a two-way radio, another a bullhorn.

"I planned to come here to make a humble statement," Wurf began. "Posturing does more harm than good. In the interim some of us have been arrested . . . and now it is a temptation to try to prove one's manhood. But I am going to forego that and simply state our goals."

He reviewed the objectives of the strike and negotiations with Mayor Loeb. "The mayor has made much of the fact that he will not sign a contract," Wurf told them. "It has become a posture which is more important to him than the substance of the issue." He concluded with the suggestion that the Council should not abandon its responsibility entirely to the city's chief executive. The meeting was adjourned.

L E G A L A C T I O N S

At the request of counsel for the defendants, the hearing on the contempt citation had been postponed until Friday morning, March 1. On Thursday, union attorneys filed a petition to have the matter shifted to federal district court, arguing that the injunction violated the First and Fourteenth Amendments, the rights of free speech and due process of law. On Friday morning, Chancellor Robert Hoffman refused to relinquish jurisdiction voluntarily,

but did grant a continuance until Tuesday, March 5. On Friday afternoon, the federal court refused to take jurisdiction. Subsequently, the leaders were given sentences of 10 days in jail and $50 fine in state court. They were freed pending appeal.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION

In the state capitol at Nashville, meanwhile, Senators Joe Pipkin and Hugh Stanton of Memphis had introduced three bills aimed at the strike. The bills were rushed through the Senate committee system and scheduled for a vote in only three legislative days.

One bill, passed by 21-10, provided a five-year prison sentence for persons disrupting public communication with police and fire departments. (There had been some talk in Memphis of tying up police and fire department telephone lines.)

The other two bills would have outlawed strikes against police, fire, and sanitation departments and prohibited union dues check-offs from government paychecks. Little opposition had been expressed to them, perhaps because of the speed with which they were sent through the legislative machinery. Then, on the night of the 26th, according to the Nashville Tennessean, "Organized labor . . . descended on the legislative halls . . . and appealed

to each senator." Matt Lynch, president of the State Labor Council, said "all elements of organized labor" opposed the two measures. The bills were defeated, in effect, by referring them to a committee.

Thus, in the first two weeks, a pattern was set which was not in significant degree to change through subsequent meetings of the City Council, protest confrontations of strikers and their sympathizers with police, and negotiating sessions with city officials. In effect, the Negro community, unified as probably never before around the issue of the garbage strike, met and became increasingly aware of stubborn resistance from the city's top official, and less stubborn but vacillating and ineffective response from the City Council, this accompanied by abrasive encounters with police and harsh criticism from the press. A measure of support unprecedented in the South had come from white union members who marched some 500 strong with the strikers on March 4. But beyond that, the other elements of white power, including clergy and businesses, the latter hard-hit by the boycott, had not effectively entered the crisis on either side, a not unusual situation in the South. With each passing day of inability of the city (and beyond it, the state and the nation) to deal realistically with the simple terms of the strike and the larger issues of Negro rightful demands,

tension in Memphis mounted.

By March 7, such whites as Baxton Bryant, who had played a valuable role as a trusted intermediary between the Negro community and the city, began to doubt the utility of their function. It seemed to them that the city officials retained the imperturbable, immemorial southern charm and willingness to discuss the problem, but that in fact they were not yielding an inch. Perhaps he should cease walking through open doors which led only to closed minds, Bryant suggested to the Reverend Starks, president of the black Interdenominational Ministers Alliance, over breakfast that morning. "Oh, no," responded Starks. "Somebody's got to talk to them; some channels have got to stay open. And we can't do it. We've got nothing to say to them any more."

But a man as positively disposed toward life as Reverend Starks has difficulty in persuading himself of his own counsel of despair. He decided to join Bryant and a reporter in interviews with the mayor and Downing Pryor. In both interviews, Bryant tried to convey his sense of the dangerously escalating hostility between the solidified Negro community and the city officialdom. He cited the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Memphis was becoming a perfect example of two alienated, antagonistic communities tensely confront-

ing one another, he said. The mayor responded with great personal warmth, repeated his unalterable opposition to dues check-off, now the crux of the conflict. In the large, beautifully appointed, softly shaded office, the anguish expressed by Bryant and reflected in the tense face of Starks, seemed incapable of passing to the other side of the executive desk.

But if the mayor was unmoved, he was not inactive. He wanted so much to "keep talking" to the Negro leadership and he was so happy Starks had come. Could he not return later; the mayor would be happy to clear his calendar. Was it not of the utmost importance "that we keep talking to each other?" The group was rising to leave, but it looked as if Starks were rising alone. He drew himself up to his full height and said, "No, mayor. I cannot come to see you. Our community has taken a position and I stand with them. You have to talk to all of us." There was no sign that the mayor had heard the death knell of plantation politics for the duration of this crisis.

Downing Pryor tried to express his personal concern, and the helplessness of the Council. Any action by the City Council would require six weeks to hurdle a mayoral veto -- surely that was too late? But Starks did not let him off so easy. A pro-union resolution by the Council would not only hearten the Negro community, but show them that there was now an independent agency at city hall,

capable of redressing their grievances. Pryor evaded this challenge, describing instead the bold new fair employment resolution promulgated by the Council: Increased hiring of Negroes until their number in city jobs equals their percentage in the population, accompanied by the necessary placement and training services. It sounded like a serious piece of legislation and there was little doubt that it had been hastened, if not inspired, by the mobilization of the black community behind the sanitation workers.

THE ISSUES

The objectives of the strike were outlined by Jerry Wurf, president of the AFSCME (AFL-CIO) as follows:

(1) Union recognition and a contract with the city.

(2) Effective grievance procedures ("So if it rains they don't send a man home like a dog without wages -- or worse, send you home and give the white man wages.")

(3) Union payroll deduction, or dues check-off.

(4) Merit promotion -- without regard to race.

(5) Equal treatment in the retirement system.

(6) Payment of overtime.

(7) Decent wages.

Something like accord was reached early in the strike on all of the strikers' demands except union recognition

and dues check-off. At the start of the strike, wages averaged about $1.70 per hour, and the strikers were demanding $2.35. The mayor and councilmen made an offer of a five per cent raise immediately, with another five per cent scheduled for the next fiscal year, and the sanitation men seemed willing to accept this. The other points apparently did not present insurmountable problems, either. As previously noted, Mayor Loeb said publicly that he would never sign a contract and could not agree to a dues check-off. The union tried to give him a face-saving way out by suggesting an exchange of letters between him and the president of the union in lieu of a contract, and collection of dues through the independent employees' credit union. It was reliably reported that the mayor was considering such a letter, but when a news report labelled the projected letter a "compromise," the mayor was incensed and resumed his stance.

After the Negro community, led by the preachers, got into the fight other issues were defined. Dr. Ralph Jackson, director of the Department of Minimum Salary of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was principal speaker at the mass meeting on Monday night, February 26. "We're going to march until the sanitation workers say 'Satisfied'!" he told the crowd, and the crowd shouted its affirmation. "But I have news for you: We're going to march <u>after that</u>!"

And again the crowd let it be known that he was speaking for them. He listed the following issues:

(1) Police treatment.

(2) Housing. ("The housing authority has announced plans for 12,000 units -- 8,000 for whites and 4,000 for Negroes. Well, they'll never get off with it!")

(3) Jobs. ("And the days of the one Negro are over. You know what I mean, -- one here, one there, and one over yonder -- and look what we've done for you!")

(4) Wage scales.

(5) Justice in the schools.

THE POLICE

"Almost invariably," says the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, "the incident that ignites disorder arises from police action. Harlem, Watts, Newark, and Detroit -- all the major outbursts of recent years -- were precipitated by routine arrests of Negroes for minor offenses by white police. But the police are not merely the spark. In discharge of their obligation to maintain order and insure public safety in the disruptive conditions of ghetto life, they are inevitably involved in sharper and more frequent conflicts with ghetto residents than with the residents of other areas. Thus, to many Negroes police have come to symbolize white power,

white racism, and white repression. And the fact is that many police do reflect and express these white attitudes. The atmosphere of hostility and cynicism is reinforced by a widespread perception among Negroes of the existence of police brutality and corruption, and of a 'double standard' of justice and protection -- one for Negroes and one for whites."

Obviously, the police spark was present in Memphis. The injudicious use of Mace seemed the worst excess of the first month. It was far short of the injudicious use of rifle fire by state police against rampaging students at Orangeburg, South Carolina, at about that same time, but something less than even-handed and cool-headed protection of all citizens, including those exercising constitutional rights of protest.

At the mass meeting on Tuesday night, February 27, after the Reverend Mr. Kyles' impassioned speech before the City Council, the Reverend Malcolm Blackburn thanked Mr. Kyles for "calling attention to our blindness."

"We have been blind to conditions of life in America," he told the crowd, "for none of us noticed or questioned how we were surrounded by police in the Council chamber this afternoon, and counted like cattle as we entered <u>our</u> chamber. . . . ! If none of us can stand in the aisles or around the walls because of the fire laws, then next

time we ought to see to it that the police do not, either, because we don't need them!"

Then, pointing into the ranks of upturned faces, all black, he added, "We don't need them watching us in this mass meeting, either!"

"And we don't need two or three policemen on every other corner during our marches," he went on, "or helicopters circling overhead, when we have shown that we can march peacefully and with dignity without some damned cop . . . !" His arm shot out for emphasis and the end of his sentence was lost in applause.

Bishop J. O. Patterson attempted to deal gently with the Negro policemen who apparently had been singled out, but in so doing he made the point again. "I feel sorry for our Negro policemen," he said. "Most of them are nice fellows. But now they have been assigned a task that is contrary to the Bible. The Bible says that the law is for sinners, not the righteous."

The police were always very much in evidence before and during the marches downtown or when workers and sympathizers attended meetings at city hall. They talked back and forth on walkie-talkies. They cruised in police cars with shotgun muzzles visible above the dashboards.

Little wonder the crowds were sparse for the marches. Rumor had it that the mayor was greatly pleased at the report

that only 120 people showed up for one of the marches, and concluded that the strike would play out. But at the mass meetings in Negro churches and at the rallies in the union hall, when no police were in evidence, the meeting places were packed and jammed.

One other police incident during the first month was noteworthy. On Thursday night, March 1, three policemen -- two patrolmen and a lieutenant -- arrested two Negroes outside the church where a mass meeting was being held. They charged them with jaywalking. One of those charged was Gerald Fanion, and the other was Edward Harris, photographer for the Tri-State Defender.

Police commissioner Frank Holloman personally appeared in city court the next day and asked that the charges be dropped. "We have been trying to keep the peace in our community," he explained, "and if a mistake is made the best thing to do is to admit it and try to correct it."

Judge Ray Churchill granted the motion and commented, "I think this is a wonderful step forward. In all my experience I believe this is the first time anything like this has happened."

Police Chief J. C. MacDonald announced that the three officers had been suspended and said they had made an "error in judgment."

"I never have, and I never will tolerate harassment of citizens by police," he said.

The past record of the Memphis Police Department in this crucial area of relations with Negro citizens has not been a notably bad one, as these things go in the South and the nation. In a special report of the Southern Regional Council on Memphis as among southern cities which had made most progress by 1964, Benjamin Muse wrote: "In few cities have the police been so largely and favorably identified with the civil rights advance. Public order has been maintained in Memphis -- tranquility in which negotiations could quietly proceed and insurance against disorder which enabled desegregation steps to be confidently taken. With small exceptions, police brutality, which is incompatible with any durable public order, has been absent, but the police 'mean business,' and the public knows it." But, perhaps ominously for the crisis that was to come in 1968, the report pointed out that in the sit-ins of 1961, police were deployed in numbers that some considered excessive, arrests were made in great quantities with very many of the cases subsequently dismissed, and complaints of rough handling of demonstrators were numerous. All of this was under a former police commissioner, but it is indicative of the kind of police relations with Negro citizens that underlay the outburst of

feeling against police in 1968. In that same 1964 report, incidentally, the Memphis press was praised for its role in fostering successful desegregation, but once more an ominous note was sounded: " . . . Those demonstrations /of 1960-61/ were larger and more disruptive than many realized -- owing to the policy of the Memphis press of minimizing the publicity."

Incredibly, albeit incidentally, it was reported on February 27 that 3,000 Tennessee National Guardsmen were to bivouac in Memphis on March 9 for one day of riot control practice. Other drills were to be staged simultaneously in Nashville and Knoxville. The practice was planned to acquaint Guardsmen with the topography of the city and identify potential trouble spots. Details were not revealed. The Guardsmen would be outfitted, the report said, in full field gear, including weapons.

The drill took place on schedule, but without incident. The Guard avoided "areas of existing tension."

D I G N I T Y A S A N I S S U E

Negro citizens' complaints against police and the newspapers were only a part of the problem in Memphis. The attitude of public officials was the common denominator of the preachers and the garbage collectors in their struggle. If one were required to say in a word what the strike and

the marches and the mass meetings in Memphis were all about, that word would have to be dignity. One can read in the narrative of events of those days in Memphis a chronicle of indignities suffered by Negroes at the hands of the Public Works Department, of the City Council, and of the mayor. Early in the strike, the people began calling him "King Henry."

Dr. Ralph Jackson was by his own admission a conservative minister. But he happened to be marching in support of the strikers when the police broke up that march and his ministerial standing meant nothing: he was gassed with all the others. Preaching at one of the mass meetings, he let it be known that the Mace had opened his eyes:

> I have a confession to make. For thirty years I have been training to hold myself in check. I couldn't understand what made some people lose control of themselves and fly off the handle. I never thought it would happen to me. But I lost thirty years of training in just five minutes last Friday!

A union official said, concerning negotiations for a settlement of the strike, "I don't think Mayor Loeb has any objection to seeing the men get more money. But he wants them to continue in dependency. It's a strange social system he is trying to preserve."

Jesse Epps, another official of the union who is a young man, looked out over the rally of more than a thousand black men at the Rubber Workers' Hall. Most of them were in their upper thirties or older. "We have to win this one," he told them. "This is the last chance for many of us to be men." The willingness of the men to hold out so long when they could have settled for better wages, grievance procedures, and everything else except the dignity of collective bargaining with the mayor, suggests that they agreed with Mr. Epps.

Jesse Epps is the AFSCME's staff man in charge of the southern region. Highly capable, he is a union organizer who recites poetry ("Heaven is not reached at a single bound . . . .") and quotes the Bible accurately. In one of those quiet, two-men-in-a-room conversations that do not lend themselves to posturing, he said matter-of-factly and with a far-away look, "I don't think I've ever been so hurt as I was when the City Council walked out last Friday afternoon without hearing the people." This was Jesse Epps the man, the black man, talking -- not Jesse Epps the union organizer. "The basic issue," he continued, "is not pay, but recognition of the union. There has never been the unity in the Negro community of Memphis that there is now, and the reason is that recognition of the union involves recognition of the workers as <u>men</u>. The mayor wants to say,

'Go on back to work and then we'll do right about your complaints; you know our word is as good as our bond.' Just as if Memphis were a Delta plantation."

A COALITION?

There is much talk these days about coalitions, and particularly a coalition of the labor movement and the civil rights movement. What happened at Memphis seems, at first glance, anyway, to be an example of the kind of coalition that is so much discussed. Union men readily acknowledge that, if it were not for the Negro ministers and the unity of the Negro community behind them, the sanitation workers "wouldn't have the chance of a snowball in hell." On the other hand, the union has provided the sort of know-how (and money) that seems to be necessary these days to come to grips with a not-so-simple issue around which to rally liberal and minority-group forces. AFSCME officials did this without preempting -- and, in fact, encouraging -- local leadership of the strike. "This is a new day for these ministers and these churches," said one observer.

As noted, organized labor forces torpedoed anti-strike legislation in Nashville. That was fine, according to coalition strategists, for, while it was obviously a matter of self-interest, it happened to be supportive of an all-

Negro local and the black community of Memphis backing that local.

In Memphis, labor forces were standoffish at first. The rank and file were all for better wages and working conditions for the sanitation men, but did not care for the civil rights overtones. As late as the fifteenth day of the strike, an AFSCME official commented that he had heard from only three white men representing local labor unions. There had been a few relatively small checks for the strike fund, he said, but helpful as that was, he needed some white faces at the union hall rallies to let the sanitation men know that they had labor's support.

The evidence of support came on March 4, at the beginning of the fourth week of the strike. Under leadership of Tom Powell, head of Memphis' AFL-CIO Central Labor Council, and Dan Powell (no kin), Southeastern Regional Director of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, five hundred white labor unionists joined Negro ministers and sanitation workers in the daily downtown march. It was a red-letter day for the strikers.

It remained to be seen whether the AFSCME or other unions will find in the Memphis experience anything like a standard procedure for organizing in the South. Perhaps conditions in Memphis were unique, so that there would be no way of approximating the developments there in other

cities. Moreover, the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees is not just a union of sanitation workers. It seeks to include all municipal employees, "from city engineers on down." But as one union official put it, it is hard to get white Southerners to join a black man's union.

Nevertheless, the coalition of civil rights forces with organized labor in Memphis, however brief or singular, was noteworthy. President Wurf had the candor to acknowledge at one mass meeting that some parts of the AFL-CIO have given Negroes less than a fair shake. "But we see this labor struggle as part of the basic struggle of the Negro community for decency and dignity," he said.

A few minutes later he added, "Memphis has been, for me, one of the most moving experiences of my life."

It was unusual, labor observers said, for a national president of a union to put so much of his personal prestige on the line in a situation as unsure of victory and unpredictable in tone as that in Memphis. Mr. Wurf's union does have a large number of Negro members across the nation, and they might be expected to be pleased with his role in Memphis. But beyond that, he seemed genuinely involved in the demand for dignity that transcended the practical and pragmatic aspects of the struggle in Memphis.

OUTCOME IN DOUBT

The outcome of the strike remains doubtful. At the end of the fourth week, both city officials and strikers were standing firm, despite pressures building up on both sides.

On Thursday, February 29, Mayor Loeb, in a letter to the strikers, could still only "restate the city's position." The letter offered eight cents an hour pay increase and, in general, met demands of the workers on insurance, retirement plans, a grievance procedure, and hours and overtime. But the mayor still refused union recognition, refused a dues check-off and insisted that "as a precondition to any rearrangement of wages and working conditions, the strike must end." He concluded:

> I assure you of fair, dignified treatment. As I have said many times, there will be no reprisals. In fairness I should remind you that some of the regular jobs have been filled and others are being filled daily. Your jobs are of the utmost importance to you and your family and I am sincerely interested in your welfare.

Next day strikers assembled in Rubber Workers' Hall rejected by a thundering, unanimous vote an offer from the City Council that proposed a raise of ten cents immediately and five more cents in July, but made no

concession on union recognition or dues check-off. The morale of the men was good.

"But they're getting hungry," admitted one union officer. "On the other hand, it was warm and sunny today, and the garbage is getting noticeable. All in all, I'd say the city is in as bad shape as we are."

By that time, as obligations mounted, the strike was costing the union $2,000 a day, up from about $400 a day at the beginning, to provide the absolute necessities of the men and their families. Collections at the mass meetings were running $600 to $800, but $2,000 per day was hard to come by.

Just the logistics of aiding the strikers was a problem. Some of the men were in debt to more than one loan company; some owed several months' back rent; some reported demands for immediate payment or payment in advance of rent. An older worker summed it up: "The man came for the payment on my burial insurance. I told him that right now I'm just trying to keep alive. Reckon I can let somebody else worry about it when I die."

TRAGEDY WAITING IN THE WINGS

In the midst of all the drama in Memphis, the excursions and alarums, one sensed tragedy waiting in the wings.

For one thing, there was a strong undertone of alienation, even among the ministers, whose basic attitude toward the society is positive. "This country has given us a bad check" one of the preachers said. "It bounced. They had the money. They just didn't put it in the bank."

Dr. Jackson, who seems to have become the semi-official money-raiser for the strikers, told the audience one night, "I'm going to New York on Monday to talk to some of these white folks who keep talking about their consciences." He mentioned the National Council of Churches. "I don't guarantee we will get the money. But if we don't, this whole nation is going to know that they've just been lying about their consciences!"

That was not the only hint of deepening disillusionment. Another minister told of receiving a letter from the Memphis Ministerial Alliance asking him to contribute toward a $1,700 ad titled, "An Appeal to Conscience."

"Well, where are they now?" he shouted. "They would do better to give the $1,700 to the strikers' fund, make their appeal to conscience from the pulpits of their own churches, and come to the meeting to show their support."

He was followed by the Reverend John W. Aldridge, the assistant minister of Idlewild Presbyterian Church, who also happens to be chairman of Memphis Presbytery's committee on social concerns. He was the only white

preacher present that evening, except the Reverend Malcolm Blackburn, only white minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Aldridge read a resolution of support which had been adopted by the Presbytery's committee.

The Catholic Council on Human Relations, like the Memphis Council on Human Relations, passed a resolution calling upon the mayor to meet all stated demands of the sanitation workers. The Catholic Council on Human Relations is affiliated with the National Catholic Council for Interracial Justice, a voluntary association of laymen and clergymen concerned about intergroup relations.

Otherwise the white churches and churchmen of Memphis were not notably involved. Jerry Wurf made a poignant statement in his talk at one of the church meetings. "I'm a Jewish boy from Brooklyn," he said. "I've stood in a lot of Protestant pulpits in times of stress and trouble. It just occurs to me that these have always been the pulpits of Negro churches. You have always made me feel welcome and at home."

"The ministers are in this thing until it is proven beyond the shadow of a doubt that our way won't work," said the Reverend Malcolm Blackburn on another occasion. "Then, as one minister said yesterday, we shall just have to go fishing."

Another preacher said that the ministers were committed to nonviolence as a way of life. "But if we ministers, leading the people our way, cannot get results, we have no alternative but to withdraw and . . . ." The end of his sentence was lost in an approving roar, in the midst of which he turned and pointed into the balcony where three or four young black men, self-proclaimed radicals, stood watching. They broke into broad grins.

Bishop J. O. Patterson said he believed completely in nonviolence. But he added, "Someone asked me, 'What would you do if somebody was standing on your foot?' I said, 'Well . . . I got to have my foot!'"

The Reverend W. Herbert Brewster preached on Wednesday night. An orator of the old school, he admonished the crowd: "Don't reduce yourself so low that you will hate any man. I feel sorry for any man who is a little man in big times, because a little man in big times is a loser."

When he had finished his sermon, Dr. Jackson came to the pulpit to direct the taking of a collection for the strike fund. "Dr. Brewster better go on back and pray some more," he said, "because he hasn't got me liking Loeb yet . . . ." The crowd loved it.

"When he was up here talking about loving Loeb," he continued, "Bishop Patterson passed me a note that said,

'He didn't get a whiff of that gas, did he?'" The crowd loved that, too.

"You better be careful, Doctor," he concluded. "You might be up here calling for water while the rest of us are calling for fire!"

With that he pulled an object out of his pocket and held it up for the crowd to see. It was a gold-plated cigar lighter.

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The Monday night meeting was drawing to a close. It had been in progress for three hours, which is not unusual for civil rights mass meetings. Before the Reverend Mr. Blackburn pronounced the benediction, he introduced a tall young black man wearing a light, olive-colored jacket with the word "INVADERS" across the back.

"I'm a radical," the young man began. "I'll tell you just like that. I'm a radical . . .

"Before Henry Loeb will listen, the garbage has to be in the street . . . not in your back yard. As long as those trucks are allowed to roll, they can keep it picked up wherever they want it picked up . . .

"Preaching and money raising are fine. Somebody has to do it. But there are some <u>men</u> out there, we've got to do some <u>fighting</u>. Not marching-- fighting!

"And when you talk about fighting a city with as many cops as this city's got, you better have some guns! You're gonna need 'em before it's over."

When he sat down the minister who had been presiding throughout the evening returned to the pulpit and said he apologized for not recognizing the young radical. It is a free country, he said, and while he did not agree with the brother, he certainly granted him his right to say what he thought. Then he reminded the crowd, "We have chosen our weapons. These are the weapons of nonviolence."

The incident was discussed later by a small group at the front of the church. Someone commented that the sentiments expressed by the young man were a new wrinkle in mass meetings. "Yes," replied Blackburn, "but I felt we had to let it wrinkle to keep it from tearing. We may be in trouble this way, but if we did not recognize this mood as part of the picture, we most certainly would be in trouble."

"Yea," someone else added. "One of the young folks said to me, 'You old folks are barking up the wrong tree. But we'll wait and let you bark a while longer.'"

* * * * * * * * * * *

And so at this writing, with the strike a month old, the tension mounting (in the fourth week, there were incidents

of brick throwing by Negroes, of garbage being set afire, of a sit-in at City Council with 121 Negroes arrested and released on their recognizance, of a policeman brandishing an over-sized billy club gleefully and just as gleefully being laughed at scornfully by Negroes), the outcome was highly uncertain in Memphis -- both as to the immediate issues of the strike, the deeper one of dignity, and the awesome one hanging over America in 1968 involving the danger of massive violence and police-state repression.

Out of the impasse, these points, with meaning not merely in Memphis but for all the nation, seemed clear:

1. Spiritual as well as physical needs are imbedded in Negro protest and agitation and, indeed, anger. The demand for dignity as well as better pay was the most profound and moving quality of the Memphis garbage strike. In all of its floundering with the problems of race and poverty, America has seemed unable to grasp that there are hurts in deprivation to the psyche as well as the stomach. Organized labor, in many of its modern manifestations, has seemed to miss this point, also, concerning itself with economic security rather than social needs of people. The excellent performance of labor in Memphis, like the old Operation Dixie, and the current efforts to organize textile plants in the Carolinas and farm workers in Texas, served to point up how rare such attention to the underdog by

labor has become.

2. Black power, for all its ambiguity and sometimes irrationality, is a psychological force at work in such a situation as that in Memphis, not by any means all negatively. Indeed, the most positive, constructive meanings of the phrase were implicit in Negroes' demand for dignity. That this demand was made in a context of nonviolence and in the traditional framework of a labor strike should serve to give new insight into the semantics and psychology of black power as an influence on Negro thinking and emotion.

3. The impetus to violence by Negroes is also a factor to be reckoned with in such a situation as that in Memphis. In the simplest terms of human anger, the capacity and ability of Negroes in such a situation to espouse and practice nonviolence was extraordinary. For here as in nearly all other southern locales, there had been the beautiful spirit of the Negro movement of the early 1960's met with hostility and force and arrests when all that had been demanded was the most basic rights of American citizenship. And here as in nearly all other southern locales, eight years after the sit-ins and four years after passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the demands were the same ones of basic rights -- for an end to discrimination in education, jobs, housing.

Those who have pronounced the civil rights movement dead and buried may want to take a second look at such phenomena as Memphis. "Well, well," said an old man there, shouldering a protest sign and moving out of the church for a demonstration, "marchin' again." The tone and much of the spirit of the old movement was newly alive in Memphis, and its impetus still lives in Negro communities and hearts across the South's cities, towns, and farmlands. One of the very most hopeful things about such new manifestations of the movement as Memphis has been the absence of exploitation from afar for less than local interests of the braveness and beauty and belief of the local people who are the strength of the movement. It was to be hoped that such exploitation would not be attempted in Memphis.

Maintaining nonviolence among masses of untrained and volatile demonstrators was never easy. The implicit threat of the nonviolent leaders in Memphis to "go fishing" and leave things in the hands of "radicals" was a mark of the loss of faith, the frustration and the despair that has come to so many Americans of good will and pragmatic common sense out of the failures on every level of government and through all elements of American society to answer the most elemental needs of race and poverty.

Two Negro women waiting for a bus during one march were

asked by an observer if they were supporting the boycott. "We sure are," one of them declared. "I ain't buying nothing!" She glanced at the man's white face, looked down at his notebook, then straight into his eyes. "I don't know who you are," she said firmly, "but we're tired."

4. Failure was on prominent display in Memphis. The city government, the press, the business community, the white church, all the institutions, seemed for the first month simply incapable of coping with what was at once a fairly clear-cut demand, and also a highly dangerous situation. The role of the police in such crises is of particular concern. The danger of Negro violence exploding out of all the failure of the government and society was matched by the danger manifest across the nation of overreaction and repression by police. Instead of agencies for maintaining peace and order, police departments in racial encounters have become themselves direct and dangerous influences toward disorder. In Memphis (and this is not an uncommon situation in the nation), there seemed to be a failure of men on the force to carry out the police commissioner's generally enlightened racial policies and methods aimed at avoiding violence. If the pay of garbage collectors in Memphis was a surface issue, reflective of unmet problems confronting cities the nation over, a less obvious but far more fundamental problem was that of the pay of policemen -- the need that such pay and the standards and qualifications for police service be greatly increased.

But it was a paralysis of the normal function of the city and society to resolve the strike and its issues and its dangerous potential, rather than a will to confront basic problems that characterized the first month of the strike in Memphis. An observer felt that those in positions of power never seemed to grasp the reality of the situation, its danger, or its promise. And this same sort of paralysis seemed to afflict the other agencies of government, state and federal, which might be expected to act toward mediation and reconciliation when a city did not.

Only when the tragedy of violence occurs, the situation seemed to say, could these governments act, and the record has been all too clear that harshness and repression, weaponry and killing, have been most often their answer. Whether in Memphis, Orangeburg, Harlem, or Watts, America needed -- most desperately -- to find out of its great natural and human resources a better answer to the cry of its own people.

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SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE DELTA PRISONS: PUNISHMENT FOR PROFIT

THE DELTA PRISONS:
PUNISHMENT FOR PROFIT

March, 1968

Price .30¢ each

FOREWORD

Corrections is the stepchild of our system of social welfare. Professional workers and organizations are reluctant to become involved in reform of the correctional process, which is often considered to be too "difficult," "unfashionable" or "sordid," and avoided by professionals even when salaries are appropriate. Attitudes of lay persons toward offenders are too often guided by philosophies of atonement and punishment. As a result, correctional clients are still objects of hostility and cruel treatment.

The public does not know what happens in its prisons. This public indifference has made corrections a prime source of corruption and political intrigue.

The released prisoner returns to an impersonal community, most of the time in worse condition than he was when he left -- and, in most cases with greater skill and a willingness to pursue a criminal career. Yet, this problem is not perceived as widely dangerous to the health and safety of a community, nor as economically disruptive. If it were, the public would be more willing to provide financial support for educational, social and psychological programs.

This special report is designed to throw some light on the ramifications of imprisonment.

It is not meant to criticize individual correctional managers. On the contrary, most of the correctional managers in the South have endeavored to do a good job with their meager resources. Too often, their careers are plagued and, indeed, shortened as they get caught up in political processes. The effect of this is apparent in some southern states where politically appointed correctional managers are often replaced for reasons of patronage or political expediency. The top correctional position should not be subject to the political whims of every new administration.

William J. Farmar, Assistant Director of the Southern Regional Council's Project on the Administration of Justice, composed this report. Some of the facts in this report were collected for a subsequent study on Sentence Disparity which will be published in the near future. We are grateful to the staff of the Arkansas State Penitentiary and the staff of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations for their cooperation in collecting information.

John O. Boone, ACSW
Director, Project on the
Administration of Justice

THE DELTA PRISONS:
PUNISHMENT FOR PROFIT

INTRODUCTION

The grisly revelations which have recently shaken the Arkansas Prison System can hardly come as a surprise to anyone who is even vaguely acquainted with the history of penology in the South. Beatings, lashings, bludgeonings and murders in the midst of unspeakable living conditions are commonplaces of penal history in the region.

This is not to say that northern prisons are, on the whole, models of progressive social thinking. On the contrary, most prisons outside of the South, burdened by public apathy, indifferent legislatures, preoccupied state administrations, and badly outdated facilities and ways of thinking, have seriously failed in their central task of rehabilitating offenders. But the prisons of the South are particularly burdened by their history.

The convict lease system, which did not finally disappear from the South until the 1920's, provided cheap labor for the operators of mines, plantations and lumber camps, and revenue for the states. In general, the abolition of leasing produced two different systems: a work camp system in the Southeastern states, and a state farm system in the South central states; each of these systems produced their own kinds of exploitation, brutalization and degradation.

The county camp system, which allows local governments to use prison labor to maintain roads and other public works, has often resulted, especially in the least populous and prosperous areas, in the development of chain gangs, housing which sometimes could be more accurately described as caging, and a diet which the prisoners refer to as "weevils and beans."

The state farm system, in Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi, produced and continues to produce the least defensible situation. The farm system was originally considered a reform -- and so it was. But the states, unaccustomed to spending money for the maintenance of prisoners, and, in fact, used to seeing the state profit from convict labor, were unwilling to appropriate operating funds. As a result, the state prison farms were obliged to be self-supporting and were encouraged to become sources of state revenue. This resulted, inevitably, in the institution of "economies of operations."

The economies have included a complete lack of mechanization -- the farms were (some still are) operated with mules and convicts; a remarkable dearth of paid personnel; the absence of any substantive treatment, training, education or recreation programs; old and inadequate housing, and dining and hospital facilities, and unjustifiable

demands upon the efforts and strength of the inmates who work in the fields 10 to 12 hours a day, six days a week, and sometimes more during cotton and vegetable-picking or cane-cutting times. Archaic and brutal instruments for the maintenance of discipline and the meeting of work quotas, flogging, isolation, and a variety of "unofficial" techniques (beating with chains, blackjacks, belts, electrical tortures, etc.) were employed to an extent and for reasons which would have given pause to the least sensitive of the old plantation overseers.

Many of the state systems, especially the work camp-oriented systems of the Southeast, have undergone some degree of reform in recent years. Alabama, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee have employed professional penologists to operate their prisons. A major penal reform bill was pending in Georgia in early 1968.

Of course, the limited jurisdiction which state offices have over county governments has meant that the county public work camps continue to operate with a minimum of funds and to exploit most frequently the young and able-bodied who are thereby deprived of education and training in prison although they are in need of, and often amenable to, it. This is particularly true in such states as South Carolina where

the state correctional system receives from the courts only those prisoners whom the county systems decline to accept.

In the South central states the situation is somewhat different. No permanently effective reform has taken place in Arkansas, Louisiana or Mississippi. The following survey discusses the conditions in these three states.

LOUISIANA

The Louisiana State Penitentiary is located at Angola, West Feliciana Parish, near the Mississippi border, about fifty miles north of Baton Rouge. Nearly 3,000 of its 20,000 acres are planted in sugar cane, producing, this year, 10,200,000 pounds of sugar and 550,000 gallons of blackstrap molasses.

Angola Prison, like the African colony for which it is named, is difficult to visit. Its 3,800 inmates are more isolated, perhaps, than any other group of prisoners in America. The prison itself is 22 miles from the highway, and officials have traditionally been loathe to grant permission for visits from "outsiders."

More than 260 inmate guards provide the main security for the prison. There are also more than 300 civilian personnel, 200 of whom are correctional officers.

On November 22, 1952, an article about Angola appeared in Collier's Magazine. It was entitled, "America's Worst Prison." The author spoke of cruel punishment -- floggings and lengthy confinement to underground dungeons; complete absence of any rehabilitation program; unspeakable living conditions -- filthy barracks, spoiled food (and little of it), long hours of backbreaking labor in the canefields and

on the levees, armed convict guards who were rewarded for shooting "escapees;" political corruption, and an uncontrolled amount of perversion which kept men awake nights to protect themselves against sexual assault.

Since that time, many reforms have occurred, some, unfortunately, less permanent than others. A new main prison was built in 1956 but the camps which were condemned as unfit for human habitation in 1952 still house about one-third of the prisoners, and are reputed to be beyond renovation. The main institution itself, while only 12 years old, is badly overcrowded.

The lash and the dungeons have been eliminated, but allegations of brutality are still common. Prisoners still fear sexual attack by fellow inmates because of inadequate supervision of sleeping quarters. Inmate guards, armed with weapons, still supervise their fellow inmates.

There is little or no rehabilitation program at Angola. A budget cut in 1963 resulted in the firing of more than 100 employees, mostly teachers and counselors. These funds have never been restored.

While there is now a modest vocational training program, academic training is still almost non-existent in an institution where at least one-third of the population is functionally illiterate.

Lt. General David Wade, USAF (Ret.), was appointed Director of Institutions in May, 1967. Wade, who requested additional personnel a few months ago to "help put the prison on a paying basis," apparently plans to institute some reforms at the penitentiary. However, his request for $11,500,000 was thought unlikely to pass during 1968. The legislature consistently in previous years has answered budget pleas with a demand that the penitentiary become self-supporting. Actions of the Board of Institutions suggest the members believe that their chief function is to produce a profit. The requirements of rehabilitation are ignored.

MISSISSIPPI

The Mississippi State Penitentiary at Parchman, in Sunflower County, is a Delta cotton plantation of more than 21,000 acres, housing more than 2,000 inmates.

Parchman is a self-supporting institution. In fact, sales of penitentiary products in 1967 netted the state $310,000 in excess of any money appropriated. Allegations of brutality, lack of treatment or training programs, very low salaries, continued use of armed convict guards, neglect by the legislature and other problems have combined to create a system which is far below any reasonable minimum standard of programs, facilities or personnel.

Recent disturbances among the inmate population at Parchman have been attributed by some to fears that the lash was about to be reinstated by the authorities. The source of these fears lay in the fact that Senator Corbet Patridge, chairman of the Senate Penitentiary Committee, legislative overseer of the penitentiary for the past four years, and a man who refused to allow the use of the lash on convicts, was not reappointed to the committee by the new administration of Gov. John Bell Williams. In his place as committee chairman is Senator Clarence Strider, who was sheriff of Tallahatchie County when Emmett Till was lynched

12 years ago, and whose testimony was said at the time to be a decisive factor in the acquittal of those on trial for the crime. At a recent meeting of the Senate Penitentiary Committee, Strider was one of two members of the 11-man committee who voted in favor of reinstating the lash at Parchman. The chairman of the House Penitentiary Committee is also reliably reported to favor the reinstatement of the lash.

The inmates' fears seem to have been further aroused by rumors (later prove true) of the dismissal of C. E. Brazeale, superintendent of the penitentiary for the past six years, and an opponent of the lash. His replacement is Thomas D. Cook, cattle farmer and former sheriff of Oktibbeha County.

There have been some changes at Parchman in recent years. There are now more tractors and fewer mules than there used to be. According to the New York Times, (February 14, 1968), slightly less than half of the nearly 6,000 bales of cotton produced last year was picked by hand.

A modest vocational training program has been introduced at the prison in the last two years, involving about 10 per cent of the prisoners. The program is focused largely on maintenance operations and on those skills (such as bookbinding) which are more useful to the state than to the prisoner.

Of the 210 armed guards at the penitentiary, 170 are inmates. Since Parchman is divided into 17 camps, civilian personnel are spread very thinly and inmates must perform most of the supervisory and custodial tasks.

ARKANSAS

Cummins Farm, the main unit of the Arkansas State Penitentiary, is located on the edge of the rich delta country of Southeastern Arkansas. The farm's 16,500 acres lie on the banks of the Arkansas River, twenty miles southeast of Pine Bluff and some 75 miles from Little Rock. Tucker Farm, 4,500 acres, lies about 25 miles northeast of Cummins (closer to fifty miles by car) and houses about 300 young white offenders. Main products of the penitentiary farms are cotton, rice, soy beans and garden vegetables. Up until last year sale of these crops made the penal system self-supporting. In fact, in most years, a sizeable surplus was returned to the state treasury.

The use of the lash, supervision by convict guards and field bosses, inadequate housing, and allegations of officially condoned torture and murder have been characteristic of this profit-making, totally unmechanized agricultural operation.

The approach to the main buildings at Cummins Farm is barred by a wooden gate. When a visitor arrives, a young man in khaki emerges from the small gatehouse by the side of the road and politely inquires as to the visitor's business. This gatekeeper has a police-type pistol holstered at his waist. He is an inmate of the penitentiary -- a trusty

who receives his pistol from the gun-room each morning as he goes to work and checks it back in each evening as he returns to his dormintory quarters. After the gatekeeper has verified by phone that the visitor is expected, he opens the gate and signals the tower guard -- another prisoner armed with shotgun and rifle -- that the car has been cleared.

In the administrative offices, the supervisory personnel are civilians, but most of the record keeping, processing, accounting and administrative work is done by prisoners. Inmates prepare files and maintain all records. As a result, information is both inaccurate and widely circulated. Each man's weaknesses are common knowledge, and so, subject to exploitation by the predatory.

In the fields, the prisoners who work the "longlines," planting, cultivating and harvesting the crops, are watched by two rows of guards. The shotgun guards stand close to the lines of field workers. Some yards back are the "longline rifles," who can hit anyone the shotguns might miss. All of these guards are convicts.

There is presently no educational program at Cummins Farm. The State Department of Vocational Rehabilitation does have an office there, but its usefulness is questionable, since diagnosis without treatment does not seem particularly

valuable. An effort was made in 1966 to establish a school, but it was soon discovered that men who work 12 hours in a cotton field are not anxious to attend classes in the evening. In February, 1968, literacy classes were begun at Tucker Farm, with the promise that instruction at a higher level would subsequently be provided.

Cummins has no full-time physician. A doctor from Little Rock flies down to the farm for half a day, five days a week. He holds a general sick call and checks on the patients in the hospital. The hospital itself is inadequate. There is no isolation ward. Patients with tuberculosis or hepatitis and those with fractures or appendicitis lie side by side in the same ward.

This abhorent situation is, of course, nothing new. It is the product of a century of neglect.

The Arkansas State Penitentiary was established by act of the first state legislature in 1838. A walled prison was not completed, however, until 1856. During the Civil War, the prison was used as an internment camp for Confederate prisoners of war.

The history of the penitentiary immediately after the war is not clear, but apparently, an informal lease system was in effect.

In 1873, the state legislature established a Board of Commissioners of the State Penitentiary. On May 5 of that year "the entire penitentiary, its buildings, equipment and the labor of all convicts confined then or after" were leased to a Mr. Jno. Peck for a period of 10 years. Various lessees held the penitentiary during the next 20 years. State supervision was minimal. Inspectors who submitted critical reports were soon dismissed by the Penitentiary Commission. The prisoners were employed at mining, logging, construction and the manufacture of turpentine. It was not unusual in this period for 10 per cent of the prison population to die during a year.

As early as 1890, the Prison Board attempted to abolish corporal punishment as a means of maintaining discipline. Pressure from the lessees of the penitentiary forced the rescinding of this order, but the board was able to establish rules limiting the use of the strap and to require that only those wardens specifically authorized by the board be permitted to administer punishment. A similar rule might have been helpful in 1967 when the lash was wielded by any warden who was willing to do so.

In 1892, the leasing of the penitentiary earned the state a profit of $32,128.48. The next year, the highest bid for a ten-year lease was $31,500 per year. As a result, the state

decided to eliminate the middle man and lease individuals and groups of prisoners for its own profit.

The pressures resulting from the state's immediate responsibility for abuses slowly brought reform. When in 1898-99 more than 200 inmates died in mines, quarries and turpentine camps operated by companies who leased prisoners from the state, the public scandal which followed forced the Prison Board to restrict the types of labor for which prisoners could be used and brought about the purchase of a state farm where prisoners could be worked more humanely.

Leasing was formally abolished in 1913, when a reform governor pardoned more than 350 prisoners in order to break the back of the lease system. In 1916, another farm, at Tucker, Arkansas, was acquired to accommodate the increased numbers of prisoners. At about this time, the Penitentiary Walls at Little Rock began to be phased out of operation. This maximum security institution was torn down in 1922 to make way for a state police barracks. While information about this period is sketchy, it would seem that the Walls, built around 1900, was never fully utilized, probably because the graft and corruption involved in its construction, as well as the shifted emphasis of prison policy, made its operation uneconomical.

There is little information available about conditions at Cummins and Tucker after 1920. Official records reveal

that up until the late 1940's, a form of peonage was not an unknown practice. Correspondence and investigation reports on file in the office of the State Board of Pardons and Paroles indicate that influential citizens could inform the board or the superintendent that they were looking for "likely Negroes" to work on their farms and the system would oblige by arranging paroles or indefinite furloughs for "boys" who met the plantation owner's requirements. Exposure of this practice led to the establishment of a rule (in 1953) that those who wished to provide employment for a parolee must submit a request for a specific prisoner, by name, before consideration would be given.

Occasionally, ex-inmates related tales of brutality, sadism and murder which were reported in the press. The public received such stories with incredulity or indifference and officials categorically denied them.

Public awareness of conditions first became widespread in 1965 when an inmate asked a federal court to enjoin the state from administering corporal punishment. The testimony in this suit was filled with allegations of brutality and received considerable coverage in the state's newspapers.

The federal court refused to order the whippings stopped, but did require the prison board to establish clear regulations on the subject and urged that whippings be administered "dispassionately."

The charges leveled by inmates in court resulted in an investigation of Tucker Farm which ended in the resignation of the superintendent and most of the staff. Control of the farm was assumed by the state police. The state police report, submitted to Governor Faubus in September, 1966, was made public by Governor Winthrop Rockefeller shortly after he assumed office in January, 1967.

The report contained extensive allegations of corruption, theft, mismanagement and brutality. Inmates alleged that paroles, furloughs, desirable jobs, immunity from punishment, and other favors were openly sold by the civilian personnel, usually through a prisoner intermediary. Perhaps the single most startling revelation in the report was the inmates' description (p.14) of the design and use of the "Tucker Telephone," which "consisted of an electric generator taken from a ring-type telephone, placed in sequence with two dry-cell batteries, and attached to an undressed inmate strapped to the treatment table at Tucker Hospital, by means of one electrode to a big toe and the second electrode to the penis, at which time a crank was turned sending an electric charge into the body of the inmate." In the course of the investigation, an instrument of this description was found in a linen closet in the superintendent's home.

The publication of this report gave considerable impetus to reform efforts. In February, 1967, a professional

penologist, Thomas O. Murton, was appointed assistant superintendent of the penitentiary, and placed in charge of Tucker Farm. Murton introduced a number of reforms at Tucker including elimination of the lash, revocation of special privileges for trusties, impartial assignments of jobs and housing quarters, improved quality and quantity of food, some mechanization of farming operations and the elimination of corruption among civilian personnel.

At the end of 1967, the superintendent of the penitentiary, O. E. Bishop, a farmer and former sheriff of Lincoln County, retired in the face of continued adverse publicity and considerable public and private pressure.

The Penitentiary Board, which shares hiring powers with the Governor, refused to accept Gov. Rockefeller's recommendation that Murton be appointed superintendent. The impasse was resolved by the resignation of those members of the board who were holdovers from the Faubus administration and the appointment of a new board by the Governor. The new board appointed Murton superintendent and endorsed the Governor's request to the legislature for a complete reorganization of the prison system.

Mr. Murton extended his reforms to Cummins. He suspended the use of the lash, insisted on equal treatment of prisoners, improved facilities and services to the degree

possible without adequate funds, and called for the establishment of a State Department of Corrections and the abolishment of the plantation system.

The recent discovery of bodies in unmarked graves, added to last year's revelations concerning torture and other brutalities at Tucker Farm, provided Murton with some public support. The January session of the legislature enacted a law which provided for at least part of the reform measures requested by the Governor (including the establishment of a State Department of Corrections, and a separate Board of Pardons and Paroles); however, the mood of the legislature reflected their anger and frustration at the unfavorable publicity Arkansas had received because of the prison situation.

Governor Rockefeller and the Penitentiary Board appointed by him abandoned their support of Murton and refused to consider him for appointment to the newly created post of Commissioner of Corrections. In early March, Murton was dismissed by the board for failings in administration and farming operations. (Mr. Murton holds degrees in Criminology, Education and Animal Husbandry, and has experience as a prison administrator.) His successor as superintendent, Mr. Victor Urban, was brought to the state as an institutional parole officer by Murton and was recently appointed Director of the State Board of Pardons and Paroles.

THE PATTERN

These three states (Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi) operate prison plantations with a total area exceeding 62,000 acres and containing more than 7,500 prisoners.

The administrators are without funds and the prisoners are without hope. There are pitifully few meaningful education or training programs.

The three states put together could not, out of presently available funds and facilities, provide the components of one prison which would meet minimum national standards set forth by the American Correctional Association.

One of the most typical shared features of the systems is the blood plasma program in which inmates are allowed to sell their blood in order to secure a few dollars for the purchase of tobacco, toilet articles and food. The prisons are also paid for the blood by the contracting laboratory and the money is usually funnelled into a recreation or welfare fund, the administration of which has, in the past, frequently left something to be desired.

In Arkansas, one group of doctors recently lost the blood contract when the high incidence of hepatitis at the prison was attributed to the unsanitary conditions under which the blood was collected.

The plasma programs seem to be endorsed by the majority of prisoners because the income they provide permits the men to supplement their inadequate diet, and to enjoy some simple pleasures.

Another feature which these prisons share with each other and with most prison systems in the South is virtually complete racial segregation.

In Arkansas, Tucker Farm has been integrated to the extent that the Negro prisoners in death row are permitted to eat and take recreation with the white prisoners who comprise the whole of the general population. There is some indication that other Negroes will soon be assigned to Tucker. At Cummins, sleeping quarters, dining facilities and work crews are completely segregated. Negro trusties guard Negroes; white trusties guard white prisoners. Only the hospital and the quarantine area for new prisoners are integrated. (This is of necessity, since each consists of only one room.)

As far as can be established from available reports, the Louisiana State Penitentiary is completely segregated, although it is alleged that white armed inmates guard Negro work crews.

The vocational training school at Parchman, Mississippi, is the only unit of the penitentiary which is not completely segregated. A February 14, 1968, article in the New York

Times indicates that classroom and dining facilities for the 190 prisoners involved in vocational training are integrated.

In each of these states, there are statutory requirements that all facilities, operations and artifacts be segregated. (One Arkansas statute actually prohibits white prisoners' use of bedding, clothing, etc., which have ever been used by Negroes.) Louisiana and Arkansas statutes are currently under attack in the federal courts.

At least one of the states, Mississippi, seems, on the basis of recent appointments and statements by public officials, to be intent upon moving back rather than forward.

In Arkansas, Mr. Thomas Murton, the reform superintendent of the penitentiary, has been dismissed by the state administration, apparently for taking its expressed interest in reform too seriously. Mr. Murton was also severely criticized by the Lincoln County Grand Jury over the grave-opening incident. The Grand Jury recommended that the lash be reinstated as a means of maintaining discipline at the penitentiary.

In Louisiana, the reforms of the 1950's have been steadily eroded so that there is little or nothing of the major changes left, except the buildings themselves. Even those are fast deteriorating from over-crowding and lack of funds for maintenance and repair.

The most indifferent researcher could fill volumes with reports of individual atrocities, and they would amount to

a terrifying condemnation, indeed. But no legislative or executive fiat could effectively end this inhumanity because it is inherent in the system. Self-supporting prison systems must, in the end, become slave camps. Slavery is the partner of the lash. The wielder of the lash is brutalized along with the victim, and brutes will sometimes kill.

The basic rationale for the operation of these prison systems (the courts sentencing men to terms at hard labor and the state exploiting that labor as a source of revenue) has not altered since 1913, when the last of these states, Arkansas, abolished convict leasing. It is more than time for a change.

Editor's Note:

The material presented in this report is derived from a number of sources.

C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South, Baton Rouge, LSU Press, 1951; Thomas D. Clark and Albert D. Kirwan, The South Since Appomattox, A Century of Regional Change, New York, Oxford University Press, 1957; and Edward W. Staff, "America's Worst Prison," Collier's Magazine, November 22, 1952, were particularly useful for background information.

In studying the current situation the following sources were most helpful.

- Reports published in the Arkansas Gazette (almost daily for the past two years).
- Reports published in The Times Picayune, New Orleans, Louisiana, especially the series, "A Look at Angola," by C. M. Hargroder, (April 9 through April 16, 1967); the series, "Paroles, Pardons," by Paul Atkinson (February 12 through February 20, 1967), and numerous other news articles concerning prison systems.
- Reports in The New York Times (especially the article on Parchman, which appeared on February 14, 1968, and the considerable coverage given the Arkansas situation since 1966).

- The Jackson (Mississippi) Daily News; The Pine Bluff (Arkansas) Commercial; The Memphis (Tennessee) Commercial-Appeal; and Associated Press and United Press International dispatches also contained helpful material.

Also especially useful were:

- Official reports published by the States of Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi, conversations with Arkansas officials, inspection of records and state archives, interviews with inmates, and inspection of Cummins and Tucker Farm.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

IN MEMPHIS:
TRAGEDY UNAVERTED

by J. Edwin Stanfield

Supplement to Special Report of March 22, 1968

April 3, 1968
Price .10 each

F A I L U R E A N D F R U S T R A T I O N

In a special report on the Memphis sanitation strike, issued March 22, the Southern Regional Council observed that those in positions of power "never seemed to grasp the reality of the situation, its danger, or its promise . . . . Only when the tragedy of violence occurs, the situation seemed to say, could . . . governments act, and the record has been all too clear that harshness and repression, weaponry and killing, have been most often their answer." The report warned of "tragedy waiting in the wings."

The tragedy came on Thursday, March 28.

A mass march had been scheduled, to be led by Dr. Martin Luther King. On March 18, he had addressed 15,000 people in Memphis' Mason Temple. The big march had been slated for March 22, but a freak 16-inch snowfall the night before forced postponement.

Non-binding mediation sessions started on the twenty-third and ended in failure on the twenty-seventh. They had begun badly when an attorney representing the city expressed at the opening session his discomfort as a lawyer and "arm of the court," at negotiating about an "illegal" strike with strike leaders who were under injunction. (The claim of illegality was not based on state law, but on an obiter dictum

in a state supreme court decision.) The union representatives walked out after three meetings, charging that representatives of the city "said they . . . were not authorized to agree on any item -- but only to discuss issues." City representatives countered that the union team would not discuss other issues until the union was recognized as sole bargaining agent. The union also charged that the city was violating the mediation rule against disclosure of information on negotiations.

Earlier on that forty-third day of the strike, Mayor Loeb had told the Jackson Avenue Lions Club he would not budge in his opposition to a written contract with the union and a dues check-off. "The strike is illegal," he said, "and you can't deal with illegality."

THE MARCH AND VIOLENCE

The march had been set for 9 a. m. on the twenty-eighth. When the demonstrators began assembling at Clayborn Temple they were told, by loud-speaker, that Dr. King's plane would land about 10:30 and the march could begin shortly afterward. The people milled around, laughing and talking.

About 10 came the rumor that the police had used clubs and Mace, the new riot-control chemical, to prevent students

at Hamilton High School from leaving to join the march. According to press reports, the trouble at Hamilton began when youths outside the school tried to keep others from entering, attempting to make them join in the student "holiday" and general work stoppage that protest leaders had called for. Police arriving at the scene were pelted with rocks and bottles. After ten minutes they received authorization to use tear gas and began donning masks, which caused the students to retreat, according to the press, so that gas was not used. A 14-year-old girl was hospitalized with lacerations on the top of her head. According to a middle-aged spectator, she was struck by a policeman. Confused reports of these events, running through the crowd at Clayborn Temple, caused concern.

There were other signs of mounting tension. Leaders of the march, using a sound truck, kept pleading with the people to clear sidewalks and the area around the church and take places at the rear of the assembled crowd, which was two blocks away. Their pleas were largely ignored.

A friendly observer remarked that the march had better begin soon, because a lot of bystanders at W. C. Handy Park and other points along the route were drinking heavily. (The police log reported that at 10:03 a. m., 25 men raided

a liquor store on Vance Street, not far from Clayborn Temple, but in a direction opposite that of the march.)

A labor leader shook his head and whispered his misgivings: "I have a real sick feeling about this today -- for some reason."

The prevalent picket signs affirmed dignity, the denial of which was the root grievance of the strikers and the Negro community. Printed, they proclaimed in huge letters, "I AM A MAN." (A lot of others were neatly hand-lettered, such as one carrying the legend, "LOEB FOR GOD!") But youths who refused to join the march and crowded at Hernando and Linden, where the march would start, had inscribed their own sentiments on the reverse sides of some of those placards. "DAMN LOEB -- BLACK POWER IS HERE," one read. One began, "LOVE MY . . ." and ended with a crude drawing of a posterior. Others described Mayor Henry Loeb with obscenities.

A reliable observer reported later that two SCLC staffers on the scene became increasingly concerned about controlling the crowd, and expressed privately the hope that Dr. King would not come.

Dr. King did not arrive at Hernando and Linden until 10:56. The march lurched forward at 11:05.

There were plenty of spectators along Hernando and in Handy Park a block away, where the march turned left on Beale. The sidewalks were crowded in front of the pawn shops and dry goods stores on the two blocks from the park up to Main Street.

Suddenly there was the crack and tinkle of breaking glass. One could hear resilient plate glass windows rattle as in a windstorm, then crash under second or third blows. Television cameras panned from Dr. King and the marchers to the sidelines to record the breaking of store windows.

One older youth -- he must have been 17 or 18 -- smashed a window on one side of the street, and proceeded behind spectators up the other side, breaking windows with a club almost without pausing.

The march made its turn onto Main Street, but was stopped after one short block as the shattering of windows continued. The ministers leading the march made the decision to stop it when they realized that the window breaking was not isolated rowdiness. At about the same time, a cordon of gas-masked police officers blocked Main Street. As the street was filled with marchers and the sidewalks with spectators, it would have been next to impossible to apprehend the culprits without stopping the march.

At the insistence of his lieutenants, Dr. King left the march and returned to his motel. The Rev. James Lawson, chairman of the ministerial group which had been leading strike-support demonstrations and meetings for six weeks, identified himself on a loud-speaker and requested marchers to return to Clayborn Temple. The overwhelming majority began to do so.

POLICE RESPONSE

After a brief time -- perhaps ten minutes -- the cordon of officers began advancing toward the corner of Beale and Main. Young people threw picket signs and other missiles at them. At the corner, tear gas grenades were exploded, and a crowd of young people ran down Beale Street in full retreat.

A block down Beale Street, reporters came upon a group of officers beating a Negro man in front of a store. The display windows of the store were broken and some merchandise was gone. One of the policemen had a bloodied head and later said that the man had struck him with a club. One reporter said he watched officers administer at least forty blows after the man was knocked down. Police dragged him, unconscious, to a cruiser and dumped him on the floor of the back seat.

The police were zealously clearing the streets of all

Negroes and made little distinction between young and old or between the defiant and those who were only following instructions with decorum.

A 67-year-old Negro was trying to help someone off the street when an officer sprayed him with Mace and another punched him in the ribs three times with a gun. "I have a bad heart," he explained later. "I can't run."

A lone slip of a girl in a gay parti-colored dress straggled along the nearly empty street weeping. "What the hell are you doing here?" yelled an officer. He made a threatening gesture with his club. "Get off the street!"

Ozell Sutton, Negro field representative of the Community Relations Service, U. S. Department of Justice, was walking down Beale with a white reporter. A policeman, ignoring the white man, barked at Sutton, "Move on! What are you doing here?" Sutton flipped out his Community Relations Service identification folder. The officer glanced at it and snapped, "Move on! We don't even want you here!"

The Memphis Press-Scimitar next day carried numerous reports of police excesses -- along with an editorial stating, in part, that the fact casualties were kept to one dead and 60 injured was "a credit to police restraint."

So began the Memphis violence, which resulted in the

death by police gunfire of a 16-year-old boy, injuries to 60, mostly Negroes clubbed by police, and arrest of about 280 people, as well as considerable property damage. News media have reported the instances of looting, the numerous but inconsequential fires, the calling out of 4,000 National Guardsmen, a curfew hastily authorized by the state legislature and imposed from 7 p. m. to 5:30 a. m. The lid was clamped on quickly and effectively.

WHITES STILL COMPLACENT

There is nothing to indicate that the events of March 28 have given Memphis decision-makers or the white population generally any second thoughts about the strike or race relations in their city. Mayor Loeb maintained his previous stand that the strike was illegal and the city would not agree to a dues check-off. The City Council had a series of three closed-door meetings but remained deadlocked. The president of the Chamber of Commerce said they would not have had the trouble if Negro ministers had tended to their ministering, according to the New York Times. He said many Negroes will not work, and that "you can't . . . make the kind of citizens out of them you'd like." A bank officer was sure everything would be just fine. Many leaders were pleased with the way in which police handled the situation.

One of Memphis' outstanding industrialists and a wealthy Memphis financier, in a joint interview the day after the riot, said they knew of no move among business leaders to change the mayor's mind. In fact, they expressed their own satisfaction at the stand he had taken. They had their own domino theory about being firm on the sanitation strike. "If we don't take a stand here, what next?" the industrialist asked. He feared police and firemen's unions. The industrialist's full and complete explanation of the mayor's rigid opposition to a dues check-off was simply that he knew most of the workers would drop out of the union if the union had to collect dues directly.

These two men were convinced, moreover, that the rank-and-file Negroes did not support the strike or civil rights protests. The industrialist had had someone in his office call around to see how many of his Negro employees had not reported for work on Thursday. Of about 150, none were absent, he said. All of the trouble, he concluded, was the work of the union organizers.

A young white man-in-the-street commented, "It's ridiculous. These folks have no right to strike. They are city employees. It's just like military service."

A woman behind a counter said, "One of the labor leaders

says to me, 'Loeb's crumbling.' Well, shoot, with the niggers and hoodlums and troublemakers -- all the pressure he's been under for the past six weeks -- the Rock of Gibraltar would crumble! But Loeb ain't crumbling. He'll never give in."

PREMATURE TEST?

Although this was not the first case in which a march led by Dr. Martin Luther King had to be temporarily called off due to an outbreak of violence by Negroes, it was by far the most serious. Newsmen and pundits quickly pressed the question whether, at this point in history, it is possible to keep massive demonstrations controlled and nonviolent. Dr. King found himself on the defensive and faced with the necessity of making an unscheduled attempt, in a place not of his choosing for a major effort and within a narrowly limited time, to win a major civil rights victory by nonviolent means.

Dr. King defensively (and a bit ungraciously) explained that he and his staff had played no part in planning the Memphis march and, the victims of "a breakdown in communication," came to the march unaware there had been talk of resort to violence among Negro young people. He told a press conference on Friday he had been in conference with some of the militants that morning and they had complained that the local ministers

who had been leading the Memphis protests had not given them a voice. (There were in fact two young militants on the steering committee, but they stopped attending planning sessions when the ministers refused to sanction stopping garbage trucks by any means necessary.) While not agreeing with nonviolence as a philosophy of life, the youths he had talked to had agreed, Dr. King said, to participate as leaders in a tactically nonviolent campaign.

Dr. King may have been underestimating both the strength of the nonviolent spirit of Memphis' Negro community and the seriousness of the challenge to his and the other ministers' leadership.

On the one hand, he need not have been defensive. As has been pointed out, the Memphis riot was somewhat exaggerated in the reporting. Arson was widespread, but ineffectual; damage from fire was very light. There were two reported cases of sniping, but nobody was hit, according to the New York Times. There were 155 stores with broken windows; of these only about 35 per cent had lost merchandise from window displays, and only five per cent had been entered. There were 41 arrests for looting.

On Thursday night, shopping centers in white areas were well protected by guardsmen, but stores in Negro neighborhoods,

some of them isolated and many logical targets for rioters (such as liquor stores) were unguarded -- and unharmed. Not a few had broken windows, but were not looted. Dread of the curfew and of 4,000 guardsmen notwithstanding, the damage could and would have been far greater, had the roots of bitterness been deep and widespread.

One could argue that the relatively light toll of the Memphis "riot" was a tribute not to the swift forcefulness of police action, but to a store of benevolent wisdom and common sense which, incredibly, yet remains among Memphis Negroes. The rioters were only a token force.

But on the other hand, they were indeed a token -- a token of a far more serious challenge to Dr. King and to the philosophy of nonviolent protest which he symbolizes. There are in Memphis young people, fewer even than the number which broke windows on March 28, who are profoundly, bitterly alienated. Like true despair, their genuine bitterness is muted. Of them a local civil rights leader said, "The most Dr. King can hope for from them is that they will simply stay away from the area." With these, it will not be so simple as bringing them into the planning and leadership.

MORE THAN A TEST OF THE MOVEMENT

With them it will be a matter of winning significant victory on the unlikely field of Memphis. Failure, including inconclusiveness, would strengthen their hand greatly and, in principle, decisively.

Ironically, but of course, the outcome will depend to a large degree upon the establishment, local and national. Memphis, at this writing, is shaping up as the serious test, not of the movement, but of the national will and value system that the Washington campaign was meant to be. Perhaps Memphis will not be decisive, but it will be crucial: it will greatly increase or decrease the already too-slim chance of averting months -- maybe years -- of agony for American cities.

The prospect is not good. The evidence thus far indicates that decision-makers will rely upon police power to do the simply impossible job of making men resign themselves to intolerable injustice and indignity. There is still no indication that the white people are many or powerful in Memphis who understand that Negro leaders have no choice but to escalate the protest. They have been allowed no alternative but the totally unacceptable and impossible one of reverting to the *status quo ante*. The pundits delineate two alternatives for Dr. King and those he represents: nonviolence or nonprotest.

There is a third possibility: justice.

On Friday, the day after the "riot," two or three hundred adult Negroes, mostly sanitation workers and ministers, marched from Clayborn Temple to the city hall and back. As they had been doing for seven weeks, they marched single file, silently, two-car lengths apart, carrying their placards.

But this time they were escorted by five armored personnel carriers, five jeeps, three huge military trucks, and a covered pickup truck -- all loaded with guardsmen. The tracks of the personnel carriers chewed up streets. The guardsmen, with bayonets fixed and rifles at ready, scanned downtown buildings for snipers -- as they had been drilled to do, no doubt. Gunners kept ready hands on machine guns. All of this attracted larger crowds of spectators, of course, than the demonstrators had enjoyed for any other such march.

One rather homely sanitation worker trudged along, eyes downcast and brow knitted in bewilderment. Clearly that any affair of his could be so important and dangerous was quite beyond his ken. "I just don't understand it," he said. "All we're asking for is justice. What could be wrong with that?"

It is not the nonviolent movement that is on trial in Memphis, but -- once more -- American democracy. Not the leadership of some Negro ministers is threatened, but the nation itself.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

IN MEMPHIS:
MIRROR TO AMERICA?

by J. Edwin Stanfield

Second Supplement to Special Report of March 22, 1968

April 28, 1968
Price .20 each

"So we are going to Washington on the urgent business of reform before it is too late. We must have a de-escalation of the war in Vietnam and a massive escalation of the war against poverty and racism. We must guarantee that in this richest society in history, the poor, too, can find comfort and security and decent jobs and respect. It is time to re-order our national priorities. All those who now speak of goodwill and who praise the work of such groups as the President's Commission now have the gravest responsibility to stand up and act for the social changes that are necessary to conquer racism in America. If we as a society fail, I fear that we will learn very shortly that racism is a sickness unto death."

-- Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.,
Poor People's Campaign News Release
March 4, 1968

INTRODUCTION

In a special report issued March 22, 1968, and a supplement dated April 3, the Southern Regional Council described in detail the strike of sanitation workers in Memphis which began February 12. These reports explained that the strike had quickly become a struggle for assertion of manhood and dignity, supported overwhelmingly by the Negro community of Memphis, seeking an end to the paternalistic variety of racism which prevailed in white Memphis.

The first report warned of "tragedy waiting in the wings." Its supplement said that tragedy had come in an outbreak of violence (window breaking and a small amount of looting and arson by Negroes, clubbing and shooting by police) during and after a march led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., on March 28. That incident resulted in the death of a sixteen-year-old Negro male by police gunfire and in injuries to sixty people, mostly Negroes. The supplementary report ended with this statement: "It is not the nonviolent movement that is on trial in Memphis, but -- once more -- American democracy. Not the leadership of some Negro ministers is threatened, but the nation itself."

It is a sad duty to offer now, in a different era inexorably begun, a continuation of our report of the confrontation in the microcosm that is Memphis -- and of its appalling denouement.

DARK FOREBODING

After the march was destroyed on the 28th, top staff leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference flew into Memphis and began intensive preparations for a new attempt at a march on Friday, April 5. At the suggestion of Bayard Rustin of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and Victor Gotbaum of the New York Council of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO, the date of the march was postponed to Monday. The two men promised a rally of labor and civil rights forces from across the nation.

Meanwhile, Federal District Court Judge Bailey Brown, at the request of city officials, had issued on Wednesday, April 3, a temporary restraining order which prohibited Dr. King and his aides and "all nonresidents acting in concert" with them from "organizing or engaging" in the massive parade. Dr. King promptly labeled the order a "basic denial of First Amendment privileges" and said that he planned to ignore it, if attorneys could not get it lifted.

That night Dr. King, addressing the 2,000 people who came to Mason Temple in the rain, was in a somber, reflective mood. He said:

> Well, I don't know what will happen now. We've got some difficult days ahead. But it really doesn't matter with me now. Because I've been to the mountaintop. I won't mind.

> Like anybody, I would like to live a long life. Longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about that now. I just want to do God's Will.
>
> And He's allowed me to go up to the mountain. And I've looked over, and I've seen the promised land.
>
> I many not get there with you, but I want you to know tonight that we as a people will get to the promised land.
>
> So I'm happy tonight. I'm not worried about anything. I'm not fearing any man. Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord.

Baxton Bryant, Executive Director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, said shortly after the meeting ended that the civil rights leader "sounded as though he were giving his own eulogy." Others concurred.

That premonition was all too accurate, as the world now knows. It was the last speech of Dr. Martin Luther King. Twenty-one hours later, an assassin -- believed to be white -- shot Dr. King to death as he stood on the balcony of his hotel room.

SORROW, ANGER -- AND MORE FRUSTRATION

In the early hours of Friday morning, following the assassination, Baxton Bryant called for the resignation of Mayor Henry Loeb:

> We saw President Johnson this week place the interest of the country above his own self-interest and pride. Peace seems to be a little closer in Vietnam as a result.

> Mayor Loeb has nothing but trouble and turmoil ahead governing a city whose population is 40 per cent Negro. He is a man of principal but doesn't have the capacity or the background to understand or interpret the rising expectations and demand for decency in the black community.
>
> For the peace, justice, and tranquility of the entire community, and safety and peace for himself and his family, he should resign as mayor of Memphis.

The call for the mayor's resignation was taken up by the Memphis Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO.

It was Mayor Loeb's insistence that the strike was illegal, together with his avowal that he would "never" sign a contract with the union or agree to deduction of union dues from the men's paychecks, that had prolonged the strike and led to the invitation to Dr. King to come to Memphis. But Loeb was reflecting the sentiments of the majority of his constituency.

Later on that morning, nearly 150 ministers, about 30 of them Negroes, held a memorial service at St. Mary's Episcopal Cathedral, then walked silently seven blocks to the city hall for a confrontation with the mayor. The decision to take that walk had actually been made on Wednesday, April 3, the day before the murder. The inner-city ministers were in the majority and were for it, but suburban ministers were nervous about such action and the group was persuaded to

postpone it on the rationale that there should be a carefully prepared statement. Now, on Friday, there was no delay. After hearing and adopting a prepared statement, the group proceeded, spontaneously, to the mayor's office. They were accompanied by three police cruisers. Four officers in each car wore white helmets and some carried shotguns. They passed elements of the National Guard in battle gear stationed before public buildings and stores.

Mayor Loeb was waiting for them in his office. Their resolution was headed by a quotation of Jeremiah 8:13: "They have healed the wound of my people lightly, saying, 'Peace, peace,' when there is no peace."

> We, as ministers of God . . . mourn with deep sorrow and a sense of unspeakable loss the murder of our brother, Dr. Martin Luther King, eminent preacher of peace, advocate of the power of nonviolent love, promoter and practitioner of true manhood.
>
> We who are white confess our implication in this tragic event by our failure to speak and act, clearly and specifically, with conviction and courage, to the attitudes of prejudice and patterns of injustice which produced the society in which this act could occur . . .
>
> . . . The grave crisis which is upon us is caused primarily . . . by lack of private and public will to put into action, at whatever costs, the professions we have so long and so easily made with our lips -- to do unto others as we would have them do unto us and to love our neighbors as ourselves.
>
> . . . Let us together . . . work creatively and selflessly for a new community, in

> which equality and justice for all prevail and in which no man suffers the loss of his human rights because of racial prejudice or arrogant paternalism.
>
> . . . We implore our mayor and city council to address themselves with swift dispatch to the forging of a mutually acceptable solution including agreement upon union recognition and dues check-off . . . .

The statement was concluded with a quotation from the New Testament: "And when He (Jesus) drew near and saw the city he wept over it, saying, 'Would that even today you knew the things that make for peace.'" (Luke 19:41-42a)

After the reading, Rabbi James A. Wax, head of the predominantly white Memphis Ministers' Association, made an impassioned statement to the mayor. He spoke in a loud voice and did not conceal his wrath. "We come here with a great deal of sadness and . . . a great deal of anger," he said. He told Mayor Loeb that what had happened was the result of oppression, injustice, and inhumanity and that they were appealing to him for leadership. He adjured the mayor to stop hiding behind legal technicalities and obey "laws greater than the laws of Memphis and Tennessee . . . the laws of God."

The mayor responded, according to the New York Times, "Each of us is sincere. I know your sincerity and I hope you know mine. Although we disagree on some points, each of

us is trying to do what we think is right . . . I thank you for coming up."

Clearly he thought the interview ended. But Dr. Ralph Jackson, converted conservative Negro minister, whose fiery preaching had moved and delighted Negroes throughout the struggle, now showed a different side of his personality in a tearful, sorrowing plea to the mayor. "We plead with you. We beg you, do not send us away from here again without an affirmation," he cried. He urged the mayor to blame the ministers, if necessary, but by all means to modify his rigid stance. But the mayor's position remained unchanged.

His next visitors were nine Negro teachers. They had just come from the airport where Dr. King's staff had enplaned for return to Atlanta with his body. They complained that they had been kept from "our dear Dr. King's body" by National Guardsmen with bayonets. They also rebuked Mayor Loeb for neither going to the airport nor sending a representive of the city.

OTHER REACTION IN MEMPHIS

On Friday morning, the Memphis Commercial Appeal offered a reward of $25,000 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the murderer or murderers. The Scripps-Howard

chain offered another $25,000. On Friday afternoon, the Memphis City Council underwrote another $50,000, the bulk of which, councilmen were told, would be raised by subscription of Memphis businesses.

An anonymous would-be benefactor offered to give the union $25,000 to pay union dues for all of the sanitation workers for six months, so that there could be a cooling-off period. This was rejected with some vehemence by the union, and labor leaders explained that the prospective donor did not understand the situation: what was at issue was not money but the dignity of collective bargaining by these laboring men.

That person, whoever he was, was not the only one with good intentions who missed a point. The two daily newspapers, whose news and editorial policies were high on the list of grievances of the Negro community, predictably pleaded for calm and reason. But the lead editorial in Friday's Press-Scimitar interlarded some noble expressions with insensitive chauvinism: " . . . Dr. King, evangelist of civil rights, was cut down -- and deplorably in Memphis, one of the cities which has been moving most steadily toward the goals he advocated -- by the force he preached against: the violence of extremism." Again: " . . . his (the assassin's) act was a frightful disservice to the country, and an especially

stunning blow to Memphis." And again: "He (the assassin) has stained the nation and our city in the eyes of much of the world . . . ."

Nor could the paper refrain from reiterating, even on that sorrowful day, an opinion well-formed and oft-repeated among white Memphians:

> While granting him complete sincerity as to nonviolent purpose, the Press-Scimitar has felt -- and warned many times -- that his methods tended to produce violence, both sympathetic and antagonistic. This was due to the highly emotional nature of his speeches. The record of his visits to many cities, and at last Memphis, all too starkly bore out this warning.

On Sunday morning, Memphis citizens on their way to church passed police cruisers with four officers in each. The men wore blue riot helmets with heavy plastic visors. On their radios citizens might have heard a recorded message, mindlessly played by a local station, in which Mayor Loeb urged citizens to contribute to the Arts Council Drive, because the arts and culture "are the things that make a city great."

In a fashionable white church, a minister led the congregation in a prayer of confession. It acknowledged their implication in the assassination by their "failure to speak out clearly and quickly." It also acknowledged that "we cannot wash blood from our hands by pouring water over ourselves."

There were about half-a-dozen Negroes in the congregation at that service. Asked about them, one of the ministers explained ruefully that they were not members or even regular attendants, but had been invited especially on that day by some members who had Negro friends. "You may have noticed," he remarked, "that they were well looked after."

In contrast, the pastor of a Negro church, meanwhile, was telling his congregation that he had received a multitude of reports of abuses of Negroes by police and National Guardsmen, especially the latter.

The minister asked his parishioners to wire the President to request trained army regulars instead of National Guardsmen from rural Tennessee.

MEMPHIS CARES-BUT NOT MUCH

The Memphis Ministers' Association had scheduled a memorial service for two o'clock on Sunday afternoon in Evergreen Presbyterian Church. A group led by a Memphis businessman and calling itself the "Memphis Does Care Committee" suggested that a larger "Memphis Cares" meeting be held instead, in E. H. Crump Stadium. The ministers acquiesced.

About 5,000 people attended the "Memphis Cares" meeting. The racial composition of the crowd was about the same as that of the city's half million population --

60 per cent white and 40 per cent Negro. Attendance at the meeting had been urged by virtually all ministers at their services that morning and on television by dignitaries, including Mayor Loeb, all day Saturday.

Those attending were handed a printed program as they entered the stadium. It carried the following statement:

> We live in Memphis. It has been a good city, but far from perfect -- much less perfect than many of us realized. Something happened here which laid bare a side of our common life to which all too many of us had been blind.
>
> We are brother Memphians in name. We can become so in fact as we have never been before. We will not leave this to someone else, but each of us will take the responsibility upon himself.
>
> Our goal is a city in which a man's honest and openly expressed opinion can be respected, without fear of punishment or retaliation, and differences resolved in the understanding that we are all human.
>
> We therefore solemnly, in the presence of God and of one another, pledge ourselves -- our time, our effort, our resources -- and if need be, our lives themselves -- to the building of a city where people can trust one another, respect one another, and respond to the needs of one another.
>
> Memphis cares.

On the back of the program was a small section in which were printed the two words "I Care." A line for a signature was beneath them. Memphians attending were asked to sign this two-word statement, tear off the section, and drop it into a receptacle before leaving.

The program itself was very simple. It consisted of

the national anthem, an invocation, a hymn ("O God, Our Help In Ages Past"), an introductory statement, statements by eight "Memphians Who Care," unison reading of the "Memphis Cares" statement, a singing of "God Bless America," and the benediction.

The first of the eight speakers said, "The time has come when you must stand and be counted . . . choose your ground and stand on it." He did not suggest what ground. (It was learned later that those who planned the program sought to exclude specific mention of (1) the garbage strike, or (2) Dr. Martin Luther King. This prohibition was ignored by at least three of the speakers.)

Tommy Powell, head of Memphis' Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO, was the fifth speaker. He drew applause when he affirmed a laboring man's right to a recognized union. ("Look!" said one Negro to his wife. "There are some white folks applauding.") The loudest applause of the afternoon came in response to Mr. Powell's call for news media to present fairly and impartially both sides of issues.

The sixth speaker was Judge Ben Hooks, a Negro. He said that Martin Luther King was much misunderstood because the news media "will not tell the truth." Again there was loud applause on that point.

During the fifth and sixth talks, a reporter noticed a large number of white people drifting out of the stands --

a hundred or more. There was no obvious reason for this, so during the seventh speech -- by a businessman named Tom O'Ryan -- the reporter began asking a few of these departing what they thought of the meeting.

"You see me leaving, don't you?" snorted one elderly gentleman. Asked if he would say what he disliked about the meeting, he grumped, "Not for quotation," and kept walking.

The question was asked of two young men next. "That Irish fellow told it like it was," one of them replied. "A dual effort. I'm a young man, and I've never done anything to oppress a nigra . . . They're not going to ravage through the streets and endanger my family . . . If they want to practice what they preach, okay with me, but it's going to have to be a fifty-fifty proposition."

Another elderly man on his way out volunteered good-naturedly, "This thing has turned into a nigger protest meeting, hasn't it?" He explained that he had thought it was to be a memorial service for Dr. King. He was glad so many whites had come to show that they cared, "regardless of what they hear . . . But I don't like these nigger preachers making all those rabble-rousing speeches."

Two middle-aged women were next. "I'm disappointed," one said. "I came to support the mayor and the city, not to honor King -- although I'm sorry . . . I do feel that it's

good that Negroes and whites can sit together like this. It certainly does no harm . . . I'm just sorry the mayor is not here. He's in a tough spot. He needs support."

By that time the meeting had ended. A Negro man was asked what he thought of it. "Nice meeting," he answered, "if they do what they say; not say one thing, then turn around and do something else."

A white man and his wife, with their son, were among the last to leave. The boy, about eight years old, was wearing a "Charlie Brown" sweatshirt which read, on the back, "HOW CAN WE LOSE WHEN WE'RE SO SINCERE?"

"That was about the right shirt to wear, wasn't it?" the father asked. He said he felt "sort of two ways" about the meeting. He too thought "the Irishman" had put it best -- that it is something for the whole community to work out, not just the whites. He was fatalistic. "It's been this way since time began. There's no reason to think this will change things very much for very long."

This wholesome-looking family had recently moved to Memphis from Houston, where they had lived when President Kennedy passed through en route to Dallas. The man said the atmosphere in Memphis before Dr. King arrived was much like it was in Houston before President Kennedy came through -- "people said they wished he were dead." "And since King was shot," he went on, "I have heard numerous

comments to the effect that they are not sorry he was shot -- just sorry it happened here."

A policeman directing traffic at the gate of the stadium motioned a Negro motorist toward a different lane, yelling, "Pull it on over here, boy!"

One reporter viewing the crowd had said before the meeting began, "Memphis cares -- but not much."

THE MASON TEMPLE MEETING

Far more than 5,000 people, all but a tiny fraction of them Negroes, gathered later that afternoon in the Mason Temple of the Church of God in Christ. The multitude rippled with the movement of life and vibrated with its sound.

They heard Jerry Wurf, International President of the striking union, tell them that "if it has to go on for a week or a month or a year, these men are prepared to go on!"

They heard Tommy Powell declare that he had been dissuaded, by some of "supposedly goodwill," from saying something he had wanted to say at the "Memphis Cares" meeting. They had admonished him that it would be "too political." "But I want to ask you here to join the Memphis Labor Council in calling for the resignation of Mayor Loeb!" In an instant the people were on their feet and cheering.

They heard and loved the inimitable Dr. Ralph Jackson:

"I'm sick and tired of white people trying to ease their consciences by calling in a few of us to talk to them . . . It's time for them to spit -- I said spit -- or get off the pot!"

He told the people that, if Dr. King could give up his life, they could give up a day's work to make the march the next day. "We want everybody on that march. We want everybody! We want everybody! Everybody! Everybody! Everybody! Get on the telephone and tell everybody! Tell everybody to tell everybody! Tell everybody to tell everybody to tell everybody!"

THE MEMORIAL MARCH

Federal Judge Bailey Brown had agreed on Friday, April 5, to lift the ban he had issued against a march on the following Monday. His cancellation of the restraining order was subject to an eight-point agreement:

(1) The march had to begin after nine a. m. and end by five p. m.

(2) Marchers had to walk no more than eight abreast.

(3) There had to be internal policing, by persons selected and trained as marshals by march leaders.

(4) Placards could be carried, but could not be

mounted on sticks.

(5) There would be no limit on the number of marchers.

(6) There would be no minimum age for marchers.

(7) Young people and older people had to be well mixed in the line of march.

(8) Arrangements had to be made for fast, high-level consultation with the court and police to take care of contingencies.

This agreement was negotiated by Bayard Rustin and his assistant, Norman Hill, both of whom accepted much of the responsibility for organizing the march, with the help of the few SCLC staffers who could be spared from funeral preparations in Atlanta.

Plans called for 500 marshals -- young militants among them -- 50 captains, and 20 chief marshals. There would be a public address system sufficient for a crowd of 40,000. Three principal messages were printed on hundreds of placards: "UNION JUSTICE NOW," "HONOR KING; END RACISM," and "I AM A MAN."

Monday was a cool, slate-grey day. A threatened rain never materialized. People started gathering at Clayborn Temple before eight o'clock, although the appointed hour

was ten o'clock -- the march to begin promptly at eleven.

Unionists arrived from all over the country. A very large delegation came from the New York United Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO. Just a few of the others represented were the Texas AFL-CIO; the Maritime Union; the Councils of American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees from Michigan, Arkansas, New York, and Louisiana; and the "Cincinnati Labor Movement."

There were civil rights groups from Chicago, Milwaukee, Forest Park, and Peoria, Illinois. There were representatives of the New York School of Social Work and of the Negro Benevolent Society, Inc., Department of Sanitation, City of New York.

Mrs. King's plane had been delayed in leaving Atlanta because of weather conditions, but the march was begun at eleven-twenty anyway. Two huge trailers had been so placed on Hernando Street as to form a funnel through which only eight people could pass abreast, and the march started through that passage.

The Rev. Mr. James Lawson and Dr. Ralph Jackson led the way. The front rank also included Walter Reuther; T. O. Jones, president of the striking local; Jerry Wurf; and Dr. Benjamin Spock.

There were quite a few local white ministers in the march. There were members of the militant "INVADERS"

wearing yellow arm bands to indicate that they were marshals. Councilman Jerry Blanshard, the only white member of the city council to vote with the three Negro members throughout the dispute, marched near the front.

Silently the march passed battle-geared, helmeted Guardsmen stationed in front of a fire station, construction sites, and vulnerable store windows. Double ranks of Guardsmen sealed off all side streets. They stood at parade rest, the muxxles of their rifles thrust out before them at arm's length. Unsheathed bayonets pointed upward toward the line of march like the points of a listing picket fence. For the most part, the Guardsmen looked straight ahead, but could not keep their eyes from following a bearded young photographer with flowing locks who minced past them on sockless feet.

Guardsmen were visible on the roofs of tall buildings. A city policeman stood at the corner of Linden and Main with an automatic weapon at the ready. A motorcycled "special officer" with a bolt-action rifle slung on his back idled his rumbling machine alongside the silent marchers.

There was a delay of about ten minutes at Main and Beale. Then, at eleven-fifty-five, Mrs. King took position at the head of the march, along with the Reverend Messrs.

Abernathy, Young, and Williams of the SCLC staff, and Harry Belafonte.

One marcher wore a T-shirt lettered, "I Had A Dream -- 4-8-68." Another walked in striped prison trousers and carried a sign that read "Out With Loeb and His Butchers."

A man in the rank behind Councilman Blanshard carried a high frequency radio receiver tuned to the police band. Mr. Blanshard told another marcher he was mortified to hear the police dispatcher repeatedly give directions like "Large number of male niggers at Main and Union . . ." or "Two niggers spotted in window on north side of the hotel . . . ."

On the sidelines, some spectators had climbed into a display window out of which the glass had been broken during the March 28 "riot." A sign on the intact window of one shop read "Closed Monday in Memoriam to Dr. Martin Luther King." There was a floral spray on the door. The display compartments were bare -- just in case.

Two elderly Negro women stood weeping and wiping their eyes. One old Negro man said to another, "Well, we've lived to see some history."

There were many young Negroes in the march. A sizeable number of bitter-loooking, hard-eyed teenagers walked along behind spectators, occasionally stopping to watch. Four or

five of them stopped to talk in the entry of a vacant store. One idly stood on tiptoe and picked up a broken piece of heavy wooden molding from the top of a column. He hefted it a couple of times with his hand, then, grinning, replaced it.

As that group moved on down the sidewalk, another member of it grinned at his buddies and asked jokingly, "Ya'll ready now?"

Three tough-looking young white men stood on the curb monitoring police calls on a portable receiver and making comments. As a group from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers passed, carrying their identifying sign, one of this trio said, "Aglamated . . . algam . . . what's that?" And one of his friends replied, "Don't know. Must be some kind of sick nuts."

Another group of three or four whites were laughing on a corner. They kept glancing appreciatively at the National Guardsmen stationed there. "They better not start a riot," one remarked. "Yeah," his friend agreed with a smile and a nod toward the troops. "If they start a riot, there's gonna be a big funeral in Memphis."

The ceremonies were started in the plaza in front of city hall before even half of the marchers had filed in. They were still coming, four abreast, when the speech-making was more than half over.

There were brief remarks by Ossie Davis, Harry Belafonte, Mrs. King, Jerry Wurf, Dr. Spock, Dr. Ralph Jackson, and James Bevel. Congressman John Conyers of Michigan introduced Mrs. Rosa Parks and Congressman William F. Ryan of New York.

The principal address by the Rev. Ralph Abernathy was, in the main, an expression of determination. "We are on our way to Washington," he said. "It became necessary for us to detour by way of Memphis . . . We are going to Washington, but we are going to stay here in Memphis until this problem is solved."

After he had spoken, Don Slaiman of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Division brought a message from George Meany, president of the organization. "The struggle of the sanitation workers here in Memphis is the struggle of all organized labor." He looked forward to black and white working together in a solid program, "starting today."

Walter Reuther announced a donation of $50,000 from the United Auto Workers strike fund to Memphis sanitation men. He added, "I want to say to the mayor that, if it takes more than this, there will be more coming." (On the same day that Dr. King was murdered, the AFL-CIO donated $20,000 to start off a nationwide appeal to unions for funds for the Memphis strike.)

BACK-THE-MAYOR CAMPAIGN

Determination seemed no less on the other side. A local newspaper the next day reported that the Jackson Avenue Lions Club had sent Mayor Loeb a telegram stating that the club was "standing 100 per cent behind you." The message had the approval of the Lions Club International, according to the article.

It was also reported that a letter and telegram campaign in support of the mayor was underway. Apparently it was organized very well indeed. As of that date, the mayor had received 1,809 telegrams backing his stand. Of 22 telegrams opposing,it, only seven were local. There were 307 letters favorable to the mayor. Of 56 unfavorable letters, only 14 were local. Fifteen letters of support had been received by special delivery before the regular mail delivery on that day. More than 1,000 signatures had been obtained on petitions of support for Mayor Loeb.

Mrs. Bee Clark, who heads the Western Union credit department in Memphis, said, "Everybody in town is sending telegrams. I've never seen anything like it. You would think it was the end of the world."

STRIKE SETTLEMENT

Shortly before the assassination Mayor Loeb had said,

"I'll never be known as the mayor who signed a contract with a Negro union." Until the tenth week of the strike and for 12 days after the assassination, he kept that vow.

Undersecretary of Labor James Reynolds arrived in Memphis the day after Dr. King's murder. He had orders from President Johnson to mediate in the labor dispute. There had been no attempt at federal intervention before, despite the outbreak of violence on March 28. The first Southern Regional Council report on Memphis noted the failure of "other agencies of government, state and federal, which might be expected to act toward mediation and reconciliation when a city did not." Only after murder did action come on this level, as in the Congress of the United States with passage of the 1968 Civil Rights Law, and in other matters which must have seemed to Negroes "too little, too late." Non-binding mediation had been initiated locally with the very capable help of Frank B. Miles, former labor leader and Department of Labor mediator, whose services were donated by the Memphis lumber company which presently employs him. Those negotiations had collapsed before the assassination.

Finally, on April 16, an agreement was reached. The union won recognition by resolution of the city council -- a better form than they had anticipated, as union negotiators

had previously suggested a mere exchange of letters as a face-saving device for the mayor. A contract included union dues check-off through the city employees' credit union, a good grievance procedure, and wage increases of ten cents per hour May 1 and another five cents in September. The period of the contract was 14 months. Members of Local 1733 approved the agreement unanimously. The city council vote was 12 to 1.

Memphis Negro ministers plan to continue the organization they formed to support the strike. (It was called Community on the Move for Equality, or C.O.M.E.) Mass meetings on a regular basis have been discontinued. The general boycott of downtown stores has been called off, but not the one against Memphis' two newspapers. Selective boycotts are planned, aimed at securing jobs for Negroes and business investment in the black community. A group of 1,000 Negro women is being organized to back these and other efforts.

MEMPHIS, A MICROCOSM

So, in Memphis, black people successfully asserted their manhood and dignity and won a point of justice -- but at a terrible cost. If that is the end of the matter, what will really have been proved is that in Memphis, in America, justice costs too dear -- and, perhaps, that liberty is less

likely than death. There can be little doubt that Mayor Loeb and the city fathers of Memphis were faithfully reflecting the temper of whites in their city. By many indications they were reflecting, as well, the mood of the nation.

Amid all of the racism still obvious in Memphis there were faint, hopeful signs of change. For one thing, as we have seen, some white clergymen at last were moved by the situation. For another, the Chamber of Commerce scheduled, one day after the settlement, a serious meeting of local businessmen with Negro and white ministers to talk about a large-scale program of employment and on-the-job training. Observers said that growing pressure from the business community was an important factor in moving the mayor and city council to settle the strike. In calling for the original boycott, Negro ministers had told their followers that "Loeb won't listen to you, but he will listen to the downtown merchants." In itself, the merchants' response to economic pressure may mean only the sort of tokenism which pragmatic businessmen in many southern cities have advocated, particularly on the issue of school desegregation, as the minimum change necessary to avoid economic loss. It remains to be seen, of course, whether the existing unity and determination of Negroes in Memphis

will continue, and whether political, industrial, and civic leaders have really learned anything about responding to protest or from the murder of one of America's greatest men.

The same is true of the nation. An article in the New York Times (April 14, 1968) reported that a new strategy for handling riots has been worked out by Attorney General Ramsey Clark and others, including Deputy Secretary of Defense Cyrus Vance. The method was tested in some cities during Negro outbreaks following the assassination. Both as a matter of tactical necessity ("the other side has guns") and for humane reasons, the new strategy calls for massing large numbers of law officers and troops, using tear gas extensively, but refraining from firing upon people -- even looters and arsonists. Proponents of the plan argue that this technique in fact minimizes property damage as well as deaths, although they frankly say that human life must be valued above property. It is perhaps significant that none of the disorders where the method was used developed into full-scale riots, thus saving property as well as lives.

At almost the same time, however, the mayor of Chicago insisted that arsonists are, in effect, murderers. He ordered Chicago law officers to "shoot to kill" anyone caught in the act of arson. He also ordered them to "shoot to maim or cripple" anyone looting. (New York's Mayor Lindsay

pointed out that many who were shot as "looters" in the 1967 riots were, in fact, innocent.)

It remains to be seen, therefore, in America as in Memphis, whether the ruling majority will insist on brutal measures of repression, easier in the short run, in response to minorities which protest grievances. It should be clear by now that Negroes and other minorities cannot allow present conditions to continue and, in the absence of redress of legitimate grievances, will use ever-stronger forms of protest. It should also be clear that a few, especially among the young, have despaired and, in frustration and anger, may resort to violence -- against property, if not against people.

A former mayor is fond of saying that Memphis is "always doing the right thing for the wrong reason" -- meaning that the city takes right action only when necessary to prevent a loss to its good image or economy.

It is to be hoped that Memphis has learned from its travail to respond to legitimate protest in a timely manner, to respond with dignity to citizens acting with dignity. The alternative is clear: unavoidable escalation of protest, bringing white violence against black protestors (the common southern pattern), and danger of the newer pattern of Negro violence against property, with indignity and tragedy for all.

The fundamental issues of quality education, housing, and jobs -- and the dignity of which they are part -- are not settled in Memphis or elsewhere in the nation. Memphis is America in microcosm. The sickness which led to the death of Dr. King can lead to the death of the United States. The only atonement for this murder, the only hope of national survival, is fast, full action to remedy the wrongs of racism.

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SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

LAWLESSNESS AND DISORDER

Fourteen Years of Failure in
Southern School Desegregation

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Fourteen Years of Failure in Southern School Desegregation

Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.
--Matthew, 7:5.

Introduction

This report is the third in a period of four years in which the Southern Regional Council has attempted to tell the nation of the deplorable degree of failure in the South to comply with the law of the land against racial discrimination in education, and to suggest the terrible implications of this failure.

In the previous two reports, in 1965 and 1966, there were empirical and psychological reasons for including some guardedly optimistic, some hopeful words, saying that surely the situation would be corrected. This would come, it could be felt, once the nation realized the extent of failure, of resistance by men of public trust in the South, of ineptitude and unrealism on the part of those charged with enforcement, of savage damage done to children of both races by this enduring record of flaunting the law.

This time there seems almost no hope, virtually no reason to find optimistic words, to say things may improve. The mistakes of the past are repeated. The nation has not seemed aware even of the failure, let alone resolute enough to end it.

Such a dismal report comes at a time when many Americans --young people and Negroes especially--are disaffected, disillusioned, disgusted with the government, the basic institutions, the socially expressed values of their country.

Riots, repressions of civil liberties, distrust to the degree of hatred of police by many citizens, acrimony so bitter in the exchange of ideas that debate degenerates into cat-calls, the murder of leaders--these are the marks of the disintegration to which American public life has come. A tendency to anarchy, a willingness to destroy the good along with the bad of such a basic institution as higher education, is evident on the one hand. A tendency to right-wing totalitarianism is evident on the other.

And the public expresses its perception of all of this with a cry for law and order. Politicians use the term as a shibboleth.

There have been lawlessness and disorder rampant across the South since 1954 regarding the just requirement that racial discrimination in education be ended. This has been the signal failure in a whole incredible series of failures in the rights of Negroes, in society's obligations to the poor. Children are starving among us, and the official reaction is most often to deny the existence of that starvation, rather than to respond to it, alleviate it.

The real story told in this report is that of where the real breakdown in law and order, all along, has been. It is a terrifying story of the object lesson in dishonesty and hypocrisy our government and our society have provided for a whole generation of young Americans.

The only real hope that we can put into a report like this is the fervent one that the American people will come

to see what true law and order means, and act at last to achieve it, with justice for all.

Pat Watters

PART I

FULL CIRCLE OF FAILURE

by Glenda Bartley
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In the long decade between the Supreme Court's first decision in Brown v. Topeka Board of Education and passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, faith in the ability of federal courts to affect substantial integration in the public schools of the South had sharply diminished. At the time Congress gave legislative sanction to the nation's fundamental law, there were only 34,105 (1.17 per cent of Negro enrollment) Negro children attending school with whites in the eleven southern states. Hope now hinged on Title VI of the act, which contained the ingredients for a small revolution. Then, for three, bitter, frustrating, defeated years, attention was focused on the enforcement agency for Title VI--the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. It seemed that HEW's Office of Education with its power to cut off federal funds now had the weapon to wring compliance from the previously unbudgeable South, that school desegregation would cease to be a phenomenon of urban tokenism.

Essentially, the shift away from the courts to the executive branch made school desegregation wholly an administrative matter.

The Administrative Era

In the first year of this administrative era (1965), the Office of Education issued guidelines for compliance with the act. The freedom-of-choice clause (theoretically

allowing parents to send their children to any school in a given system) in these guidelines, and in those issued subsequently, still placed the burden of desegregation on Negro school children and their parents, but the weight of resistance was shifted from southern legislatures to individual school administrators. Neither the novices at HEW nor experienced observers outside the South calculated the nature and ability of their new adversaries. School administrators in a region yet uncommitted to education are a lonely and beleaguered lot. (Support for education as a regional panacea is more dogma than dollars.) Early outraged protest over federal intervention and federal control soon settled into the sure manipulation by one parallel bureaucracy of the other.

It was also during the brief period before schools opened under the first guidelines that the real violence set in. The previous ten years had been relatively free of it in the matter of school desegregation. There was Mansfield, and Clinton, and Little Rock, and New Orleans, where screaming mother-mobs appeared on television as the first wave of mass media theater of the absurd. But the violence was done mostly to psyches of the few Negro children. During the first judicial era (1954-64), the mode of southern private resistance was as often economic as physical terrorism. And the targets of the bombs, beatings, burnings, bullets, firings, credit cut-offs, and foreclosures were most often not parents who tried to send their children to "white" schools, but people who tried to gain access to

public accommodations, register to vote, and the like. This was largely because there were virtually no Negro parents making the attempt in the rural areas and small towns where the varieties of terrorism have been most virulent. In the cities, where most of the (token) school desegregation occurred during the first judicial era, the terrorism was mainly within the schools, a low-grade, day-by-day torture of the Negro children by their schoolmates, teachers, and administrators.

Out in the rural areas of the South, where law enforcement was repressive before it became fashionable to be so, the advent of the guidelines, the threat that black children might actually go to school with white children, brought a wave of terror unmatched since post-Reconstruction whites rode around in bedsheets. And economic retaliation against the few Negroes who chose the "white" school did not abate.

In September, 1965, 184,308 (6.1 per cent) Negro children enrolled in "white" schools.

In spite of the increased violence and the pitifully small number of Negroes in desegregated situations, there was a national misunderstanding of what was happening in the South. There were several reasons for this. The administrative experiment was taking place in rural areas of the South--crossroads towns and hamlets as ill-geared for news coverage as Ulverstone, Tasmania. And, since there had been virtually no desegregation at all before, any small gain was often hailed as a triumph. Another reason for the national misunderstanding was perhaps caused by national

news media's probably unconscious wish to have done with the violence attendant on any significant social change in the South. This passion for tranquility, for order, has led many a responsible reporter, magazine, newspaper, and television network to announce the advent of another school year as an occasion of "increased desegregation," or even "massive desegregation...without violence." (An example of such was the story which ran under a headline proclaiming that school desegregation swept peacefully across Dixie: the story itself recounted instances of desegregators' homes fired into--as many as 32 times--in three towns in one state alone.)

March, 1966, brought new guidelines aimed at plugging some of the loopholes that observers felt accounted for the debacle during the first year of the administrative era. Freedom-of-choice, the most commonly used southern compliance method, remained. The choice forms were mailed that spring; federal negotiations with individual districts continued; a few school systems, notably in Alabama and Mississippi (with their unpopular national image), had their funds terminated; private agencies, already cognizant they were doing the federal government's job, sent field workers to persuade Negro parents to choose the "white" school.

In 1966 there were 2,598,842 (or 88 per cent of the Negro enrollment) in all-Negro schools, more, due to population increases and the small amount of desegregation, than had attended segregated schools in the year of the first Brown decision.

New guidelines were issued in December, 1966, but it was about over--the administrative era. Negro parents, target of every trick known to a national minority accustomed to working its will on the nation in matters of race, were getting tired. Negro children, in all too many instances in desegregated schools abused, excluded from activities, were disillusioned. Private agencies' field workers, who had often been Negroes' only assurance that all of white America was not hostile, that they and their children were not totally alone, were reluctantly pulling out.

When school opened in September, 1967, 86 per cent of southern Negro students remained in segregated schools. Figures for the Deep South were more depressing: Alabama, 94.6; Mississippi, 96.1; South Carolina, 93.6; Georgia, 90.1; and Louisiana, 93.3.

Defeat for the administrative experiment in education in the only large nation without a national school system came for a number of reasons. Freedom-of-choice was a fatal blunder. It allowed the violence to work its will, permitted white terrorists a victory denied their "respectable" counterparts of the 1950's. Negro parents, who had from the first simply been interested in getting their children the best education available, failed to see the educational value of losing a job, being shot at, in order that the children might attend a school only a little less bad than the "Negro" one. Even without white resistance, the free choice concept in its pure form is an administrative impossibility. Realizing this early on,

authors of guidelines and court orders as well were forced to attach exemption clauses (read as loopholes by southern schoolmen) taking into account such physical realities as "proximity," "overcrowding" and the like.

The confounding of Title VI was perhaps present all along within the same act. Title IV, little noticed in 1964, has haunted all the efforts launched under Title VI. There are many districts in the South which are like Washington, D. C., where the school population is mostly Negro and defies conventional zoning or other plans to make it desegregated. Such districts in the South are still overwhelmingly rural, but Atlanta, Memphis, Richmond, and other cities are already, or soon will be, in this category. Title IV prohibits "bussing" to achieve racial balance. How then desegregate majority-Negro districts, or large school systems in which de facto housing segregation perpetuates school segregation? Pairing (making one elementary school serve grades 1-2, another grades 3-4, etc., drawing children from wider geographic areas in the process), said some experts. Combination pairing-zoning, said others. And still others suggested educational parks, federally financed in fringe areas to accommodate suburban whites and ghetto blacks. This would be achieved with urging from (the same) Title IV's technical assistance teams and pressure of fund termination from Title VI (carrot and stick, repeated ad nauseum--the carrot magically to overcome heretofore sacrosanct district boundaries, to say nothing of county lines and jurisdictions hallowed in

the South, but the other part of the formula, the basic question, ignored--WHAT STICK?). The restriction on bussing eliminated the possibility of drawing up zone plans which would ultimately destroy the dual school structure--erase the designations "Negro" and "white."

It is therefore useless (and even cruel) to criticize too strongly the failure of the Office of Education to map a strategy other than freedom-of-choice.

The weapon--termination of federal funds--did not prove effective. Most often the sufferers were the pitiful black schools. Many southern superintendents seem to hold to the philosophy that "Negro" and "federal" are synonymous terms. These schoolmen use federal school funds, like those allotted under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act for upgrading education in "deprived" areas, to bring Negro schools' per pupil expenditures up to the level afforded "white" schools by local finances.

Perhaps the best summary of the failure of the administrative experiment is contained in an example of massive school desegregation as it swept non-violently across Unadilla, Georgia.

Roy Hunter was beaten by schoolmates more than once at Unadilla High School and received threats on his life up until the moment of his singular dark presence in the graduation exercises from that seat of learning. Three years before, in 1965, his mother, fired from her job, had found a dead bear on her front porch--local whites' reminder that her eight children had chosen the wrong school. Finally, in 1968, Unadilla lost its federal

money--200,000 badly needed dollars. All but $25,000 of that money had gone to the Negro school--much of it spent for lunches (upgrading education in the South is all too often a matter of feeding children who get little food at home). The community raised tax millage to replace the $25,000, and the superintendent announced that since the system no longer received federal funds, the "white" school would no longer accept black children. The Hunter children had been the only desegregators all along. Displaying the kind of courage that seems required of those who still believe in this country's fundamental law, they again attended the "white" school in the fall of 1968.

The Second Judicial Era

March 29, 1967, marked the advent of the second judicial era in school desegregation. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, sitting en banc (full court), directed each state within the circuit to take all necessary affirmative action to bring about a "unitary school system in which there are no Negro schools and no white schools--just schools."

In October, 1967, the Supreme Court refused to review the order, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People declared the Fifth Circuit ruling to be "the most influential school desegregation opinion" since Brown versus Topeka.

Indeed it was. In effect it gave legal sanction to the guidelines, while insisting that freedom-of-choice plans would be thoroughly examined by the courts to deter-

mine whether the method was working.

On May 27, 1968, the Supreme Court issued a similar ruling, stating that,

> In desegregating a dual system of public education, a plan utilizing student 'freedom-of-choice' is not an end in itself but is only a means to the constitutionally required end, the abolition of the system of segregation and its effects, and, if it proves effective, it is acceptable, but, if it fails to undo segregation, other means must be used to achieve that end.*

Clearly freedom-of-choice had failed in almost every instance to abolish "the system of segregation and its effects."

The decisions renewed hope, all but bludgeoned to death by more than a decade of too many Unadillas, an Ezekiel's Wheel kind of hope that freedom-of-choice itself would be abolished. At the same time civil rights and legal agencies were renewing their efforts to desegregate southern schools, Education Commissioner Harold Howe, II, was expressing federal relief at the re-entrance of the courts in a manner which should have been ominous to those who were anticipating a new concerted effort by executive and judicial branches. Howe said: "Our policies are clearly supported by the courts.....It's not as necessary now as it formerly was for those of us in Education to have a role in civil rights compliance."

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*Green v. County School Board of New Kent County, 88 S.Ct. 1689 (1968).

A federal district court in Alabama had issued an order (also in March, 1967) which would, in fact, result in a collision of the two branches of the federal government in the matter of school desegregation. Lee v. Macon County placed 99 of Alabama's 118 school districts under court order. These were districts that had formerly been operating under HEW guidelines. During the summer of 1967, HEW declared that the Lanett, Alabama, school system was not in compliance with the guidelines and was therefore ineligible for federal aid; Lanett school officials protested that they were now under a court-approved plan, and in July the court held that it was the court's responsibility to determine whether school systems were in compliance with its order. Urging HEW to continue investigations and to report any failures to comply, the court warned, however, that HEW could only take action with its specific approval.

But meanwhile, all across the South during 1967 and the spring and summer of 1968 old school cases were reopened and new ones filed. Results were familiar to those old enough to remember Brown I and Brown II. District courts in numerous cases overthrew freedom-of-choice plans and ordered school boards to submit geographic zoning plans drawn so as to afford substantial desegregation.

In many respects the new judicial era was exactly like the old. It introduced an entirely new concept in equal education to southern whites. No less revolutionary than the Supreme Court's announcing in 1954 that separate

educational facilities were inherently unequal was the idea that desegregation meant white children attending formerly "Negro" schools. Freedom-of-choice had been the interim separate but equal, not a transitional concept, but educational dogma. HEW's acceptance of gradualism was not nearly so damning as its acceptance of the southern solution. Freedom-of-choice meant Negroes, as many as could stand it, in white schools. New, court ordered, the zone concept literally meant mixing the schools. Administrators (the South, they said, the people, simply weren't ready for it, no sir) reluctantly drew up the new plans.* Through the late spring and early summer resistance grew. Just as in the first judicial era, it was mainly the cities of the South that were affected. And the resistance had a citified, sophisticated new look, not seen since the administrative experiment moved the issue to the rural South. Committees, organizations (Stand Together and Never Divide, etc.) of white parents formed (reformed, in many instances--a new generation of resisters) to fight for freedom-of-choice. Almost without exception they were victorious.

The new judicial era fell victim to many of the traps that had plagued the old one. Federal judges, admittedly

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*The Supreme Court stated in Brown II (1955): "It should go without saying that the vitality of these constitutional principles cannot be allowed to yield simply because of disagreement with them." Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 1955, 349 U.S. 294, 75 S.Ct. 753, 99 L.Ed. 1083.

not educators, were often forced to believe elaborate arguments by schoolmen that what the courts requested was simply not (immediately) possible. Redraw all school boundaries...75,000 children involved...teachers already assigned...overcrowding...undercrowding...BUSSING...You see, your honor, we would very much like to comply with the court order, and we will...but not now. (A federal district judge in Mississippi recently ruled that, since whites would pull out of a zone-desegregated school system, freedom-of-choice was consititutional. This bit of tortured judicial reasoning was engendered by a poll, conducted by whites, of whites in the district. The poll revealed that white parents would refuse to send their children to public schools; therefore, no desegregation would exist. So, freedom-of-choice would, at least in theory, allow more desegregation.)

Also, pressure by white parents in many locales had almost the same effect as threats by southern legislatures a decade before. These parents, through their organizations, said they would, and in some instances did, close the schools down rather than desegregate them. (In Chesterfield County, South Carolina, schools were closed for a week due to protests by white parents. They were reopened September 15, 1968, after the board reinstituted the freedom-of-choice plan.)

Mobile, Alabama, seemed to sum up the first year of the new judicial era: The Mobile case had been in court for many years. The system was operating under freedom-of-choice. In 1967 two per cent of Negro school children attended "white"

schools. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in March, 1968, instructed the school board to adopt a rigid (no provisions for transfers within the system to avoid attending a desegregated school) zone plan, which would have placed about 1,400 white children in formerly all-Negro schools. White parents organized (Stand Together, etc., and Whites Organized for Rights Keeping); the area's state senator filed a motion in federal court seeking to overturn the new ruling on grounds it would be unsafe for white children to attend all-Negro schools. After a summer of legal battling the federal district judge who had issued the initial order came up with a plan allowing senior high schools to operate under freedom-of-choice, requiring specified attendance zones for elementary and junior high schools, and permitting more liberal transfers within the attendance zones. When school opened in September, an estimated 3,500 Negroes were in formerly all-white schools; but very few whites were in formerly all-Negro ones.

Mississippi, as usual, was the epitome of frustration, confusion, and a certain hope. School cases in 50 of Mississippi's 148 districts are to be reopened in the fall. A spokesman for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., the most active agency in the legal battle for school desegregation, was confident that in most of those districts freedom-of-choice would be discarded and zone or pairing plans required. The spokesman also stated that such action would result in whites pulling out of the public schools in several districts. "It depends on the

district," he said. "Where whites are proud of the schools, where the schools are good, whites will stay. In the Delta, where schools are bad, whites will probably pull out." He cited Corinth, a relatively prosperous community in northern Mississippi, as an example of a good school system's holding whites in spite of a comprehensive zone plan that would result in substantial desegregation. Though Mississippi still has a tuition grant statute, which theoretically could support private schools, there is little chance of its indefinite survival. The Legal Defense Fund spokesman, wise in the ways of Mississippi, and still hopeful, said, "Whites will probably go through the full cycle of resistance and come back to reconciliation again--just as they did before." He felt that the South might yet solve the problem of desegregation before the North began, really, to grapple with it.

The Pattern of Failure

There was the chance, a slim one, that the courts might succeed, might assure justice at last to school children in the South. But all the foregoing history indicates failure, and the results of the first year of the second judicial era bear out this gloomy prophesy. Though no official figures were available in late September, 1968, the old pattern seemed to hold. A few more Negroes in school with whites in the cities; in some instances rural "Negro" schools closed and the entire student body absorbed by the "white" ones; a minuscule number of whites in formerly all-Negro schools. The second judicial era would, it seemed,

encounter the same dilemma that doomed the first one: Governor Lurleen Wallace, paraphrasing another Southerner who flouted the law when it suited him to do so, said of the Fifth Circuit ruling, "They have made their decision, now let them enforce it."

Why those who had lived through the first era, had watched the few children life-scarred for the privilege of entering a building, fanned the old hope again is probably irrelevant. But the results of fourteen long years of methodizing, legalizing, computerizing, analyzing, and finally, mortifying what is, after all, the basic right of every American child--the right to a good education, the right to enter any building to get that education--will long be felt in this nation.

We teach children, all children, that the United States of America is dedicated to law and order. We lie. We have shown a generation of American children, in the public institution closest to their lives, the schools, that this nation's fundamental law need not be obeyed; we have clearly demonstrated to them that what we expect is their conformity to lipservice to the shibboleth. What will be the awful effects of this lie upon children, black and white alike? What depths of disillusionment when they hear us say "law" and observe only "order?"

After a generation has beheld successful evasion, rationalized vaccillation, outright flaunting of the law, only a country absolutely wedded to the totalitarian concept of order without law could turn on the victims of lawlessness and accuse them of destroying the fabric of society.

PART II

THE CONGRESS, THE COURTS, AND THE NATIONAL WILL

by Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor of Southern Regional
Council's Publications

The story of how desegregation still hovers at a low level of tokenism involves not only official defiance of the federal government and intimidation of Negro parents and students but, of late, extremely effective persuasion by southern congressmen.

In 1966, a southern assault on the HEW guidelines was directed primarily at desegregation percentage requirements which HEW said were used only to measure a school system's rate of progress from one year to the other. Southerners said the percentages were promulgated to bring about racial balance in the schools in violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The southern strategy, appealing to northern fears that HEW's next move would be to attack de facto segregation and the sanctity of the neighborhood school, was partially successful in emasculating the guidelines. The House voted to require the U. S. Office of Education to hold a full hearing before withholding funds from a school district considered to be in violation of the guidelines. A House-Senate conference changed the provision to allow for fund "deferrals," provided a hearing be held within 60 days. In addition, the Southerners succeeded in slashing HEW's budget request for funds to increase its compliance staff.

In 1967, House Southerners largely remained in the background as a northern liberal -- Rep. Edith Green (D.-Ore.) -- fought their segregation battles for them. In amendments

to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1967, Rep. Green succeeded in requiring HEW to apply its school desegregation guidelines uniformly to all 50 states, and to cite statutory authority under which it withheld federal funds from noncomplying districts. Southerners supported both measures, charging that in the past, HEW acted discriminatorily in applying the guidelines only to the South and illegally in denying funds without authority of the Civil Rights Act. Southern civil rights forces were disappointed at the adoption of the amendments which they saw as no more than spiteful diversionary tactics designed to fragment HEW's compliance efforts in the South.

Southern officialdom gained another victory in 1967 when a Senate attack led by Georgia Senator Richard Russell resulted in a policy statement from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, pledging that the agency would give school systems notice of any possible fund termination six months prior to the start of the school year. Earlier Russell had introduced an amendment to the Secondary and Elementary Education Act, which would have flatly prohibited HEW from cutting off funds at any time during the school year. Senator Wayne Morse, floor manager for the bill, said he could not accept the Russell amendment. Southerners, no friends of federal aid to education anyway, threatened to filibuster the whole bill to death if he did not. But the policy pledge by Secretary Gardner placated Southerners.

They abandoned their efforts to enact the Russell amendment. Interestingly, however, Russell, on the floor of the Senate, later admitted that he had "no assurance whatsoever" that his measure could have passed. He conceded the Secretary's policy statement was probably for his forces better than passage of his own amendment because it might have been killed in a Senate-House conference. In a letter to his Senate colleagues, Russell said the compromise represented a larger concession than he had thought possible.

In June of 1968, a coalition of Southerners and northern moderates united in the House to bring about what Georgia Congressman John Flynt described as "congressional sanction to 'freedom-of-choice.'" On a crucial 139-109 tally, the House voted to retain the so-called "Whitten Amendment" to the HEW Appropriations Act. That amendment (named after its sponsor, Rep. Jamie Whitten, D.-Miss.) stated:

> 409. No part of the funds contained in this Act may be used to force busing of students, abolishment of any school, or to force any student attending any secondary school to attend a particular school against the choice of his or her parents or parent.
>
> 410. No part of the funds contained in this Act shall be used to force busing of students, the abolishment of any school or the attendance of students of a particular school as a condition precedent to obtaining federal funds otherwise available to any state, school district, or school.

Proponents of the amendment were frank in seeking to link their cause with that of northern advocates of the neighborhood school. Rep. Whitten warned his colleagues that "what has been visited upon certain areas of the country is about to spread throughout the nation." Rep. Robert L. F. Sikes (D.-Fla.) after describing what he termed "harassment" of school officials in Florida concluded:

> This is what is happening to schools throughout the land. Probably it has happened to your schools. If not, it will.

Rep. Charles E. Goodell (R.-N. Y.), speaking against the amendment, stated the issue clearly: "The two amendments . . . specifically provide that no federal money can be used to assist school districts in their plans, or to press school districts in their plans to meet the Supreme Court decision."

Rep. Emmanuel Cellar (D.-N. Y.) was even more blunt. "What is sought here is to overturn the Supreme Court decision [regarding freedom-of-choice]."

Rep. Whitten denied that it was his intention to nullify the court decree; however, he declared that when it came to appropriations, "we don't have to pay any more attention to the courts than we want to."

The impact of the House action sent shock waves into civil rights ranks, raising serious doubts as to the congressional will on its own school desegregation legislation. Despite the fact that HEW, under reorganized enforcement procedures, continued to talk tough about its future plans and, conceding the goodwill and intentions of its compliance officers, the agency would obviously have been crippled in its enforcement efforts by the Whitten amendment. Some civil rights observers thought the amendment would so seriously restrict future HEW desegregation efforts as not only to legalize freedom-of-choice desegregation plans but to make them the only sort of desegregation plans acceptable. Rep. Goodell, for example, put it this way:

> The indirect effect of this, I fear, will be that school districts which are negotiating with the federal government as to how they can get full integration in their school systems . . . will find themselves in a position that when the school board redistricts it will not be able to assign pupils unless the parents of all these pupils agree and give their consent.

The Whitten amendment -- pushed in the Senate by Georgia Senator Richard Russell -- ran into opposition in the Senate Appropriations Committee. Liberals succeeded in adding a clause making the appropriations restrictions applicable only to instances where HEW might attempt to "overcome racial im-

balance." Southerners on the committee gained concessions from their northern colleagues when the committee approved another Russell-sponsored amendment requiring HEW to assign as many compliance officers to northern states as to the South.* The committee also approved two other segregationist amendments, preventing HEW from cutting off funds derived from timber taxes or from denying school lunch and medical service funds to southern schools. In September, the full Senate approved the committee bill with the amendments cited.

House proponents of the legislation, however, were set for a showdown fight and in a House-Senate conference committee succeeded in reinstating the Whitten Amendment. The appropriations bill was resubmitted to the House which in an abrupt about-face rejected the Whitten Amendment outright by a 175-167 vote. Southern civil rights forces, prepared for the worst, were astounded; southern congressmen abjected. "We had the votes," lamented Georgia Congressman John Flynt, "if the people had been there."

The Congress v. the Courts

Beyond the immediate effects of the congressional action on school desegregation (and the mere fact that the Whitten Amendment could gain the northern support that it

*The amendment seemed to represent a basic contradiction. For to require HEW to devote as much effort to desegregation in the North as in the South was to give HEW the mandate to move against de facto segregation everywhere. Yet Title IV of the Civil Rights Act forbids any action to overcome racial imbalance inherent in de facto segregation.

did was in itself a sobering commentary on the national commitment to integration), civil rights forces saw another potentially greater threat both to the civil rights cause and to civil liberties. Implicit throughout the House debate on the Whitten Amendment was the sentiment for congressional restraints on the Supreme Court. That sentiment was translated into action with passage of the controversial "anti-crime" bill, a portion of which specifically nullifies a Supreme Court decision in regard to the admissibility of voluntary confessions in criminal proceedings. Most certainly it was a factor in the decision of some senators to oppose the elevation of Justice Abe Fortas to Chief Justice of the Court.

Yet in the realities of American politics, even pessimistic civil rights advocates doubted that the Congress will succeed in actually bringing about a legal reversal of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decisions. Even an attempt to do so would bring the nation to a constitutional crisis such as it has not had since the Civil War. More likely, there will be continued efforts to render the rulings meaningless through appropriations restrictions and reductions. Northern liberals who seem to have no hesitance in siding with southern segregationists on such restrictions when they see de facto segregation threatened would hardly go along with an overt racist effort to nullify the courts. Southern congressmen, too, apparently have learned just how far they can take their northern colleagues. House debate on

the Whitten amendment, for instance, was largely void of the fire-eating oratory characteristic of southern congressmen in the wake of the 1954 Brown decision. Thus if current trends in the Congress continue, trends which increasingly seem to reflect opinion of a portion of white middle-class America, politely affirmative on such easy either/or issues as the end of de jure segregation in the South, but increasingly testy and antagonistic toward implementing measures that will cost more than lip service, dismantling of other civil rights enforcement and procedures might also be expected.

The federal structure itself perhaps doomed the administrative effort to achieve desegregation. Empowering an agency to carry out congressional mandate allows legislators (who control the real power) the right to give and to take away -- to speak out vehemently for civil rights and then on critical roll calls to cripple the agency charged with gauranteeing those rights. In 1964, the nation seemed bent on conferring citizenship on Negroes. Stokely Carmichael articulated black power in 1966 and white power seemed to breathe a sigh of relief that Negroes no longer deserved nor even desired the honor.

The fact is that while Northerners have only recently begun to wrestle with the thorny problems of de facto segrega-

tion, many Southerners at last have come to view the process of school desegregation as a rather dull serial in which each year begins with high expectations and ends with disappointing results. They see the slow pace of school integration as a barometer of the whole national will in the matter of civil rights enforcement. For certainly all of the law and all of the court decrees necessary for the fulfillment of a century's promise have been made. What remains wanting, after all of the high and noble sentiments have been expressed, is the commitment to implement them.

In the meanwhile, the disgrace of continued failure to bring about an end to dual schools was having precisely the effect that white racist elements in the South had striven without success in previous years to bring about. As the summer of 1968 unfolded and a new school year approached, many Negroes, reflecting in varying degrees a concept of "black awareness," had come to feel that school desegregation is no longer a relevant issue. "Why don't whites ever transfer to our schools? Why should we be the ones to do all the sacrificing?" Some voice the attitude, too, that if "quality" education can be achieved in an all-Negro school, then why should Negro children suffer the pain, the estrangement, the cruelty they subject themselves to in desegregating a "previously all-white school." "Separate but equal," never achiev-

ed when it was the law of the land, becomes now a sour goal of the disappointed, disillusioned, and betrayed.

APPENDIX I

JEFFERSON COUNTY AND MACON COUNTY SCHOOL DESEGREGATION DECISIONS

by

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and

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APPENDIX I

The Jefferson County and Macon County decisions, analyzed in Appendix I, were the most significant school desegregation court actions of the 1960's. Jefferson County initiated a period of extensive judicial examination of the efficacy of freedom-of-choice as a means of abolishing the dual school structure and eliminating its effects. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in Jefferson stressed school administrators' affirmative duty to erase the designations "Negro" and "white" schools and to offer children of both races a desegregated, equal education.

The federal district court for the middle district of Alabama, in its historic Macon County decision, recognized state school officials' responsibility for disestablishing the system of school segregation still prevalent in Alabama. Placing state officials under court order, federal district judges in effect undertook supervision of the elimination of the dual school structure throughout the state of Alabama.

JEFFERSON COUNTY AND MACON COUNTY SCHOOL DESEGREGATION DECISIONS

The Federal Mandate

Congress in Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 gave to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) authority for securing school desegregation in all local school systems receiving federal financial assistance. Pursuant to the provisions of Title VI and to the subsequent regulations,[1] HEW issued Statements of Policy (guidelines).[2]

Under the guideline procedures based upon the HEW regulations, school districts without dual school systems (presumed to be without racial discrimination) could file HEW Form 441 indicating that they were in full and immediate compliance with Title VI and the HEW regulations. These school systems would then be eligible to receive federal aid, and had no further obligation. Only if a complaint were filed and substantiated would HEW require additional assurance from the school district.

A district which operated a dual school system was required to file HEW Form 441-B. This indicated the school district had submitted a voluntary plan to desegregate its schools. In the South this was usually a freedom-of-choice desegregation plan. The guidelines included the basic standards and requirements to which a desegregation plan must conform to be acceptable. HEW had the authority to decide if the plan was acceptable and to determine if the school district was complying

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[1] 45 C.F.R. Part 80 (1967). These have not been revised since they were first issued.

[2] 45 C.F.R. Part 180 (1967). The guidelines have been revised three times since they were first issued. The three revisions were in March and December, 1966, and September, 1967. It would be well to note here, as will be discussed later, that the guidelines are not regulations, were not signed by the President, and their authorization has a different basis.

with the plan subject to review. If the school system was not in compliance, or refused to desegregate, HEW was authorized to terminate all federal financial assistance to the school district. (It should be made clear that enforcement action ultimately ending in fund termination was not an arbitrary procedure by HEW compliance officials; rather HEW enforcement action included administrative safeguards: notification of suspected noncompliance, requests for voluntary modification, informal and formal hearings and appeals.) If a school system continued to refuse to comply with the requirements of the guidelines and had its funds terminated by HEW, the only way to force the district to desegregate was by going into a federal district court and obtaining a court order against the school system.

If a school district under court order to desegregate wished to continue to receive federal aid, it was required to submit to HEW the court order, accompanied by an assurance of compliance with that order. When both conditions were satisfied, the school district was automatically eligible to receive federal aid.

If a school district under a court order to desegregate would not meet these two conditions, the plaintiffs or the Justice Department could seek to rectify the situation by further litigation either in the form of a contempt proceeding or a stronger order to desegregate.

In the Fifth Circuit, a relatively large percentage* of school districts are under court order, with an even larger percentage of school children in court order districts. There are three basic reasons for this development. First, after the Brown case in 1954 and before the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the only remedy against a segregated school system was a court order. In this ten-year period most large cities in the South were put under court order to desegregate. Second, after 1954, many school districts failing to comply with the HEW guidelines

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*See Tables 1 and 2.

were brought into court to force compliance. Third, school districts desiring to avoid the stricter HEW requirements sought court orders.

The Jefferson County Case

United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education is important not only because it gathered and analyzed school desegregation law developed since 1954, but it set forth a model decree designed to produce uniformity within the Fifth Circuit. It gave major emphasis to the affirmative duty of the school boards to eliminate discrimination in public schools. The fact that a model decree was issued indicated that the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals would no longer tolerate an evasion of the law of the land and was determined to use the power in its hands to stop such evasion.[3]

Jefferson County consists of nine school desegregation cases consolidated for hearing on appeal by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.[4] Judge Wisdom wrote the first opinion, which was that of a three-judge court handed down on December 29, 1966, and which contained a major discussion of all the issues involved.[5] There was one dissent by District Judge Harold Cox, sitting by designation, who requested a hearing of the case by all twelve Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals judges. The en banc (full court) hearing produced a short, six-paragraph per curium opinion (an unsigned opinion by all concurring judges) which adopted with slight modification the opinion and model decree written by Judge Wisdom. The en banc opinion was handed down on March 29, 1967.

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[3] 372 F.2d 836 (5 Cir. 1966) affirmed on rehearing en banc Civil No. 23345 5 Cir., filed March 29, 1967.

[4] Three cases were appealed from the United States District Court for the Northern District of Alabama; five were appealed from the United States District Court for the Western District of Louisiana; and one was appealed from the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana. Two of these were added by the en banc court.

[5] 372 f.2d 836.

Although much of what was in the Wisdom opinion (particularly much of the discussion of the guidelines) is dicta (statements necessary to support directly the holding of the decision), its discussion of issues and problems makes clear the ramifications of the decision and the Model Decree.[6] In the en banc decision, there was an overwhelming acceptance of Judge Wisdom's opinion.[7]

Judge Wisdom's expression of the court's impatience with delay was apparent: "The clock has ticked the last tick for tokenism and delay in the name of deliberate speed."[8]

Judge Wisdom's opinion began with the Supreme Court's pronouncement in the Brown cases[9] -- as all school desegregation cases must -- updating it by noting the developments in the law. Making it clear that the Supreme Court did not have token desegregation in mind as the ultimate goal and that Negro school children have more than a mere right to consideration for admission to white schools,[10] the opinion indicated it has been apparent since the Brown II decision, 1955, that a single racially nondiscriminatory system must be provided.

The court emphasized that the problem in the Fifth Circuit remained the undoing of de jure segregation -- of eliminating the dual school system. The decision defined de jure and de facto segregation very carefully, attaching a meaning that is important to note in order to

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[6]Civil No. 23345, 5 Cir., March 29, 1967. All references to the Jefferson County opinion will be to Judge Wisdom's opinion (372 F.2d 836) unless otherwise specified. All references to the Model Decree will be to the en banc modification handed down March 29, 1967, unless otherwise specified.

[7]There were eight judges concurring in the en banc decision, three judges dissenting, and one separate opinion concurring in the result.

[8]372 F.2d at 896.

[9]Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U. S. 483 (1954), Brown I; Brown v. Board of Education, 349 U. S. 294 (1955), Brown II.

[10]Braxton v. Board of Public Education of Duval County, No. 4598-Civil-J, S. D. Fla., August 21, 1962; aff'd. 326 F.2d 616 (5 Cir. 1964), cert. denied 377 U. S. 924 (1964).

avoid misunderstanding the court's decision. De jure segregation, the sense of the decision holds, is segregation imposed by force of law, or in existence because of prior imposition by force of law. Force of law would include any state action, be it judicial mandate, legislative enactment, official policy, or act of a public official. De facto segregation, according to the sense of the decision, is segregation which is fortuitous, resulting entirely from private action by individuals which is in no way affected or prompted by state action. The schools in the South were segregated according to race by force of law; the schools in the South are still de jure segregated.

Confusion over duties, which the court in this decision laid to rest, can be seen in the distinction made by some between the words "integration" and "desegregation." The court's opinion emphasized throughout that the problem in the Fifth Circuit was not one of de facto segregation or racial balance, but of eliminating de jure segregation. Until the effects of de jure segregation are eliminated, de facto segregation and its concomitant problems need not be considered by the court. In the eyes of the court, this elimination must take place with the "complete disestablishment of segregation by converting the dual system to a nonracial unitary system."[11] Judge Wisdom stated repeatedly that it is the duty of school administrators to eliminate segregation imposed by force of law, and that whether one said "desegregate" or "integrate," the meaning was the same.

The stress placed on the duty of the school boards to eliminate discrimination was in large due to the lack of desegregation in the South and to the unwillingness of most southern school boards to desegregate. The need for this stress was more apparent when one looked at the argument of the counsel for Alabama in the Jefferson County case, which was a typical attempt to make a distinction between the words "integrate"

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[11] 372 F.2d at 846, n. 5.

and "desegregate," indicating that counsel considered the two words to be words of art (words idiomatic to the field of civil rights). "Desegregation" was defined as the maintenance of a dual school system with the limitation that Negro children would be allowed admission to white schools on a nonracial basis, if they applied. "Integration" was defined as actual attendance of Negro children in a school with white children. The Fifth Circuit expressly rejected this distinction and pointed out that the authorities persuasive upon the court made no such distinction.[12]

The distinction had been based on the well-known Briggs dictum, which is extracted from a United States District Court decision handed down six weeks after Brown II.[13] The words most quoted, and those now disapproved by the courts of appeals which have considered the question are as follows: "The Constitution, in other words, does not require integration. It merely forbids segregation."[14] The basis for this dictum has been discredited. The dictum itself has lost judicial acceptance, but a great number of cases cited the dictum with approval. The Fifth Circuit and other courts of appeals came to realize the stultifying effect of these words on the elimination of discrimination. The court noted that "the dictum may . . . be defensible if the Briggs court used the term 'integration' to mean an absolute command at all costs that each and every Negro child attend a racially balanced school."[15]

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[12] Judge Wisdom pointed out that the Supreme Court has avoided making a distinction. Further, the Eighth Circuit rejected any distinction in Smith v. Board of Education of Morrilton, 365 F.2d 770 (8 Cir. 1966) as did the Third Circuit in Evans v. Ennis, 281 F.2d 385 (3 Cir. 1960) cert. denied 364 U. S. 933. The Civil Rights Commission used the words interchangeably in Survey of School Desegregation, 1965-66. Also the court noted that the words are defined to be synonyms in Webster's New Third International Dictionary.

[13] Briggs v. Elliott, 132 F. Supp. 776 (E.D.S.C. 1955).

[14] 132 F. Supp. at 777.

[15] 372 F.2d at 865. See also 372 F.2d at n. 61.

However, it was clear that this had not been the construction placed upon the dictum by the courts and school authorities, and so the Negro individual had been left with the necessity of asserting his individual and class right -- a right which would, under Briggs, be continuously and unconstitutionally denied him by state action until, as an individual, he acted. It cannot be over-emphasized that the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals expressly rejected the dictum and overruled prior cases to the contrary, because many southern politicians and school boards have used the dictum as support for their position that they were under no particular duty to promote desegregation. Therefore, most have made no effort to do so other than to allow Negro children to go to white schools by operation of the pupil placement laws, leaving Negro Southerners, as a group, still segregated.

Administrators' "Affirmative Duty"

The court regarded as its task the elimination of the duality of school structure and of the labels (white and Negro) attached to the schools. Permitting school desegregation to take place was not enough; discrimination had to be ended since it was discrimination that was the forbidden act. Judge Wisdom adopted in his opinion the statement made by Judge Sobeloff in Wanner v. County School Board of Arlington County: "If a school board is constitutionally forbidden to institute a system of racial segregation . . . it is likewise forbidden to perpetuate a system that has been so instituted."[16]

The right to desegregated schools and to a nondiscriminatory school system has been established as a personal constitutional right. But cases subsequent to the original school segregation cases were class actions, and school systems were ordered to halt discrimination against Negroes as a class. Judge Wisdom stated in Jefferson County: " . . . .

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[16] 357 F.2d 452, 454 (4 Cir. 1966), quoted 372 F.2d at 877.

Relief to the class requires school boards to desegregate the school from which a transferee comes as well as the school to which he goes."[17] The court in Jefferson County emphasized the Supreme Court's procedures in the school segregation cases:

> . . . . MOREOVER, THE DELAY OF ONE YEAR IN DECIDING BROWN II AND THE GRADUAL REMEDY BROWN II FASHIONED CAN BE JUSTIFIED ONLY ON THE GROUND THAT THE 'PERSONAL AND PRESENT' RIGHT OF THE INDIVIDUAL PLAINTIFFS MUST YIELD TO THE OVER-RIDING RIGHT OF NEGROES AS A CLASS TO A COMPLETELY INTEGRATED PUBLIC EDUCATION.[18] (Emphasis supplied by the court.)

In order to establish the fulfillment of these rights, the court imposed an "affirmative duty" upon school authorities to see that desegregation was accomplished, a duty which prior to this decision was not made clear to the school administrators in the South. The Fourth, Sixth, and Eighth Circuit Courts of Appeals announced a course of action that required the initiative in school desegregation to come from school authorities.[19]

Judge Wisdom repeatedly stated the school administrator's duty to eliminate segregation imposed by force of law to "bring about an integrated, unitary school system in which there are no Negro schools and no white schools-- just schools."[20]

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[17] 373 F.2d at 868.

[18] Id. at 868.

[19] Bowman v. County School Board of Charles City County, Civil No. 10793 (4 Cir., June 12, 1967); Northcross v. Board of Education of the City of Memphis, 302 F. 2d 817 (6 Cir. 1962); Clark v. Board of Education of the Little Rock School District, 369 F.2d 661 (8 Cir. 1966). These four circuits cover 22 states: the Fourth Circuit includes Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North and South Carolina; the Fifth Circuit includes Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, and the Canal Zone; the Sixth Circuit includes Ohio, Michigan, Kentucky, and Tennessee; and the Eighth Circuit includes Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, Nebraska, North and South Dakota.

[20] 380 F.2d at 389.

The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals concluded that "a national effort, bringing together Congress, the executive, and the judiciary may be able to make meaningful the right of Negro children to equal educational opportunities. The courts acting alone have failed."[21] It considered the methods devised by HEW to be alternatives to court-formulated methods of implementation. The court turned in this direction for several reasons.

Under HEW regulations, if a school system was under a final order of a court and had agreed to comply with it, the requirements for that school system under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 were deemed satisfied. This being so, if the courts required less than HEW, school systems could avoid the stiffer standards of the administrative agency by seeking a court order.[22] The satisfaction of HEW desegregation requirements becomes more significant when one considers that the enforcement mechanism of the Civil Rights Act is the withdrawal of federal financial assistance so that, in effect, federal judges are in the position of ratifying the dispensing of federal financial assistance to those school districts under a final court order. There is a constitutional mandate[23] supported by national and congressional policy in favor of fewer delays in integration, for segregation is not just a wrong against an individual plaintiff in a particular case, but against a whole class of citizens. The need for uniformity in treatment and in granting of rights to this class was a strong argument to the Fifth Circuit Court. The use of

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[21] 372 F.2d at 847.

[22] For instance, such was the case with twenty Louisiana school districts. See 372 F.2d at 859.

[23] In Bradley v. School Board of the City of Richmond, 382 U. S. 103, 105 (1965), the Supreme Court stated, "Delays in school desegregation are no longer tolerable."

guideline requirements was a means to fulfill that policy.[24]

It should also be noted that HEW was considered by the courts to have a special expertise in the field of education, an expertise which federal judges do not usually possess. It should come as no surprise that the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals regarded the guidelines in a very favorable light, for not only this court, but also the Fourth and Eighth Circuits indicated as early as 1965 that great weight should be given the guidelines. The Fifth and Eighth Circuits have indicated that the guideline standards would rarely, if ever, be other than the minimum.[25] The Fifth Circuit, in Davis v. Board of School Commissioners of Mobile County,[26] ordered changes in a school desegregation plan to conform with changes in the HEW guidelines.

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[24]There has been a three-judge district court decision involving the guidelines directly. Alabama NAACP State Conference of Branches v. Wallace, 269 F. Supp. 346 (M. D. Ala., 1967) involved two aspects of the guidelines (45 C. F. R. Part 180). The first was whether a state may constitutionally legislate to declare null and void in that state the action of a federal agency under an Act of Congress. The court answered that the state may not so legislate, whether or not the agency action is valid. The second was whether the guidelines were valid. The court held that it must defer to decision and holdings of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in Jefferson County to the effect that the guidelines were constitutional and within the 1964 Civil Rights Act. In arriving at this decision, the district court made the following observations about the guidelines:

> The guidelines, as their title indicates, are simply a statement of policies for school desegregation plans by the Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. They are not an exercise of rule-making power and hence do not have the 'status of law.' Any department or agency action terminating or refusing to grant or to continue financial assistance is subject to plenary judicial review. In the absence of judicial review, the school authorities may and should respect the guidelines as a reliable guide to what the Department's enforcement action should be.

[25]Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School District, 355 F.2d 815 (5 Cir. 1966); Price v. Denison Independent School District, 348 F.2d 1010 (5 Cir. 1965); Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School District, 348 F.2d 729 (5 Cir. 1965); Bowman v. County School Board of Charles City County, Civil No. 10793 (4 Cir. June 12, 1967); Smith v. Board of Education of Morrilton, 365 F.2d 770 (8 Cir. 1966); Kemp v. Beasley, 352 F.2d 14 (8 Cir. 1966).

[26]364 F. 2d 896 (5 Cir. 1966).

Again, in Jefferson County, the Fifth Circuit welcomed the guidelines as an effective, prompt, and orderly method of eliminating dual school systems in the South -- emphasizing that the guidelines were simply being used to disestablish de jure segregation. Indeed, the court recognized that failure of the courts to do more than effect a qualitative change was the factor that moved Congress to act in 1964.[27]

Though it welcomed the Civil Rights Act and the guidelines, the court made clear the nonbinding nature of the guidelines on federal courts, indicating that the guidelines were merely statements of policy which HEW might use to inform those with whom it dealt of what it considered to be evidence of compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Since the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals adopted the requirements of the guidelines as their own, there was another facet of the validity of the guidelines which the court in Jefferson County had to decide: Were those requirements used in the guidelines, without regard to whether they were authorized by the Civil Rights Act, a constitutional method of eliminating segregation? The court, not restricted by authorizations given in an Act of Congress and limited only by the provisions of the Constitution,[28] decided it was justified in finding that it might use the guidelines' provisions, including faculty integration and percentages.

The faculty integration provision in the guidelines was found by the court in Jefferson County to be necessary for achieving a unitary school system. The court stressed that the rights it dealt with were constitutional and not established by statute.[29] Judge Wisdom, in his

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[27] 372 F.2d at 852-856.

[28] The guidelines are found to be within the authorization of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. See also supra n. 3.

[29] 372 F.2d at 886.

supporting analysis, cited and approved the following statement of the Fourth Circuit:

> First the mandate of Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U. S. 483 (1954), forbids the consideration of race in faculty selection just as it forbids it in pupil placement. See Wheeler v. Durham City Board of Education, 346 F.2d 768, 773 (4 Cir. 1965). Thus the reduction in the number of Negro pupils did not justify a corresponding reduction in the number of Negro teachers. Franklin v. County Board of Giles County, 360 F.2d 325 (4 Cir. 1966). Second, the Negro school teachers were public employees who could not be discriminated against on account of their race with respect to their retention in the system. Johnson v. Branch, 364 F.2d 177 (4 Cir. 1966) . . . .[30]

This result is also indicated in Brown II. In Bradley, the Supreme Court decided that faculty desegregation was a necessary concomitant to student desegregation, and that an immediate beginning in faculty integration should be required by the courts. In Rogers v. Paul, decided at the same time as Bradley, the court held that discriminatory racial allocation of faculty denied students, in and of itself, equal educational opportunity.[31] The Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Circuit Courts of Appeals have all recognized, in the wake of Bradley, that faculty integration is inseparable from student integration.[32] It would seem that in light of these cases there would no longer be any question by school officials that faculty integration is required.

The court interpreted the percentage requirement of the freedom-of-choice guidelines to be a general rule of thumb to be used (both by

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[30] Chambers v. Hendersonville City Board of Education, 364 F.2d 189, 192 (4 Cir. 1966) cited in 372 F.2d at n. 104.

[31] Rogers v. Paul, 382 U. S. 103 (1965).

[32] Braxton v. Board of Public Instruction of Duval County, 326 F.2d 616 (5 Cir. 1964) cert. denied 377 U. S. 924; Smith v. Board of Education of Morrilton, 365 F.2d 770 (8 Cir. 1966); Clark v. Board of Education of Little Rock School District, 369 F.2d 661 (8 Cir. 1966); Wheeler v. Durham City Board of Education, 363 F. 2d 738 (4 Cir. 1966); and Mapp v. Board of Education of the City of Chattanooga, 373 F.2d 75 (6 Cir. 1967).

the courts and by HEW) as an indicator to determine if progress toward the elimination of the dual school structure was being made. The percentages were to be used only in measuring the progress in those school systems electing to use the freedom-of-choice method of pupil assignment for desegregation. The percentages were not an inflexible requirement, but only an attempt to set out some objective criterion for determining whether free choice operated to eliminate the dual school system; that is, whether there was truly a free choice. Percentages were not to be the absolute determining factor, only one of several.

In addition to the percentages, other provisions included the mandatory exercise of choice, notice to parents and the public, non-discriminatory transportation, protection from interference, school equalization, faculty integration, equality of facilities within each school, and others. The court would look to each of these factors to see that a true freedom-of-choice was being assured each student.

The court pointed out that courts have used the percentage criterion in determining whether constitutional rights have been violated in other types of cases -- namely, voting rights, jury and jury venire, and reapportionment [33] -- not to effect a racial balance, but rather as an

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[33] See 372 F.2d at 886-888, n. 107 and n. 108, for a discussion of Supreme Court and courts of appeals cases in which such use has been validated and used by the courts. Judge Wisdom cited and quoted a voting rights case which was particularly suitable here:

> An appropriate remedy should undo the results of past discrimination as well as prevent future inequality of treatment. A court of equity is not powerless to eradicate the effects of former discrimination. If it were, the state could seal into permanent existence the injustices of the past.

United States v. Duke, 332 F.2d 759, 768 (5 Cir. 1964). For instance, the power of a court of equity (and all federal courts sitting on desegregation cases act as courts of equity, Brown II) extends to re-registration of all voters in a number of parishes where discrimination has occurred. United States v. Louisiana, 255 F. Supp. 353 (E.D. La. 1963) aff'd. 380 U. S. 145 (1965). It would seem that the power of courts are quite extensive where discrimination has been widely practiced, as in the South. It should also be emphasized that the Supreme Court, in Brown II, left very wide discretion in the lower courts and has relatively infrequently guided the direction of their efforts.

objective indication of whether discrimination was being practiced. The percentage was used only as evidence that this factor, discrimination, existed.

The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals emphasized that the goal as an end in itself was not freedom-of-choice, but disestablishment of the dual school system. Freedom-of-choice was merely a method of implementing the requirement of the Constitution, and if it does not work, something else must be devised. It is clear that the freedom in freedom-of-choice must indicate a true freedom, unrestricted by official or other acts. It was not clear what course the courts would take should it become apparent that there was no true freedom-of-choice; however, the Fifth Circuit warned:

> If school officials in any district should find that their district still has segregated faculties and schools or only token integration, their affirmative duty to take corrective action requires them to try an alternative to a freedom-of-choice plan, such as a geographic attendance plan, a combination of the two, the Princeton plan, or some other acceptable substitute, perhaps aided by an educational park. Freedom-of-choice is not a key that opens all doors to equal education opportunities.[34]

The significance of recent opinions must be in the emphasis placed by the court on the affirmative duty of the school boards not just to stop segregation but to eliminate discrimination and its effects. It is not at all inconsequential that the court of appeals chose to insure this result by setting out a model decree as a minimum that, although not all-encompassing, prohibited the use of a great number of methods of discrimination and avowed such methods would be prohibited by injunctions issued within the Fifth Circuit in the future. It was to be expected that, should loopholes be found in the Model Decree which would enable school boards to reduce its effect, the courts would quickly eliminate those loopholes.

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[34] 372 F.2d at 896.

The express resolve of the Court of Appeals of the Fifth Circuit that schools be integrated was set forth in the opinion and Model Decree of Jefferson County. It is significant that in both the Model Decree and in subsequent action the court maintained its resolve that the guidelines were to be minimum standards. Except for minor wording changes and a few additional provisions and structural reorganization, the Model Decree set forth in Jefferson County was essentially the same as the guidelines. However, there were differences which are significant and should be noted. Section IV(a) of the Model Decree provides that a new choice at the first of the new school term will be given any student who was not assigned to the school of his choice (for whatever reason). Section VI of the Model Decree provides for remedial education of children disadvantaged by segregated schooling. Section VII of the Model Decree provides for choice of sites for new construction which will not tend to perpetuate dual schools. (The last provision -- as to construction -- may be covered by the HEW regulations by implication).[35]

Although the Model Decree contained provisions which the guidelines did not, there are only minor provisions in the guidelines which do not have comparable provisions or substantive content in the Model Decree. Most of these missing provisions can be inferred from the language of Jefferson County.[36] The guidelines also contained a provision against allowing transfers of students between school systems to avoid integration, which was not provided for in the Model Decree.[37] Note particularly that, even though the percentage provisions are not in the Model Decree, they are expressly approved in both opinions and will be applied as provisions of the Model Decree.

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[35] 45 C. F. R. Part 80 (1967).

[36] 45 C. F. R. 181.17(a) and (b) (1967).

[37] 45 C. F. R. 181.16 (1967).

The court, in Jefferson County, set a minimum standard for school desegregation, and it is apparent that the court meant minimum. The treatment of cases subsequent to Jefferson County evidenced the Fifth Circuit's determination.

In companion cases involving the school boards of Houston and Bibb Counties, Georgia, the district court approved desegregation plans submitted by the school board that did not conform to the requirements set forth in the model decree of Jefferson County.[38] The district court-approved plans included none of the safeguards provided in the Model Decree and on the basis of a supposed shortage of money the choice form mailing requirement was waived. The plaintiffs appealed immediately to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. Four days later, the court of appeals summarily reversed and remanded the cases back to the district court with instructions to conform the decrees containing the desegregation plans to be entered for the school system in light of Jefferson County.[39] As a result, the decree arising out of the further proceedings was almost identical, even to wording of the Model Decree.[40] Similar treatment has been given in at least one other case.[41] It is to be expected that future cases will be treated no differently.

There was marked contrast to the above in the reception given to school desegregation suits in the Middle District of Alabama. In the

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[38] Bivensv. Board of Education and Orphanage for Bibb County, Civil No. 1926, M. D. Ga., May 20, 1967.

[39] Bivens v. Board of Education and Orphanage for Bibb County, Civil No. 24754 (5 Cir., May 24, 1967).

[40] Bivens v. Board of Education and Orphanage for Bibb County, Civil No. 1926, M. D. Ga., June 29, 1967.

[41] Richard v. Christ, Civil No. 22300 (5 Cir., May 24, 1967).

Macon County case and in cases using essentially the same decree,[42] the court regarded the model decree of Jefferson County as a true minimum, for in the cases cited[43] the provisions of the Model Decree were applied to specific factual situations and were directed toward alleviating local discriminatory devices. For instance, the district court ordered the school boards to meet the requirements of a revised transportation provision. In another provision, reapproval must be obtained from the state Board of Education (which is itself under court order not to discriminate on account of race) before construction can begin on any new projects.[44]

Jefferson County goes considerably further than most district judges have been willing to venture; indeed, in a number of areas of the South, district judges have balked at any desegregation and have slowed progress on that which they could not avoid. In spite of the fact that prior to Jefferson County a number of judges adopted plans with similar provisions,[45] one might ask, in view of the pressure brought on or the private convictions of district judges, just what effect Jefferson County would have in requiring district judges to follow its lead.

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42 Lee v. Macon County Board of Education, 267 F. Supp. 458 (M. D. Ala., 1967), 36 L. W. 3225, judgment affirmed; sub. nom., Wallace v. U. S. (December 5, 1967); Harris v. Crenshaw County Board of Education, Civil No. 2455-N, M. D. Ala., April 28, 1967; and Franklin v. Barbour County Board of Education, Civil No. 2458-N, M. D. Ala., April 28, 1967.

43 Cases cited at n. 42 supra.

44 See Macon County discussion infra at p. 37.

45 Judges Grooms and Johnson of the Northern District of Alabama, Judge Thomas of the Southern District of Alabama, Judges Heebe and Christenberry of the Eastern District of Louisiana, and Judge Russell of the Southern District of Mississippi are among those who handed down decisions prior to Jefferson County more or less comparable to the standards in the Model Decree.

Implicit in the question is a query as to the system of administration of justice and how rulings of upper or appellate courts affect rulings in lower courts.

Stare Decisis is a matter of policy not absolutely binding on the lower courts.[46] As a matter of law, the lower courts may not violate the Constitution. Therefore, as to those matters of law on which the Supreme Court has spoken, a lower court would not rule contrary to a doctrine of law announced by the Supreme Court. However, it is indeed improbable that anything would happen beyond reversal of the lower court decision, if appealed, if such a ruling should occur. (There is the extremely unlikely possibility of impeachment.) Also, in most cases, there is room for interpretation and factual analysis which would permit a lower court judge to avoid a certain decision if he so wished, again at the risk of reversal. Once the Supreme Court has ruled on a point of law, it is the law of the land, and the decision is binding on all lower courts,[47] state and federal, although it is clear that certain state courts avoid many decisions in cases to which they are not a party. A federal court is in no way bound by the decision of another court on the same level (i.e., district court-district court), except in the same case, nor is a district court in one circuit bound by a decision of a court of appeals in another circuit. It is just as clear that any court may adopt the decision of any other court if it wishes,

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46 Once jurisdiction in a case is taken, if a previous case similar in fact and question of law has been decided by a court above or by the same court, then the court is limited by Stare Decisis, which is the practice of following precedent. It is rare indeed for a case to have exactly the same issues of fact and law, so that, as indicated, the lower court may distinguish a case on its facts and decide it contrary to previous authority, subject of course to the possibility of reversal by the higher court.

47 Bower v. U. S., 192 F.2d 515 (5 Cir. 1951). CERT. DENIED, 343 U. S. 943, REHEARING DENIED 343 U. S. 988 (1951).

if there is no binding precedent which it must follow. There are also several district court decisions which indicate that district courts are bound by decisions of their court of appeals; however, the district court would be free to make factual distinctions and vary their decision accordingly.[48]

It must be emphasized that once there is a conclusive and final adjudication as to all questions of fact or law by a court, the parties are bound. This is referred to as "Res Judicata," and applies to questions of law and fact, but only when the parties and the questions are the same in the two cases under consideration. Stare Decisis acts only on questions of law.[49]

In view of the summary reversal given the district court, approved desegregation plans for Bibb and Houston Counties,[50] and in view of the rule of Stare Decisis, it would seem that few judges would invite similar treatment of one of their own cases, and those who do would quickly be required in each case to follow Jefferson County.

Lee v. Macon County Board of Education[51] decided March 22, 1967, by a three-judge federal district court[52] in the Middle District of Alabama, had been before the district court in Alabama on several occasions. To understand the novelty of this decision, which is the remedy that the court fashioned, it is necessary to outline the prior history of the case.

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[48] Alabama NAACP State Conference of Branches v. Wallace, 269 F. Supp. 346 (M. D. Ala., 1967).

[49] Hansberry v. Lee, 311 U. S. 32 (1940); Hart Stell Company v. R. R. Supply Company, 244 U. S. 294 (1961); Kessler v. Eldred, 206 U. S. 285 (1906); Hale v. Finch, 104 U. S. 261 (1880); Kern v. Hurley, 179 F.2d 888 (8 Cir. 1950); 28 U. S. C. Rule 65 (d).

[50] Supra at n. 40.

[51] Lee v. Macon County Board of Education, 267 F. Supp. 458 (M. D. Ala., 1967), 36 L. W. 3225, judgment affirmed, sub. nom., Wallace v. U.S. (December 5, 1967); Harris v. Crenshaw County Board of Education, Civil No. 2455-N, M. D. Ala., April 28, 1967; and Franklin V. Barbour County Board of Education, Civil No. 2458-N, M. D. Ala., April 28, 1967.

[52] 28 U. S. C. 2281 (1964).

The suit was originally filed in 1963 on behalf of Negro school children by their parents against the Macon County Board of Education as a typical school desegregation class action to desegregate public schools in the county. The district court in the first decision ordered the public schools of Macon County desegregated.[53] On three separate occasions during the following school year (1963-1964), the district court had to enjoin state officials from various types of interference in desegregation attempts of the local (Macon County) school board.[54]

The second time this case came before the district court, in early 1964, the court permitted the plaintiffs to add as defendants the Governor of Alabama (in his capacity as Governor of the state of Alabama, and as ex officio head of the State Board of Education), the State Superintendent of Education, and the individual members of the Alabama State Board of Education. These defendants were necessary because of the relief sought by the plaintiffs in their supplemental complaint, which requested the district court: "(1) to enjoin the

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[53] Lee v. Macon County Board of Education, 221 F. Supp. 297 (M. D. Ala., 1963). The district court found that the action was a proper class action; that the defendant school board operated a compulsory biracial school system; that all pupils, teachers, and other school personnel were assigned solely on the basis of race or color; that the school board was under a constitutional obligation to eliminate the compulsory biracial school system; and held that the school board's discriminatory conduct violated plaintiff's rights under the Fourteenth Amendment. The court enjoined the defendants from "failing to make an immediate start" in desegregating the county's schools and ordered the Board of Education to submit a general plan for desegregating the county's schools.

[54] United States v. Wallace, 222 F. Supp. 485 (M. D. Ala., 1963) was a temporary injunction against Governor Wallace's directing by executive order that no integration occur in the public schools of Tuskegee, Birmingham, and Mobile, and against the governor's use of state patrolmen to interfere with integration. Lee v. Macon County Board of Education (order of February 3, 1964) was a temporary restraining order against Alabama and Macon County school officials to prevent them from interfering with the admission of Negro students to one school in the system, Macon County High School. United States v. Rea, 231 F. Supp. 772 (M. D. Ala., 1964) was an injunction against the use of town civil disturbance and fire ordinances enacted as subterfuge measures for preventing integration.

defendants from operating a dual school system based upon race throughout the state of Alabama; (2) to enter an order requiring statewide desegregation of schools in the state of Alabama; (3) to enjoin the use of state funds to perpetuate the dual school system; and (4) to enjoin as unconstitutional the 1963 tuition grant law."[55] A three-judge district court was impaneled to hear the case.[56]

The court concluded that the state of Alabama maintained and operated a dual school system based upon race throughout the state of Alabama and that it was the policy of the state, and, in particular, of the defendant state officials, to promote and encourage racially segregated schools. Therefore, the defendant state officials were enjoined from:

> Interfering with, preventing, or obstructing by any means, the elimination of racial discrimination by local school officials in any school district in the state of Alabama;
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> Approving, authorizing, or paying any tuition grant . . . for the attendance of any person in a school in which enrollment or attendance is limited or restricted upon the basis of race or color;
>
> Failing, in the exercise of its control and supervision over the public schools of the state, to use such control and supervision in such a manner as to promote and encourage the elimination of racial discrimination in the public schools, rather than to prevent and discourage the elimination of such discrimination.[57]

The court did not enter the order requested by the plaintiffs requiring statewide desegregation of the public schools in Alabama. But the court specifically warned the defendant state officials that " . . . . it is only a question of time until such illegal and unconstitutional

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[55] Lee v. Macon County Board of Education, 231 F. Supp. 743 (M. D. Ala., 1964).

[56] 28 U. S. C. 2281 F. Supp. 743.

[57] Lee v. Macon County Board of Education, 267 F. Supp. 458, 461 (M. D. Ala., 1967).

support of segregated school systems must cease."[58]

The foregoing history of the case sets the stage for examining the court's third decision of Lee v. Macon County Board of Education; the decision of March 22, 1967.

The three-judge district court opinion reviewed the court's position on the second decision of the case:

> It was only 'through the exercise of considerable judicial restraint' that this court refrained in July, 1964, from requiring these defendant state officials to exercise their control and authority over the various local school boards throughout the state for the purpose of desegregating the school systems on a state-wide basis and to enjoin said defendants from using state funds for the purpose of perpetuating a dual school system based upon race. The exercise of restraint in that instance was prompted by the desire on the part of each member of this court to afford these defendants every opportunity to comply in good faith with their affirmative constitutional duty to desegregate the state's public schools.[59]

The court then affirmed that:

> . . . . It is now evident that the reasons for this court's reluctance to grant the relief to which these plaintiffs were clearly entitled over two years ago are no longer valid.[60]

The court held that the defendants' activities controlled public education in the state of Alabama and that the conduct and activity of the defendants violated plaintiffs' rights under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.[61]

The court turned to the problem of devising a remedy which "must be designed to reach the limits of the defendants' activities in these several areas and must be designed to require the defendants to do what they have been unwilling to do on their own . . . ."[62] The court con-

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[58] Lee v. Macon County Board of Education, 231 F. Supp. 743, 756 (M. D. Ala., 1964).

[59] Lee v. Macon County Board of Education, 267 F. Supp. 464 (M. D. Ala., 1967).

[60] Id. at 465.

[61] Id. at 475.

[62] Id. at 478.

cluded that they could ". . . . conceive of no other effective way to give the plaintiffs the relief to which they are entitled under the evidence in this case than to enter a uniform statewide plan for school desegregation, made applicable to each local county and city system not already under court order to desegregate, and to require these defendants to implement it."[63] The court included in its decree "the minimum constitutional requirements for school desegregation . . . ."[64] which the defendant state officials would be required to implement.

The decision permanently enjoined state officials from discriminating on the basis of race in the operation or the conduct of the Alabama public schools. The additional broad guiding principle governing the specific actions required of state officials was that ". . . . said defendants shall take affirmative action to disestablish all state enforced or encouraged public school segregation and to eliminate the effects of past state enforced or encouraged racial discrimination in their activities and their operation of the public school systems throughout the state."[65]

The decree against state officials set out with particularity the specific duties which the court would require of them. These duties may be summarized:[66]

School Construction and Consolidation.--The State Superintendent of Education was ordered to review all consolidation plans that resulted from statewide surveys prior to this decision. In addition, he was ordered to continue surveying local school systems and to require the survey-makers to meet standards which the court set out. All surveys for construction

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[63] Id. at 478.

[64] Id.

[65] Id. at 480.

[66] The summary is only an indication of what was required by the court; the complete requirements may be compared with the summary. 267 F. Supp. 480-91.

or expansion taken before this decision were excluded unless they met the court's standards. Approval of construction or expansion by the State Superintendent of Education could only be given if the action would result in the disestablishment of segregated public schools.

Teachers.--The State Superintendent of Education was ordered to develop a detailed program "for assisting and encouraging faculty desegregation in the local school systems throughout the state . . . ."[67] This program must provide for assistance to local systems in recruiting, placing, and reassigning teachers on a desegregated basis, and for assistance in providing training which may be necessary to upgrade the qualifications of some teachers in order to facilitate faculty desegregation. The State Department of Education must conduct all teacher institutes, in-service training, and certification without discrimination on the basis of race.

School Transportation.--Race must be eliminated as a basis for assigning students to school buses. Overlapping and duplicative bus routes based on race must be redrawn so as to meet nondiscriminatory criteria governing the availability of bus transportation to students within the school district. The reconstructed bus routes must be communicated by the school officials to students and parents in a readily understandable manner.

Equalization of Facilities.--The Superintendent of Education was ordered to develop and submit to the court a detailed program for equalizing the quality of physical facilities, equipment, services, courses of instruction, and instructional materials. The program must also provide the equalization of pupil-teacher ratios, per pupil expenditures, library books per pupil, and other areas of disparity between present Negro and white schools.

Information and Reports.--The State Superintendent of Education was required to submit reports to the court and to make available records and

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[67] 267 F. Supp. at 481.

other information on school desegregation.

Interference.--State officials were ordered not to interfere with, prevent, or obstruct the elimination of racial discrimination by local school officials in any school system in the state of Alabama.

Desegregation Plans for Local School Systems.--As noted above, the court decided that the only effective remedy would be a uniform statewide desegregation plan which state officials would be required to implement. All school systems in Alabama that were not already under court order to desegregate were required to adopt a desegregation plan for all grades, commencing with the 1967-68 school year. The Decree Macon County included a model decree (based upon the Jefferson County Model Decree) for the desegregation plans that local systems would adopt. There were variances in two particular sections which the court included to meet their own factual situation. The first change applied to the distribution of explanatory letters and choice forms, omitting the section that would enable school districts when unable to comply with the first class mailing provision to propose alternative methods for giving maximum notice. This omission made the section consistent because the court had also omitted the first class mailing requirements. The second change concerned the transportation section wherein school officials were directed to redraw bus routes and criteria governing the availability of bus transportation so that race would no longer be a basis for assignment and overlapping and duplicative bus routes would be abolished. Extensive reports to the court on the new routes were to be filed.

Since the decree was directed against state officials, the Alabama Superintendent of Education had the responsibility for getting all local school systems to adopt desegregation plans based upon the Model Decree. After the March 22 decision, the Alabama Superintendent of Education submitted desegregation plans of all but one of the ninety-nine affected school systems under the terms of the decision. The state Superintendent was not to judge the acceptability of the plans; rather the court would

review them to determine whether they met its requirements.

Apparently, if the desegregation plans failed to meet the court's Model Decree requirements, the court on its own motive would require the school district to modify or expand the substantive content of its plan, or, alternatively, the plaintiffs in the case could ask the court to make a particular school board a party to the suit. The district court's action against Bibb County, Alabama, substantiated this proposition.

Bibb County failed to file a desegregation plan embodying the Model Decree requirements. Refusal to comply with the court's statewide school integration decree caused the Bibb County School Board to be brought into the Macon County litigation and placed under a direct court order to comply with the court's statewide decree. This action indicates that if other school districts refused to comply, the court would possibly treat them as they did Bibb County and place them under a direct court order.

In summary, the court in the Macon County case had to eliminate the influencing factors of freedom-of-choice type desegregation plans which Alabama state officials had used to deter desegregation. In order for freedom-of-choice plans to be free, all barriers had to be removed: intimidation, coercion, unequal facilities, segregated transportation, school location, and faculty segregation. The decision and decree did more than just neutralize the power of the Alabama state officials over Alabama public schools: it enjoined their unequal and discriminatory activities; and in further relief, the court put the state officials under order and decree to take the affirmative action which was mandated by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in the Jefferson County decision. The court warned state officials that their responsibility for taking affirmative action must be shouldered; for, if they did not assist local school systems in desegregating, the court would order the state to discontinue state funds to segregated school districts.

Action by state school officials -- approved by the court -- resulted in 1967 in orders closing more than eighty all-Negro schools maintained solely for separating children by race. If state school offcials interfere with school desegregation so that a factual situation exists similar to that presented to the court in Macon County, other district courts could be petitioned for relief corresponding to that fashioned by the district court in Macon County.

Following the March 22 order, compliance officers from HEW continued their efforts, including withholding federal funds, to bring school systems in Alabama (formerly under the guidelines) into voluntary compliance with the Civil Rights Act. In the course of this action, HEW declared that the Lanett School System was not eligible for federal aid. Lanett officials protested to the court that it had submitted a desegregation plan pursuant to the Macon County order, which the court had approved, and that they had assured the court they would adhere to the plan for the 1967-68 school year.

On July 28, 1967, the three-judge district court panel decided that it was up to the court to determine whether Alabama school systems were in compliance with their March 22 statewide desegregation order. The court reasoned that all the Alabama school systems were under a court order and had agreed to comply; therefore, HEW requirements were satisfied. The court ruled that HEW could continue to cut off funds for noncompliance, provided HEW had the court's approval.

In effect, this decision was the first statement by a federal court reiterating that HEW could take action against court-order districts, but only with specific approval by the court. The court invited HEW to continue its investigations and determinations regarding compliance and to report any failures in compliance to the court.

After this decision, HEW compliance officials have made it known that they consider some court-order district failing to perform as well as some guideline districts. HEW reportedly has changed its hands-off

policy towards court order districts and has begun to review a school system's compliance with its court-order in those districts previously considered immune, so that HEW can report noncompliance with the court order to the courts.[68]

Theoretically, the Jefferson County decision would require all court-order school districts within the Fifth Circuit to be placed under guideline-type desegregation plans. The problem inherent in this situation is that there is no specific party designated to conduct extensive investigations to determine whether the plans are working. Under Jefferson County and Macon County, the court would learn of non-compliance only to the extent of the coverage of the reports that have to be submitted, or if the plaintiffs investigate and demonstrate to the court that the school district is not in compliance with its court-order desegregation plan. Since Jefferson County was an attempt by the Fifth Circuit to bring together the efforts of the district courts and HEW to create uniformity, the Lanett County decision was an important step toward furthering this goal.

The actions of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals and the Alabama district courts appeared in 1967 to herald an era of unprecedented cooperation among the various branches of the federal government -- cooperation aimed at destroying the system of segregation in southern schools.

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[68]The Atlanta Constitution, September 18, 1967, and the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, September 20, 1967.

TABLE 1

SCHOOL DISTRICTS - 1967

States Within the Fifth Circuit	Number of School Districts	Number of School Districts Under Court Order	Percentage
Alabama	118	19*	16.1
Florida	67	14	20.9
Georgia	197	9	4.6
Louisiana	67	45	67.7
Mississippi	149	41	27.5
Texas	1,308	14	1.1

These figures were compiled from the Office of Education Compliance Report on School Desegregation in the Seventeen Southern and Border States, No. 6 (May, 1967).

*Since Lee v. Macon County, all school districts in Alabama are under court order.

TABLE 2

SCHOOL POPULATION - 1967

States Within the Fifth Circuit	Total Public School Population	Public School Population in Court Order District	Per Cent	Total Non-White Public School Population	Non-White Public School Population in Court Order District	Per Cent
Alabama	862,041	298,717	34.7	298,064	122,064	41.0
Florida	1,330,552	679,171	51.0	*	*	N/A
Georgia	1,128,863	314,727	27.5	*	*	N/A
Louisiana	806,005	674,620	83.7	318,966	270,637	84.8
Mississippi	606,247	256,918	42.4	296,834	141,223	47.6
Texas	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

*Records not kept by race.

These figures were compiled by the Southern Regional Council Research staff.

APPENDIX II

The following telegram was sent on September 16, 1968, to the candidates for President of the two major political parties, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey and Richard M. Nixon. It was signed by individuals from all parts of the South who have worked intimately through private organizations with the discouraging problem of school desegregation in the South. The telegram was sent in part because of their awareness out of past bitter experience that federal courts alone cannot prevail against the lawless spirit of resistance, that they need support and an arming with sanctions from the other branches of government.

> We the undersigned, who have long been concerned with southern school desegregation, are deeply dismayed at the lack of progress in this vital area. The effects of segregation in the South are a national, not simply a regional, problem. The issue is a key one in our country's effort to unify itself.
>
> Southern school systems, both those under federal court order and Department of Health, Education, and Welfare guidelines, have most often adopted so-called freedom-of-choice plans, placing the burden of school desegregation upon Negro school children and their parents. The Supreme Court in May, 1968, declared that freedom-of-choice was not an end in itself; in order to be acceptable school desegregation plans must be plans that work -- that is, they must eliminate the dual school system and its effects.
>
> We feel that freedom-of-choice as a method of ending the dual school structure still prevalent in the South has not worked, is not now working. What is your opinion on this important matter?
>
> The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was authorized by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to terminate federal funds to school districts which perpetuated segregation. Do you, as a candidate for the nation's highest office, feel that this is an effective method of enforcing the law?
>
> If you are elected President of the United States, what action will you recommend to assure all Americans that the nation's fundamental law requiring an end to racial discrimination in education will be enforced?

Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council

Charles Morgan, Jr., Director
Southern Regional Office
American Civil Liberties Union

Hayes Mizell, Director
South Carolina Community Relations Program
American Friends Service Committee

John McCown, Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations

Allan Black, Director
South Central Office
Legal Defense and Educational Fund

Constance Curry
Southern Field Representative
American Friends Service Committee

Elijah Coleman, Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations

Courtney Siceloff, Director
Penn Community Services Center

Bryce Joyce, Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations

Irwin Schulman, Southeastern Regional Director
Anti-Defamation League

Baxton Bryant, Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations

A. Wilson Cheek, Executive Director
Georgia Region
National Conference of Christians and Jews

Ralph David Abernathy, President
Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Mrs. Patricia Miller, Director
Louisiana Council on Human Relations

Robert Valder, Director
Southern Office
Legal Defense and Educational Fund

Winifred Green, Director
Alabama Community Relations Program
American Friends Service Committee

Charles Wittenstein, Southeast Area Director
American Jewish Committee

Paul Matthais, Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations

Sherrill Marcus, Regional Youth Field Director
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Edwin Stanfield, Executive Director
Southwest Intergroup Relations Council

Will D. Campbell, Director
Committee of Southern Churchmen

Frank Adams, Director
Virginia Council on Human Relations

Kenneth Dean, Director
Mississippi Council on Human Relations

Mrs. Frieda Mitchell, Chairman
Beaufort County, South Carolina, Education Committee

ATLANTA AREA STUDY

ON

THE CHURCHES' RESPONSE TO VIOLENCE

MARCH - 1969

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The Atlanta Committee on The Churches' Response to Violence is indebted to all of those churchmen of Atlanta who attended a conference in January where they shared their concerns and insights about what churches in our community had done and were doing in response to violence. The Committee is equally indebted to the students and faculty from Candler School of Theology, Columbia Theological Seminary, and Interdenominational Theological Center who served as discussion group conveners and recorders for the conference.

We are also indebted to the more than twenty-five persons who granted long personal interviews to the writer in order that the study could reflect as broad a spectrum as possible of existing data and viewpoint.

Finally, the Committee is most indebted to Robert E. Anderson, Jr., Editor of Publications, Southern Regional Council, who served as interviewer and writer. Without Mr. Anderson's efforts and his ready access to the research files of the Southern Regional Council, this study would definitely not have been possible.

For the background material of a statistical and historical nature the author is indebted to the Metropolitan Christian Council, the Interdenominational Theological Center, and to the research facilities of the Southern Regional Council.

The Atlanta Committee

J. Oscar McCloud, Chairman - Associate Chairman, United Presbyterian Division of Church and Race
Paul Anthony - Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
(Mrs.) Mary Hoyt - President, Church Women United of Georgia
Harmon D. Moore - Executive Director, Christian Council of Metropolitan Atlanta
Dean Tucker - Regional Office, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare
U. S. McKinnon - Professor, Interdenominational Theological Center

PREFACE

The Committee did not approach its assignment with any foregone assumption about what churches in Atlanta had or had not done in response to violence. This study does not attempt to assess in any great depth the role which churches may have played in preventing violence in Atlanta. Instead, it has sought to find out what churches have done or are doing in response to the violence which has occurred and might yet develop.

In preparing this study efforts have been made to involve as broad a scope of the Christian community as was feasible both within the length of the written document and the amount of time available for gathering and analyzing raw material.

It is the Committee's view that the illustrations in this study are, in the opinion of those who related them, responses to violence in Atlanta.

* * * * * * * *

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION: Any extensive quoting or reporduction of any parts of this study should be done only with the written permission of the Interdenominational Theological Center, Atlanta, Georgia.

INTRODUCTION

On the afternoon of September 6, 1966, an Atlanta policeman in the predominantly Negro area of Summerhill shot a Negro youth who allegedly attempted to escape after being questioned in connection with an auto theft. The incident precipitated Atlanta's first violent racial clash since the riots of 1906.

Two days later, just when it seemed that the passions aroused by the first disturbance were cooling, a white motorist driving through the predominantly Negro Boulevard section of the city fired on a Negro youth. An evening of intermittent violence resulted.

Almost a year later in the neighborhood of Dixie Hills Negroes clashed with police after a disturbance in a shopping center. During the course of a subsequent violence a nine-year-old Negro child was shot to death in a still-controversial incident. Police blamed a "sniper." Negroes blamed the police.

Property damage was not extensive in any of the disturbances.

On April 10, 1968, thousands of people came into Atlanta to attend the funeral of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. As state troopers waited on stand-by alert in anticipation of major violence as had occurred elsewhere in the nation following the assassination, Atlanta passed through its potentially greatest crisis, peacefully and with dignity.

Such are the barest facts about the four major events in Atlanta's recent history related to racial violence and its potential.

What could have happened did not.

What did happen could have been worse.

Yet no Atlantan, white or black, could be satisfied to let matters rest on such a note. Atlanta is a proud city with a heritage of "good race relations." Many forces are at work in the city to improve those relations, to build a sense of identity and pride among disaffected ghetto dwellers. This paper poses the basic question: What have the churches done and what are they now doing in direct or indirect response to the racial disturbances which have come to the city? The question obviously raises other, perhaps even more pertinent ones. What are the churches doing in relation to the silent, everyday violence to the spirit of man, both black and white? And, what of the underlying causes of violence -- such as those cited by the Kerner Commission Report -- poverty, racism, crowded housing, alienation from society?

In seeking to evaluate the response of Atlanta churches on these matters, the Atlanta Committee on The Churches' Response to Violence called a conference on January 19, 1969, of concerned laymen and clergy across a wide spectrum of denominational lines. The meeting, held at Central Presbyterian Church, heard talks from Dr. Harry V. Richardson, President Emeritus of the Interdenominational Theological Center, and Superintendent of Traffic, George Royal, of the Atlanta Police Department. It then divided into eight separate workshops. The thoughts, the discussion, which emerged from those groups provide the base for a major part of this report. Additionally, interviews were conducted with other lay people and clergy who could not attend the conference but who, by the nature of their work and experience, were thought to have special and illuminating insights relevant to the subject at hand.

THE PEOPLE: HOW THEY FEEL

More than any other event in the city's recent history, the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., gave Atlanta churches an opportunity for self-examination of where they are and where they have been in regard to racial attitudes. The event, the violence, the whole ritual of death and burial with overtones not only of one man's life having ended but seemingly all that he stood for, too,shattered at Memphis in a terrible split-moment of time had an emotional impact that brought to the surface responses courageous and compassionate and sometimes responses full of pathos and tragi-comedy, some by the nature of their expression seeming almost to contradict the spirit behind them. Thus one white southern lady, who had never before in her life taken a role in civil rights activities nor seen Dr. King at all except as a bellicose figure on television preaching down every preconceived notion that she had about race, told a friend that she just felt compelled "to do something." What she did was to drive arriving mourners from the airport to Ebenezer Baptist Church. "I helped the SCLC* the whole time," she said afterward, "drove niggers all over town and they were nice folks. I just want to keep on helping."

One young man out of a North Georgia Baptist background who was part of the volunteer SCLC logistical team which sought to find shelter and food for those arriving to attend the funeral put it this way: "The response of about five or six white churches was absolutely astonishing to us. They did everything we asked them to do and a lot more."

The fact was that within those churches referred to and almost unanimously within the black churches all other considerations came to a halt in the assassination's aftermath. One Chicago woman, writing to the editor of the Atlanta

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*Southern Christian Leadership Conference

newspapers, told of how she came to Atlanta apprehensive over the sort of reception she would receive and was overwhelmed at the sight of an integrated group of Atlanta church women at the airport making arrangements for arriving mourners to have some place to spend the night. Special memorial services were held in churches throughout the city. One predominantly white Presbyterian Church had something of a head start on other churches. The church's pastor explained why this turned out to be so. "It happened that our board met on the evening of the assassination and we voted right then to put our full facilities to the service of SCLC. When SCLC called us, no special meeting or vote was needed by the lay officials to authorize any action. We were geared for action." The church's staff went to work lining up homes for outside visitors to stay in during the time of the funeral. By the morning of the funeral, the church alone had fed more than a thousand out of state people. The record of other white churches was equally impressive to outside visitors.

It seemed, indeed, for the days of mourning and immediately thereafter, that Atlanta had been awarded a special grace. During the Easter weekend, following the funeral, a time in Atlanta when dogwood and springtime are more traditionally celebrated, an inter-denominational, inter-racial sunrise service in Atlanta stadium drew more than 20,000 people who heard one of the city's most prominent ministers proclaim that Dr. King's assassination meant that "The hour has struck that the peoples of Atlanta . . . and the world must begin to take seriously what Jesus taught." He urged Christians to find solutions to poverty and other social ills. All that was lacking, he noted, was "the will to do so."

There were, however, reports of less charitable responses.

"One white preacher," an SCLC volunteer staffer said, "summed up the problems of some white churches, I guess, when he told me, 'I'd get in trouble if I had nigras in here.' At least, though, he was honest about it."

A laymen was bitter in his summation of his conservative suburban church's response. "They stayed home and hid under the bed, scared to death that they were going to come out to their neighborhood and burn their houses down."

An official of one of the most powerful denominational groups in the city said he knew of no response at all among his denomination. "We weren't asked," he said.

A young white businessman who frequently has stood alone in attempts to involve his suburban church in social concerns told of his frustrating efforts with his local church leadership. "I and about two or three others went to the preacher with the proposition that the church make its facilities available to people from SCLC who were coming to town, even if we didn't do anything other than just send some blankets or carry over some food. He turned us down -- cold. It would create 'needless budget problems,' he said. I knew the kind of budget problems he meant. You could look out on the parking lot on Sundays -- even back last spring -- at the number of Wallace bumper stickers on the cars. And they weren't poor white folks cars, either. The people that drive them contribute a lot to the budget, a whale of a lot. That was the kind of budget problem he meant."

One black clergyman told of his experience at a white church the night of the assassination. "A program dealing with the ministry of military personnel had been planned and this program occurred with little recognition of anything really happening."

A white layman put it this way. "Our church was putting on a play of an amusing nature. The play went on the night of the assassination without any recognition of the tragedy -- the only concern was that the death of King had caused a possible lack of attendance. Otherwise the assassination was ignored."

But another attitude was described by a white woman long active in the social concerns of her church. "The pastor dropped his sermon plans and spoke to the situation and called the members to recognize the tragedy in a positive way. The congregation involved itself in the march and in helping those who had come to Atlanta for the funeral. The dominant feeling in the congregation was 'a real sense of loss.'"

Another church woman noted that her church "made some new commitments immediately after the funeral. An inter-racial memorial service was held. The fellowship hall was opened up for use by visitors."

One white woman, living in a "changing" southside neighborhood said that after the assassination the attitudes of blacks and whites toward each (at least those who lived around her) softened "due to a sense of shared loss," which she felt would result in a "new and continuing openness to each other."

Spokesmen for some black congregations with long histories of involvement in civil rights issues say they welcome the efforts of their white colleagues to become involved in bi-racial activities. Some go out of their way to participate in such activities "just to keep lines of communication open." Others are more reserved in their enthusiasm for white involvement. "They have come into this, frankly, pretty late," one militant black leader said. He spoke with some bitterness of what he saw as the white church's failure to support Dr. King when he was alive. In a sense, he felt, "They helped kill him. Where were they when we needed them the most?"

"WHERE WERE THEY?"

"Until a few years ago," he said, "I thought that Negroes were really pretty well off. It seemed to me there weren't any real problems that time and education wouldn't cure."

The speaker was an administrator for one of the most powerful denominational groups in Atlanta. His remarks probably sum up a large body of white church attitudes in the city.

So many were unaware of so much. And no one seemingly ever told them.

But the religious atmosphere of white Atlanta has not historically been one likely to make its memberships aware of much beyond foreign missions and the building of new church edifices. Uptown Protestant churches with long histories of personality-centered ministries and in some cases with socially conservative clergymen, who used to write homiletic little columns for the two Atlanta newspapers, for years dominated the white Atlanta religious scene. (Some recall now that it was due primarily to the influence of one such minister that a city rezoning effort was defeated some years ago in a vote that effectively delayed for several months inauguration of a major housing project.)

Their sermons probably represented to a degree an attempt to bridge their deep, evangelistic, revival-centered backgrounds with the "modernist" thought that had since the twenties increasingly been emerging in more sophisticated religious circles. Their preachers were powerful and eloquent; their messages often espoused a kind of man-in-the-street religious psychiatry which had an appeal to city dwellers, burdened by personal problems, by pressures of urban living. When the sermonizing tackled social issues, it was usually to point out the evils of strong drink, gambling, and promiscuous behavior. The heritage of

those days still hangs on in some of the city's more prominent white pulpits, and those pulpits still exert influence on the city's overall church atmosphere.

But for many years, white Atlanta has been migrating to the suburbs with the result that some inner city churches have been forced to close; new suburban middle class churches have been built. Generally, they reflect suburban values; in almost all of them, however, there are wide divergences of opinion on race and social issues. Sometimes there are bitter intra-church quarrels over such matters as the "liberal" direction that Sunday School literature seems to be taking. Classes might break up over the issue, re-group sometimes along more homogeneous lines. Yet rare is the suburban white church that sees itself as inextricably interwoven into the problems of the inner city. Geography separates them; higher incomes insulate them. There is dialogue among their memberships, some of it of late created by innovative resident inner-city ministries. But for the most part, those memberships have not taken the daring next step of becoming individually involved. Maybe they never will. Maybe their dialogue is sufficient. It is a value judgment.

Some more liberal suburban malcontents frequently flee back to inner city churches of traditional denominational backgrounds which have developed "relevant" approaches to the problems of urban life. Some join the traditionally liberal, modernistic churches that have been in the vanguard of social change for many years. These congregations have never been really large in Atlanta, but they have occasionally had considerable impact. One until very recently sponsored a mission in Vine City, a low income Negro neighborhood. The mission, headed by a young white minister, was active in the work of the Vine City Foundation, a community action self-help organization which continues to be one of the most successful such organizations in the city. Another traditionally liberal church

has been the moving force behind production of the document "Better Schools Atlanta," a graphic, in-depth analysis of the disparities between predominantly Negro and predominantly white schools, which created such a storm of controversy among Atlanta school board members that city detectives have actually investigated the backgrounds of those who were involved, ostensibly to find out if they were really Atlanta citizens. But the threat to a man's livelihood from such an investigation cannot be lightly dismissed, and it is altogether probable that in the future similarly motivated groups of both a church and secular nature might think twice before really being too critical of the city's leadership.

At the opposite extreme among Atlanta's white churches are the Pentecostal urban white churches which minister primarily to lower income blue collar workers. They describe themselves as oriented "toward soul saving," through evangelistic emotional appeals. Soul saving, one spokesman said, to him at least, is "human rehabilitation in its purest form." Another Pentecostal clergyman said he thought that for the most part Atlanta's urban churches have forgotten the poor white working man. He felt that liberal churches were guilty of this, as much so as "the stuffier conservatives." In some ways, he thought, the failure was comparable to that of liberal politicians who, he noted, have "just about abandoned the working white man to people like George Wallace. You've got to minister to people where they are and in terms, in language, yes, in symbols that they can understand." He said that the church to which he ministered had both "liberals and conservatives when it comes to race. Some, not many, but some of my congregation were so moved by Dr. King's death that they marched in the funeral procession. Others," he said,"quietly gloated over the assassination." He said that the one religious figure outside his church who increasingly "is making a lot of sense to my people is Rev. Billy James Hargis. What you have to understand about a lot of them is this: They have grown up the hard way.

Some of them are deadbeats, outright, stumbling sots without any education or any ambition, men who beat their wives. Some of them have done time in prison. But their lives have been changed by Christ, and they think, if it can happen to me without a lot of fancy government spending programs, it can happen to Negroes too. You tell them there is a Negro family down the street that is hungry and you want them to take some food down there, they'll do it. You tell them you are going to go march on the state capitol for the rights of welfare mothers and you want them to join you, and they'll look at you like you were crazy."

The question to some clergymen is whether or not the church might be better off if the conservative and liberal wings within each denomination actually split into separate churches. Some think it might come to that in the next few years and some Atlanta ministers hint they would welcome it. Most are opposed to any such move. "The churches are split enough as it is. We are, or ought to be, big enough to accommodate all shades of opinion, so long as we all believe in the same God."

* * * * * * * * * * * *

Recently describing his reactions at the time of the Summerhill disturbances, Mayor Ivan Allen recalled that he summoned to the scene twenty-five Atlanta Negro clergymen whom he regarded as spokesmen for black Atlanta. They included some of the most prominent names in the Negro religious community. Doubtless they did and do speak for a large segment of Atlanta's Negro population, but they probably did not speak for those alienated youth who are, according to the Kerner Commission, the ones most likely to clash with police. A recent publication of the Southern Regional Council entitled, "Black Youth in a Southern Metropolis," offers some valuable insights into how Atlanta's black youth view the black church and its clergymen. While 91% of 688 Negro high school students

sampled disagreed with the statement "The church is too old fashioned for me," and 56% agreed that "My church is the basic guiding force in my life," some 43% thought that "The church ought to be more concerned about social problems." Only 16% said that when they had personal problems that their pastor was the first person they turned to. Fifty-seven percent said they attended church at least once a week.

The report made this observation:

> The data may suggest the existence of a certain amount of ambivalence in the students' feelings toward the church, especially in light of the fact that statements expressing general positive attitudes about God and religion tended to be accepted more readily than statements relating to the institutional church or to clergymen.*

One Negro seminary graduate, now active in civil rights work, said that in his estimation the black church in Atlanta is no more a progressive force for social change than the white church. However, the truth is that the role of the church in the black community has been far different from what it has been in white Atlanta. If the white minister finds that his congregation balks at being pushed too far, too fast over racial matters, the black minister is in quite the opposite position. His difficulty is in being militant enough. Moreover, he historically lacked the real power to bring about the kind of social change that he might call for in a Sunday morning sermon. To the younger members of his congregation, some observers think, this gap between words and results has had a disillusioning effect. Thus, they say, only such uncompromising black clergymen as a Dr. King who time and again put his reputation and his life on the line in nonviolent opposition to racial discrimination have been able to inspire a new generation of black youth. Some say that those ministers in Atlanta today who

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*Black Youth in a Southern Metropolis, Southern Regional Council, 1968

do have the respect of youth are those who are involved in the kind of "advocacy" that white ministers frequently have to struggle mightily with their consciences and their congregations to undertake. A day in the life of such a clergyman might find him involved with a parishioner over a deep personal problem at one moment and then off to a meeting of a Model Cities development committee next. Likely he holds an official role in the NAACP or one of the various civil rights oriented civic organizations in the Negro community; his presence might be needed at city hall to testify on a zoning hearing involving the life, death, or renewal of the community in which he dwells. One such clergyman expressed a certain degree of reservation about the new and altogether relevant and much needed inner city work of his white colleagues. "It's good to have them," he said, "but inner city work is all I ever really do."

Atlanta's black churches, of course, have some of the same superficial characteristics as those in the white community. Both have their store-front tabernacles with promises of healing and instant salvation. There are also in the black community well-to-do churches with eloquent clergymen who command large and loyal followings. It is to these men that the city's white leadership has traditionally looked not only for assistance in times of racial confrontation and crisis but also as sources for what black Atlanta is thinking. Such a role may have lost these men a certain amount of esteem among more militant young Negroes, but it is a fact that their churches have been -- in the popular vernacular -- "relevant" to the needs of the black community, particularly in the area of 221-D3 housing. Altogether, counting units already occupied and those under construction, Atlanta's black churches are presently involved to the extent of 1,700 units of 221-D3 housing. To date no white church in the city has actually undertaken such a program, although several are in the various stages of preliminary negotiations

with HUD to do so.

Some of the more prominent Negro churches, too, also include a variety of services including day care for working mothers and family counseling programs among their normal functions. One has established a credit union.

WHERE ARE THEY NOW?

No coordinated, direct, programmatic, crash effort has been undertaken by Atlanta churches to meet either violence or the threat of it. There are efforts and projects related to underlying causes, some directly so, others more indirectly. There is an emerging feeling, however, within much of the Atlanta church community of perhaps an untapped reservoir of goodwill in individuals, but a reservoir particularly among whites that is not easy to measure. Those who are concerned seem more often than not to be looking to their church leaderships for the kind of guidance that might help translate their lately-developed concerns into action. In some very exemplary cases, they are finding dedicated leadership; in some instances they find outright hostility; in most they find ambivalence.

But this much can also be said: There are some men of wisdom directing Atlanta church programs who feel the urgency for much greater involvement and deeper financial commitment from their congregations and from denominational superiors. The work of their inner city ministries is the one concrete tool they have and many, within the limitations imposed on them by the heritage of their church's myopic past, are making determined efforts to use these ministries to their fullest advantage. A survey of these ministries reflects different concepts of what the church's role should be in dealing with urban social problems and probably reflects to some degree their denomination's underlying philosophy in all matters of social concern. In few instances, however, is there evidence

that the programs or their emphasis grew directly from any specific act of violence in the city, but more, as one spokesman put it, from the sense that the church has for many years been remiss in not doing more to aid the inner city.

The program of the Southern Baptists in Atlanta includes five missions located in predominantly white low income areas. One other is operated by the National (or Negro) Baptists. However, all are open to both races. The work of the missions involve day care for working mothers, tutorials, which include reading and writing for illiterates. The mission centers also make available in such a way as their finances permit assistance to those who would otherwise be available for welfare, but who have not yet lived in Atlanta long enough to qualify for the twelve-month residency requirements. In addition, they have a referral system for rehabilitated parollees.

"Baptists are not ecumenically minded," a spokesman said when asked of his church's role in interdenominational activities to meet urban problems. "We feel that we have our own program. That it is doing the job. Basic to our concerns in this field is to reach the spirit of man through Jesus Christ. Our missions would not take an activist role in advocating civil rights."

The Methodists in Atlanta might be described as having come late to recognize the need to be involved in inner city work, but moving now to make up for lost time, often with innovative programs. Their work in Atlanta began in 1963 with a staff of one. Today it includes a staff of eight with an annual budget of $98,000. The Methodist approach is to stimulate their churches themselves to get involved. Their church in the low income white Harris Homes area, for instance, has a bus to take people to food commodity distribution centers. The real thrust of the Methodist approach, however, is to make laymen aware of the problems which

relate to poverty and, hopefully, from this to get them more involved. A spokesman said the difficulty in operating through local churches is that it is hard to get them to move from the stage of dialogue to action. He foresaw that the Methodists might eventually see the need to set up mission programs in poorer neighborhoods that would serve as advocacy centers for the poor, but admitted that it would take a re-orientation of philosophy from the Conference in order to do this.

The Methodist program includes at least one unique project, the recently begun Ministry to Government and Social Agencies. The director of this project maintains close working relationships with the Atlanta Crime Commission, the County Department of Family and Children's Services, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, and other related agencies. One purpose of the project is to stay informed of developing community problems in order to keep officials alerted and ready to bring their services to bear on them. Another Methodist program, related more to the unrest of youth than racial tensions, is its "Twelfth Gate Coffee House," a ministry that seeks to involve residents of Atlanta's Tenth Street "hippie" quarter.

The inner city program of the Presbyterians follows the philosophy of involving local churches and laymen through educational meetings and direct contact with the problems of the poor. Although most Presbyterian churches in Atlanta are currently involved in some degree with the program of their church's inner city ministry, the work of the Central Presbyterian Church is seen by many, even within other denominations, as a model of what they would like their church to be doing.

Central Presbyterian, its minister points out, perhaps too modestly, is in "a unique situation." His membership is composed of many of the socially conscious

citizenry of Atlanta. This has given the church a much wider degree of latitude in what it might undertake.

A brochure published by the church outlines its various activities this way:

> Service takes many forms at Central. And involves many members. From a businessman who coaches a basketball team on Tuesday or Thursday nights . . . to an editor who spends Sunday mornings working with girls at Atlanta's juvenile detention home.
>
> All of these efforts are somehow related to Central's neighborhood -- which in a city of a million and a quarter includes many kinds of needs.
>
> In Central's area are housing projects where low-income families are living. During the week the church's facilities -- a well-equipped gymnasium, kitchens, and sunny classrooms, plus church members with every sort of skill -- are used for a boys and girls club program for these youngsters, both black and white, from low-income neighborhoods.
>
> Other Central members help with legal aid, or go to meetings of community organizations in a "listening ministry" to find out where needs are and how churches can help. Others represent Central at Interfaith, Inc., a housing association formed to help sponsor low-cost houding in Atlanta for families who cannot afford or cannot find other places to live.
>
> Many of the members are involved in community service through Central and are working in the church's oldest and best known service project. The Baby Clinic was founded in 1922.
>
> Today the Clinic serves any child in need of medical care, and otherwise unable to get it. More than 5,600 children receive this free medical care annually. And clinic nurses make follow-up visits to their homes.
>
> A volunteer staff of some 100 from Central and other churches mans the admission desk, dispenses medicines and emergency foods, takes case histories and leads recreation in a clinic kindergarten area for the many well children who accompany their sick brothers and sisters.
>
> Newest Central ministry: A city-wide literacy program, co-sponsored by a number of churches and housed in Central's facilities.

In June of 1968, the Board of American Missions of the Lutheran Church in Atlanta opened a store-front inner city ministry in an inter-racial community

of southwest Atlanta. It is the first such ministry sponsored by Atlanta Lutherans. Although still in the developmental stages, the mission has plans to get involved in day care, art and music education, and public housing.

Atlanta Episcopalians are involved in inner city ministry work through Emmaus House, located in the Summerhill district of Atlanta -- scene of racial clashes in the summer of 1966 -- and the Shepherd's Gate ministry in Atlanta's southside, where racial residential patterns are changing from all-white to Negro. They have also joined with the Atlanta Presbyterians to sponsor the Kirkwood Community Center on Atlanta's northeast side in yet another changing community. The work of all go beyond the more traditional type of mission program in seeking to identify themselves more intimately with the needs of the community to which they minister.

Atlanta Catholics are primarily involved in inner city work through the efforts of the St. Vincents de Paul Society, an organization of laymen. The Society runs a tutorial program for black and white children and operates the East Side Community Center in the Bedford-Pines section of the city.

After the Boulevard disturbances of 1966, one young white ministerial student who had contacts in the area was able to bring together some of the young black militants to get them to articulate their grievances before a representative of the mayor's office. The group was the nucleus for a club called, "The Purple Hearts," later formed in the community. The club worked closely with an alliance of black and white clergymen called The Ministerial Volunteers in creation of the Atlanta Youth Development Corporation, a youth recreational center in the Boulevard community which drew initial financial support from some white churches as well as local black congregations. Later the center, unable to find

sufficient long-range church-related financing, came under the auspices of Economic Opportunity Atlanta.

A community organization in the predominantly low-income white Capitol Homes area, organized primarily by ministerial students, has successfully negotiated with local merchants to upgrade the quality of their products and to halt widely resented overcharging practices.

One inner city ministry group, working across inter-denominational lines, is the Urban Training Organization. The organization is generally regarded among most socially conscious churchmen as one of the city's potentially most significant contributions to inner city work. The basic philosophy of the organization is to involve seminary students in the real world of the inner city while they are pursuing their more academic studies. Students are placed in various churches around the city, both in low-income white and black neighborhoods, and in more affluent urban and suburban churches. The idea is for the students to work with both ministers and laymen to arouse the indifferent, to involve the concerned, and to work with those individuals and groups within the various churches who are already both concerned and involved. One of the organization's problems, says its director, is that sometimes both ministers and laymen once they are aroused grow depressed over their inability to effect change. "They seem to think the decision making processes in the churches are really all left to those who contribute the most to the budget. Some get impatient with their churches and spin off into other organizations such as human relations councils. Our job, then, is two-fold: not only to arouse the laymen and the ministers, but be effective enough in doing so that they feel there is some reason to go on in a church-related fashion."

Another organization, trying hard to bridge denominational, social, and racial cleavages, and in the process to have some impact on channeling churches into activities that will meet some of the causes of urban poverty, is the Christian Council of Metropolitan Atlanta. The Council, in a sense, is in a state of metamorphosis now from what it used to be -- by almost unanimous consensus of everyone formerly involved -- a paper organization whose chief concern, one uncharitable observer noted, was "to coordinate Easter sunrise services."

Those days seem to be gone. Under a vigorous new director the Council, within the past year, has actively involved itself in a host of interdenominational activities.

The Council's most significant project, it feels, in the field of promoting better racial understanding in Atlanta and by extension in reaching the underlying causes of racial violence, was production last year of the play, "Behold the Man," a drama in which the role of Christ was portrayed by a leading Negro clergyman. The drama was held at Atlanta Stadium; 50,000 attended, both black and white. One Atlanta minister said that "if the Council had done nothing else in the past two years, the production of the drama 'Behold the Man' would have been enough." Generally the play was well received throughout the Atlanta church community. Few criticized the Council for using a black man in so critical a role. But "it just could not have happened ten years ago in this city," one white woman noted.

More controversial was the Council's supporting role in sponsoring the Atlanta Metropolitan Conference on Equal Opportunity in Housing. The Conference, organized in the aftermath of passage of the 1968 Civil Rights Act to bring about peaceful compliance with the fair housing provisions, caused dissension within

conservative church ranks. "We lost some support for participating," Dr. Harmon Moore, director of the Council admitted, "but I just felt we had to. The Chamber of Commerce put itself on the line and I thought we could do as much. The churches everywhere have been used as pawns in the hands of segregationist politicians and it's time we woke up to our real responsibilities."

But the Council is caught in the middle of two strong currents of religious thought in Atlanta. If the conservatives cavail at its support of fair housing efforts, liberals view it with suspicion on other counts. Its most notable failure, according to one critic, is that it has not given its organizational support to Interfaith, Inc., an interdenominational effort of congregations from throughout Atlanta incorporated as a non-profit organization to use HUD 221-D3 provisions to build low income housing. Interfaith, Inc. has a total of twenty participants, including the entire Atlanta Catholic Archdiocese which contributed nearly half of the organization's present treasury. Altogether, member churches and religious organizations (such as the Diocese) represent 75,000 Atlantans, but the organization does not have the support of the city's more prominent downtown Protestant churches, and there is feeling among some connected with the group that they have less than solid support from the city's top policy-making leadership. "They say get involved, yes, sure we support you, but if they do, if they really do, we should have far more support from the Protestant churches because many of the same influential people in city leadership are also active Protestant laymen."

Agreeing with Metro Council's basic purposes, but more militant in its methods, is a group of 70 Atlanta ministers who call themselves "The Concerned Clergy." The organization is made up of roughly one-third black membership. Whites are about equally divided between those of the Protestant, Catholic, and

Jewish faiths. Their chief action area to date has been in seeking to bring about increased Negro employment among the city's large retail chain stores situated in predominantly Negro neighborhoods. Their one major success with a grocery chain came after a clergy-conceived boycott proved ninety-five per cent effective during one 24-hour period. A spokesman said the group plans to make its influence felt across a broad range of social issues in Atlanta and, with recalcitrant businesses, it will have no hesitancy in using the boycott tool whenever negotiations seem likely to fail. "You have to fight power with power," he said. "We don't say it directly, but we make it pretty plain that if they don't want to deal with us, they're sooner or later going to have to deal with such a group, for instance, as RAM or its equivalent. I don't feel that's a threat, but given the times in which we live, simply a statement of fact. A lot of liberals just want to talk. But you have to follow talk up with action and some times you have to be willing to put your job on the line."

Like the Christian Council, the Concerned Clergy has its critics. Some feel it is too impatient; some think it too impetuous. Its defenders, on the other hand, reply that no other single group of clergymen or church-oriented groups have produced more tangible results.

BLACK AND WHITE TOGETHER

Segregation remains the rule in most Atlanta churches, although it is no longer enforced by the police. Spokesmen for every denomination interviewed in connection with this report insist that the doors of their churches are open to all regardless of race; most of the governing bodies of the various denominations have issued resolutions condemning segregated practices and actively encouraging desegregation. But few formerly all-white churches have many Negro members, and vice-versa. The reasons for this, of course, are not entirely local in nature.

They go deep into the whole fabric of American society, into the church's iron-clad separatist policies of the all-too-recent past. They challenge the churches of Atlanta and the churches of America. They illustrate in the most palpable way the truth of the Kerner Commission description of "Two Americas, Black and White." Solutions are not easy, involving as they do a great deal of organic bureaucracy within both black and white churches, involving as they do institutionalized racism that cannot be exorcised by the passing of resolutions or the merging of central authorities. The truth, one black clergyman recently said, is not that integration has failed, but that it has never really been tried. "Communication must come first," he added, "and that's where we will have to start." A beginning, he suggested, would be a great deal more pulpit and choir exchanges between churches, lay speakers bureaus of blacks and whites to address the various lay groups. Involved, of course, also is the fact that integration as an end in itself no longer is the priority it once was within the civil rights movement. It is, in fact, to many disenchanted Negroes, irrelevant. To bring up the subject in many inter-racial meetings in Atlanta is to suggest one's naivete. Organizations devoted throughout their long histories to the ideal of an integrated society are in the process of re-evaluating the viability of old positions, of re-defining what integration means in terms of present-day "black awareness" reality. The church's position on this issue has not yet been validly defined. Until it is, perhaps, analyses of its relevancy on social concerns are essays in futility. Relevancy, one might ask, to what? The experience of the East Lake Methodist Church is a case in point.

Until three years ago, the neighborhood surrounding East Lake Methodist was all white. As Negroes moved into the neighborhood, the congregation was faced with a crisis of conscience. Of 600 members, only 50 voted to remain open on an

integrated basis. The rest transferred their memberships elsewhere. Most of them moved from the neighborhood. To date, the church has approximately 150 members, half of whom are black. To the membership itself the inter-racial experience is a valuable contribution to individual growth. But much of the black community views the integrated church with a mixture of suspicion and probably a certain disdain. The minister has the support of denominational superiors, but the East Lake Church (like all churches) is in debt. It must be subsidized by the Conference to survive. It will have to grow, find new members, either from outside the community (in which case it will increasingly become a showcase type of institution) or from within. But Negroes in the community probably will find no compelling reason to break with their own churches unless the integrated church becomes a real moving and dynamic force in the community. To do so requires a brand of militancy that more moderate white members might reject -- and, more importantly, the Methodist hierarchy sooner or later might find unpalatable. This militancy could mean an assault on absentee landlords to bring their buildings up to the standards of the city's building codes, a constant drumming of city hall for adequate garbage and trash collection, linking up with or spearheading economic boycotts by local merchants who refuse to upgrade or employ Negroes at all, monitoring police-community relations -- in brief, undertaking the kind of fierce, uncompromising advocacy role of the more militant black clergymen -- precisely at a time in history when whites of any social persuasion are finding it extremely difficult to work in all-black communities.

If the ideal of the church in Atlanta or anywhere is integration, where does it begin? Obviously, it must take an active role in efforts to desegregate housing patterns. The open occupancy provisions of the 1968 Civil Rights Act were designed to bring this end about nationwide. Resistance to implementation

of these provisions is anticipated by civil rights groups around the country. Dealing with token compliance, subtle dodges of the law and outright defiance will require more than the vigilance of federal agencies or of the traditional civil rights groups. The Methodist ministry to government agencies may be a good starting point for bringing that church into the arena of locally monitoring civil rights act enforcement. Other churches might consider similar programs, either from administrative posts within their organizational structure or by local lay action, perhaps through affiliation with neighborhood "fair housing" groups. The merits of local action might be greater than is at once apparent. Where laymen have been stimulated to get involved in the social concerns of their church, they would be provided a concrete channel for more direct action than simply talking to each other across racial lines. It would also be constructive action -- responsible, good-citizen action -- as opposed to what some find self-consciously distasteful and undignified in picketing or other visible demonstrations. But the basic question remains: How deep an involvement, beyond developing of decent instincts, do Atlanta churches really want?

BUSINESS AND THE CHURCH'S MISSION: AN ATLANTA DILEMMA

"In every other city I've ever lived," the minister said, "the churches have had to push the business leadership in anything connected with social action. Here it looks to me as if sometimes the reverse is true."

There was, most observers agree, considerable truth in such an evaluation. Last year Albert J. Bows, President of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, offered these suggestions as to how Atlanta churches can help the city in its efforts to effect meaningful racial progress:

> Specifically, our opportunities for improvement are in these directions:
>
> We need those who "have" to become more involved with those who "have not" . . . Get your church board in a bus this

> month and show them our crowded housing conditions. The "have nots" need to understand that many of the "haves" are deeply concerned about them and are trying to work out the problems involved in helping them make a better life. All of us must realize, however, that people do not change their attitudes quickly . . . . We have had slums as long as we have had cities . . . . You church leaders should encourage your members to open their businesses and professions at all levels to all people . . . . I would suggest that each board seriously consider developing a program to build at least one public housing project under section 221-D3 of the Federal Housing Act . . . . Each church should encourage its employer members to help provide jobs and other assistance in our neighborhood anti-poverty centers . . . . Finally, the church could provide more interchange of activities between the races. Choirs and ministers could be exchanged between Negro and white churches in our community . . . . I can assure you that nothing will happen until the clergy joins us with a resolve to face the facts as they are in Atlanta today.

"The president of the Chamber of Commerce should not have had to have been the one to tell us that, " one Methodist layman remarked, but he credited much of the Atlanta church's interest today in social concerns to Mr. Bows' speech, which has been printed and distributed by the Christian Council. "That and the King assassination which had a tremendous impact on people. People want to do something, but they've got to have church as well as business leadership. We've made good starts." He cited "Interfaith" and the Christian Council's new directions. "But we can do a lot more."

"I think it is a lot better that business and the city leadership be concerned than that they not," a clergyman of a downtown inner city church remarked, "but we can't and shouldn't sit and wait on them to tell us what to do."

Why, then, have they seemingly done so? Many factors are involved, not the least of which seems to be the city's very good record on race relations in comparison with other cities, North and South. There has been, an observer feels, the sense among the average white moderate, that there is not much he can do that the city hasn't already thought of or is at least making some effort to

accomplish.

It seems to go back, then, to Atlanta's image -- long ago characterized by former Mayor William B. Hartsfield -- as "the city too busy to hate." Atlantans, even those who still in their secret archives despise both Hartsfield and the city's present Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., for their "moderate" heresies, are pleased with the image when while visiting other cities Atlanta is so described to them. Cynics who cavail at the image as contrived or, at best, created out of economic self-interest in the wake of Little Rock's industrial disaster after its school crisis of 1957, will concede, too, that there was much civic pride also involved in the city's decision to fight for open public schools -- pride in the city's mystique, in the conviction that runs deep in the native Atlantan's spirit that his city has some kind of special poetry and magic, destining it for greatness.

A glance behind to the early, grimmer days of Georgia's "massive resistance" era when Atlanta's progressive image in a sense was born, shows that the church did, in fact, play a crucial role. Although the lesson of Little Rock was plain (for two years after federal troops were ordered into the city to enforce federal court school desegregation decrees not a single new industry settled in the city) Georgia's political leadership did not budge from its announced position of closing public schools to avoid school desegregation. By state law, in fact, the governor was bound to do so. As late as 1958 then Lieutenant Governor Ernest Vandiver, running for governor of Georgia, when goaded by a little-known and scantily supported hard-line segregationist opponent, declared that when he was elected governor there would be no "mixing" of students in Georgia public schools, "no, not one."

But in Atlanta counter forces were at work. Leading the fight publicly for

open schools were Mayor Hartsfield, Ralph McGill, late publisher of the Atlanta Constitution and an organization known as HOPE (Help Our Public Education), a small, largely Atlanta-centered group of concerned parents whose only interest in the issue was the maintenance of public education, not school desegregation. As debate on the issue grew more and more heated, a group of 311 Atlanta clergymen placed a full page advertisement (which came to be known as the "Ministers Manifesto") in a Sunday issue of the Atlanta newspapers, calling for open public schools. They were abused mightily for their stand. But they succeeded in stimulating the discussion as it had not been before. Atlanta physicians shortly thereafter issued a similar statement. Ultimately, of course, school desegregation came to Atlanta in 1961, peacefully and "without incident."

Not since then, however, have Atlanta clergymen again united so publicly on any other issue related to racial matters. In 1963 it was Mayor Ivan Allen who took the lead in advocating passage of the public accommodations section of the then pending Civil Rights Act. In a recent interview in Atlanta Magazine, Mayor Allen told just how alone he was when President Kennedy asked him to testify in support of the bill.

> So the Public Accommodations and the big Civil Rights Bill came up in 1963 and this was really the whole turning point in Atlanta. The Chamber of Commerce had gone along with my leadership to support public schools (Allen was president of the Chamber immediately prior to his election as mayor in 1961) and with my other efforts. But when the Civil Rights Bill came up, this was forcing business to give up their right to do business with whom they chose. They bolted completely . . . . The Constitution was not supporting me, nor was the Journal supporting me.

The mayor did not say so, but another "Ministers' Manifesto" at that time would seem to have been in order; none was forthcoming. "The statement on school desegregation was the Atlanta clergy's finest hour," a former Atlanta minister

recently said. "They've been going downhill, I'm afraid, ever since."

The man spoke out of a great sense of disillusion, describing the increasing frustrations with his denominational superiors over racial matters which led to his finally leaving the ministry. "The law and order syndrome," he said, "has blunted the average clergyman's involvement. Urban violence just gives church people an excuse not to do anything."

If his words seem unduly harsh in view of the work by Atlanta ministers described elsewhere in this paper, the fact is that in a growing city such as Atlanta today's radicals can become tomorrow's conservatives, and there are issues in which the Atlanta church might involve itself that would not have the blessing of Atlanta's traditional leadership.

There is, for instance, the whole controversy recently raised by the report, "Student Achievement in Atlanta Public Schools," released last year by Better Schools-Atlanta, a group composed largely of members of the United Liberal Church of Atlanta. A summary of that report's findings reveal these facts:

> Fourth grade pupils in black schools are more than one year behind pupils in white schools based on median reading scores. By the eighth grade, pupils in black schools are four years behind.
>
> Students in black schools attend larger elementary schools, attend larger first grade classes, have fewer textbooks per student, go to school in buildings of less value per student and equipped with less valuable furniture and equipment per student, attend schools with higher pupil-teacher ratios, attend schools with less site area per student, and are less likely to attend schools with speech therapy programs than students in white schools.
>
> There is strong evidence that pupil achievement in black schools is correlated with overall quality of the school. Based on fourth grade median reading scores (1966), pupil achievement was higher at schools with smaller student bodies and larger school-site area per student.

> Sixty-five percent of our elementary schools are totally segregated, either all black or all white. Only 16% of the elementary schools are integrated.
>
> A total of 92.3% of black elementary students attend all-black schools. An additional 3.1% are in schools with token integration, and only 4.6% are in integrated schools.
>
> Ninety-seven per cent of Atlanta elementary schools have three teachers or less of the opposite race from the majority of students.
>
> Eighty-five per cent of Atlanta high schools have four teachers or less of the opposite race from the majority of students.
>
> Ninety-seven per cent of black public school teachers are in "black" schools. Atlanta's integrated elementary schools have a combined student body that is 22.8% black, but a combined faculty only 5.7% black.
>
> In 1966-67, Atlanta spent $472 per pupil in its public schools. This was below most major metropolitan schools systems either in relation to per capita income, or in absolute dollars.

Some coordinated church response both to the thrust of the report itself and to the city's intimidation of the authors of that report (described elsewhere in this paper) would have been in order some churchmen think.

There were reports last year in Atlanta's so-called "hippie" district of police intimidation of young people who live in that area, but critics of the church note that there was no evidence that this was looked upon as a social concern of the church.

From one militant black clergyman came criticism, too, of the city's construction of a multi-million dollar sports stadium at a time, he said, when the priority should have been given to construction of low income housing. He noted that few Atlanta churches saw that as an issue worth fighting about. Police-community relations, he thought, are an ever-present problem to the black

community which well intentioned whites often fail fully to comprehend.

But the city's real test, some churchmen believe, will come when and if the churches get involved in low income housing outside of traditional and racial and social residential patterns. If, for instance, a group of northside churchmen become interested in having a body of vacant land in their neighborhood that is currently zoned for highly restricted housing zoned instead for a housing project or for low income housing, then, as one urban planner active in the social concerns of his church put it, "We'll separate the men from the boys at city hall and in the Chamber of Commerce."

Atlanta churches, in brief, face issues with many complex ramifications, hard issues that bring a church's conscience into basic conflict with its budget, with conservative -- and sometimes more moderate -- elements of the business and city leadership, with middle class society's concepts of what should be "normal behavior" for all people. All such issues are related to the problem of violence. For if the lessons of the past three years have taught us anything, it should be that riots are not born when a policeman shoots or arrests a youth in a black ghetto or even when rats bite off the fingers of a sleeping baby in a forgotten city hovel. They are born when the spirit of man is no longer moved to action by the plight of his brother.

ATLANTA CHURCHES IN CRISIS

The study which follows is reprinted and distributed by the Southern Regional Council with the special permission of the Interdenominational Theological Center, Atlanta, Georgia.

The report is one of four nationwide studies of the church and crisis -- which were presented before The Convocation on the Church and Violence in the Nation at the Interdenominational Center in March, 1969.

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PREFACE

The Committee did not approach its assignment with any foregone assumption about what churches in Atlanta had or had not done in response to violence. This study does not attempt to assess in any great depth the role which churches may have played in preventing violence in Atlanta. Instead, it has sought to find out what churches have done or are doing in response to the violence which has occurred and might yet develop.

In preparing this study, efforts have been made to involve as broad a scope of the Christian community as was feasible both within the length of the written document and the amount of time available for gathering and analyzing raw material.

It is the Committee's view that the illustrations in this study are, in the opinion of those who related them, responses to violence in Atlanta.

* * * * * *

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INTRODUCTION

On the afternoon of September 6, 1966, an Atlanta policeman in the predominantly Negro area of Summerhill shot a Negro youth who allegedly attempted to escape after being questioned in connection with an auto theft. The incident precipitated Atlanta's first violent racial clash since the riots of 1906.

Two days later, just when it seemed that the passions aroused by the first disturbance were cooling, a white motorist driving through the predominantly Negro Boulevard section of the city fired on a Negro youth. An evening of intermittent violence resulted.

Almost a year later in the neighborhood of Dixie Hills, Negroes clashed with police after a disturbance in a shopping center. During the course of a subsequent violence, a nine-year-old Negro child was shot to death in a still-controversial incident. Police blamed a "sniper." Negroes blamed the police.

Property damage was not extensive in any of the disturbances.

On April 10, 1968, thousands of people came into Atlanta to attend the funeral of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. As state troopers waited on stand-by alert in anticipation of major violence as had occurred elsewhere in the nation following the assassination, Atlanta passed through its potentially greatest crisis peacefully and with dignity.

Such are the barest facts about the four major events in Atlanta's recent history related to racial violence and its potential.

What could have happened did not.

What did happen could have been worse.

Yet no Atlantan, white or black, could be satisfied to let matters rest on such a note. Atlanta is a proud city with a heritage of "good race relations." Many forces are at work in the city to improve those relations, to build a sense of identity and pride among disaffected ghetto dwellers. This paper poses the basic question: What have the churches done and what are they now doing in direct or indirect response to the racial disturbances which have come to the city? The question obviously raises other, perhaps even more pertinent ones. What are the churches doing in relation to the silent, everyday violence to the spirit of man, both black and white? And, what of the underlying causes of violence -- such as those cited by the Kerner Commission Report -- poverty, racism, crowded housing, alienation from society?

In seeking to evaluate the response of Atlanta churches on these matters, the Atlanta Committee on The Churches' Response to Violence called a conference on January 19, 1969, of concerned laymen and clergy across a wide spectrum of denominational lines. The meeting, held at Central Presbyterian Church, heard talks from Dr. Harry V. Richardson, President Emeritus of the Interdenominational Theological Center, and Superintendent of Traffic, George Royal, of the Atlanta Police Department. It then divided into eight separate workshops. The thoughts, the discussion, which emerged from those groups provide the base for a major part of this report. Additionally, interviews were conducted with other lay people and

clergy who could not attend the conference but who, by the nature of their work and experience, were thought to have special and illuminating insights relevant to the subject at hand.

THE PEOPLE: HOW THEY FEEL

More than any other event in the city's recent history, the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., gave Atlanta churches an opportunity for self-examination of where they are and where they have been in regard to racial attitudes. The event, the violence, the whole ritual of death and burial with overtones not only of one man's life having ended but seemingly all that he stood for, too, shattered at Memphis in a terrible split-moment of time had an emotional impact that brought to the surface responses courageous and compassionate and sometimes responses full of pathos and tragi-comedy, some by the nature of their expression seeming almost to contradict the spirit behind them. Thus one white southern lady, who had never before in her life taken a role in civil rights activities nor seen Dr. King at all except as a bellicose figure on television preaching down every preconceived notion that she had about race, told a friend that she just felt compelled "to do something." What she did was to drive arriving mourners from the airport to Ebenezer Baptist Church. "I helped the SCLC* the whole time," she said afterward, "drove niggers all over town and they were nice folks. I just want to keep on helping."

One young man out of a North Georgia Baptist background who

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*Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

was part of the volunteer SCLC logistical team which sought to find shelter and food for those arriving to attend the funeral put it this way: "The response of about five or six white churches was absolutely astonishing to us. They did everything we asked them to do and a lot more."

The fact was that within those churches referred to and almost unanimously within the black churches all other considerations came to a halt in the assassination's aftermath. One Chicago woman, writing to the editor of the Atlanta newspapers, told of how she came to Atlanta apprehensive over the sort of reception she would receive and was overwhelmed at the sight of an integrated group of Atlanta church women at the airport making arrangements for arriving mourners to have some place to spend the night. Special memorial services were held in churches throughout the city. One predominantly white Presbyterian church had something of a head start on other churches. The church's pastor explained why this turned out to be so. "It happened that our board met on the evening of the assassination and we voted right then to put our full facilities to the service of SCLC. When SCLC called us, no special meeting or vote was needed by the lay officials to authorize any action. We were geared for action." The church's staff went to work lining up homes for outside visitors to stay in during the time of the funeral. By the morning of the funeral, the church alone had fed more than a thousand out-of-state people. The record of other white churches was equally impressive to outside visitors.

It seemed, indeed, for the days of mourning and immediately thereafter, that Atlanta had been awarded a special grace. During the Easter weekend, following the funeral, a time in Atlanta when dogwood and springtime are more traditionally celebrated, an interdenominational, interracial sunrise service in Atlanta stadium drew more than 20,000 people who heard one of the city's most prominent ministers proclaim that Dr. King's assassination meant that "the hour has struck that the peoples of Atlanta . . . and the world must begin to take seriously what Jesus taught." He urged Christians to find solutions to poverty and other social ills. All that was lacking, he noted, was "the will to do so."

There were, however, reports of less charitable responses.

"One white preacher," an SCLC volunteer staffer said, "summed up the problems of some white churches, I guess, when he told me, 'I'd get in trouble if I had nigras in here.' At least, though, he was honest about it."

A layman was bitter in his summation of his conservative suburban church's response. "They stayed home and hid under the bed, scared to death that <u>they</u> were going to come out to their neighborhood and burn their houses down."

An official of one of the most powerful denominational groups in the city said he knew of no response at all among his denomination. "We weren't asked," he said.

A young white businessman who frequently has stood alone in attempts to involve his suburban church in social concerns told of his frustrating efforts with his local church leadership.

"I and about two or three others went to the preacher with the proposition that the church make its facilities available to people from SCLC who were coming to town, even if we didn't do anything other than just send some blankets or carry over some food. He turned us down -- cold. It would create 'needless budget problems,' he said. I knew the kind of budget problems he meant. You could look out on the parking lot on Sundays -- even back last spring -- at the number of Wallace bumber stickers on the cars. And they weren't poor white folks' cars, either. The people that drive them contribute a lot to the budget, a whale of a lot. That was the kind of budget problem he meant."

One black clergyman told of his experience at a white church the night of the assassination. "A program dealing with the ministry of military personnel had been planned and this program occurred with little recognition of anything really happening."

A white layman put it this way. "Our church was putting on a play of an amusing nature. The play went on the night of the assassination without any recognition of the tragedy -- the only concern was that the death of King had caused a possible lack of attendance. Otherwise the assassination was ignored."

But another attitude was described by a white woman long active in the social concerns of her church. "The pastor dropped his sermon plans and spoke to the situation and called the members to recognize the tragedy in a positive way. The congregation involved itself in the march and in helping those who had come to Atlanta for the funeral. The dominant feeling in the congregation

was 'a real sense of loss.'"

Another church woman noted that her church "made some new commitments immediately after the funeral. An interracial memorial service was held. The fellowship hall was opened up for use by visitors."

One white woman, living in a "changing" southside neighborhood, said that after the assassination the attitudes of blacks and whites toward each other (at least those who lived around her) softened "due to a sense of shared loss," which she felt would result in a "new and continuing openness to each other."

Spokesmen for some black congregations with long histories of involvement in civil rights issues say they welcome the efforts of their white colleagues to become involved in bi-racial activities. Some go out of their way to participate in such activities "just to keep lines of communication open." Others are more reserved in their enthusiasm for white involvement. "They have come into this, frankly, pretty late," one militant black leader said. He spoke with some bitterness of what he saw as the white church's failure to support Dr. King when he was alive. In a sense, he felt, "They helped kill him. Where were they when we needed them the most?"

"WHERE WERE THEY?"

"Until a few years ago," he said, "I thought that Negroes were pretty well off. It seemed to me there weren't any real problems that time and education wouldn't cure."

The speaker was an administrator for one of the most powerful denominational groups in Atlanta. His remarks probably sum up a large body of white church attitudes in the city.

So many were unaware of so much. And no one seemingly ever told them.

But the religious atmosphere of white Atlanta has not historically been one likely to make its memberships aware of much beyond foreign missions and the building of new church edifices. Uptown Protestant churches with long histories of personality-centered ministries and in some cases with socially conservative clergymen, who used to write homiletic little columns for the two Atlanta newspapers, for years dominated the white Atlanta religious scene. (Some recall now that it was due primarily to the influence of one such minister that a city rezoning effort was defeated some years ago in a vote that effectively delayed for several months inauguration of a major housing project.)

Their sermons probably represented to a degree an attempt to bridge their deep, evangelistic, revival-centered backgrounds with the "modernist" thought that had since the twenties increasingly been emerging in more sophisticated religious circles. Their preachers were powerful and eloquent; their messages often espoused a kind of man-in-the-street religious psychiatry which had an appeal to city dwellers, burdened by personal problems, by pressures of urban living. When the sermonizing tackled social issues, it was usually to point out the evils of strong drink, gambling, and promiscuous behavior. The heritage of those days still hangs on

in some of the city's more prominent white pulpits, and those pulpits still exert influence on the city's overall church atmosphere.

But for many years, white Atlanta has been migrating to the suburbs with the result that some inner city churches have been forced to close; new suburban middle class churches have been built. Generally, they reflect suburban values; in almost all of them, however, there are wide divergences of opinion on race and social issues. Sometimes there are bitter intra-church quarrels over such matters as the "liberal" direction that Sunday School literature seems to be taking. Classes might break up over the issue, re-group sometimes along more homogeneous lines. Yet rare is the suburban white church that sees itself as inextricably interwoven into the problems of the inner city. Geography separates them; higher incomes insulate them. There is dialogue among their memberships, some of it of late created by innovative resident inner-city ministries. But for the most part, those memberships have not taken the daring next step of becoming individually involved. Maybe they never will. Maybe their dialogue is sufficient. It is a value judgment.

Some more liberal suburban malcontents frequently flee back to inner city churches of traditional denominational backgrounds which have developed "relevant" approaches to the problems of urban life. Some join the traditionally liberal, modernistic churches that have been in the vanguard of social change for many years. These congregations have never been really large in

Atlanta, but they have occasionally had considerable impact. One until very recently sponsored a mission in Vine City, a low-income Negro neighborhood. The mission, headed by a young white minister, was active in the work of the Vine City Foundation, a community action self-help organization which continues to be one of the most successful such organizations in the city. Another traditionally liberal church has been the moving force behind production of the document "Better Schools-Atlanta," a graphic, in-depth analysis of the disparities between predominantly Negro and predominantly white schools, which created such a storm of controversy among Atlanta school board members that city detectives have actually investigated the backgrounds of those who were involved, ostensibly to find out if they were really Atlanta citizens. But the threat to a man's livelihood from such an investigation cannot be lightly dismissed, and it is altogether probable that in the future similarly motivated groups of both a church and secular nature might think twice before really being too critical of the city's leadership.

At the opposite extreme among Atlanta's white churches are the Pentecostal urban white churches which minister primarily to lower income blue collar workers. They describe themselves as oriented "toward soul saving," through evangelistic emotional appeals. Soul saving, one spokesman said, to him at least, is "human rehabilitation in its purest form." Another Pentecostal clergyman said he thought that for the most part Atlanta's urban churches have forgotten the poor white working man. He felt that

liberal churches were guilty of this, as much so as "the stuffier conservatives." In some ways, he thought, the failure was comparable to that of liberal politicians who, he noted, have "just about abandoned the working white man to people like George Wallace. You've got to minister to people where they are and in terms, in language, yes, in symbols that they can understand." He said that the church to which he ministered had both "liberals and conservatives when it comes to race. Some, not many, but some of my congregation were so moved by Dr. King's death that they marched in the funeral procession." "Others," he said, "quietly gloated over the assassination." He said that the one religious figure outside his church who increasingly "is making a lot of sense to my people is Rev. Billy James Hargis. What you have to understand about a lot of them is this: They have grown up the hard way. Some of them are deadbeats, outright, stumbling sots without any education or any ambition, men who beat their wives. Some of them have done time in prison. But their lives have been changed by Christ, and they think, if it can happen to me without a lot of fancy government spending programs, it can happen to Negroes too. You tell them there is a Negro family down the street that is hungry and you want them to take some food down there, they'll do it. You tell them you are going to go march on the state capitol for the rights of welfare mothers and you want them to join you, and they'll look at you like you were crazy."

The question to some clergymen is whether or not the church might be better off if the conservative and liberal wings within

each denomination actually split into separate churches. Some think it might come to that in the next few years and some Atlanta ministers hint they would welcome it. Most are opposed to any such move. "The churches are split enough as it is. We are, or ought to be, big enough to accommodate all shades of opinion, so long as we all believe in the same God."

* * * * * *

Recently describing his reactions at the time of the Summerhill disturbances, Mayor Ivan Allen recalled that he summoned to the scene 25 Atlanta Negro clergymen whom he regarded as spokesmen for black Atlanta. They included some of the most prominent names in the Negro religious community. Doubtless they did and do speak for a large segment of Atlanta's Negro population, but they probably did not speak for those alienated youth who are, according to the Kerner Commission, the ones most likely to clash with police. A recent publication of the Southern Regional Council entitled, "Black Youth in a Southern Metropolis," offers some valuable insights into how Atlanta's black youth view the black church and its clergymen. While 91 per cent of 688 Negro high school students sampled disagreed with the statement "the church is too old fashioned for me," and 56 per cent agreed that "my church is the basic guiding force in my life," some 43 per cent thought that "the church ought to be more concerned about social problems." Only 16 per cent said that when they had personal problems that their pastor was the first person they turned to. Fifty-seven per cent said they

attended church at least once a week.

The report made this observation:

> The data may suggest the existence of a certain amount of ambivalence in the students' feelings toward the church, especially in the light of the fact that statements expressing general positive attitudes about God and religion tended to be accepted more readily than statements relating to the institutional church or to clergymen.*

One Negro seminary graduate, now active in civil rights work, said that in his estimation, the black church in Atlanta is no more a progressive force for social change than the white church. However, the truth is that the role of the church in the black community has been far different from what it has been in white Atlanta. If the white minister finds that his congregation balks at being pushed too far, too fast over racial matters, the black minister is in quite the opposite position. His difficulty is in being militant enough. Moreover, he historically lacked the real power to bring about the kind of social change that he might call for in a Sunday morning sermon. To the younger members of his congregation, some observers think, this gap between words and results has had a disillusioning effect. Thus, they say, only such uncompromising black clergymen as a Dr. King who time and again put his reputation and his life on the line in nonviolent opposition to racial discrimination have been able to inspire a new generation of black youth. Some say that those ministers in

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*Black Youth in a Southern Metropolis, Southern Regional Council, 1968.

Atlanta today who do have the respect of youth are those who are involved in the kind of "advocacy" that white ministers frequently have to struggle mightily with their consciences and their congregations to undertake. A day in the life of such a clergyman might find him involved with a parishioner over a deep personal problem at one moment, and then off to a meeting of a Model Cities development committee next. Likely he holds an official role in the NAACP or one of the various civil rights oriented civic organizations in the Negro community; his presence might be needed at city hall to testify on a zoning hearing involving the life, death, or renewal of the community in which he dwells. One such clergyman expressed a certain degree of reservation about the new and altogether relevant and much needed inner city work of his white colleagues. "It's good to have them," he said, "but inner city work is all I ever really do."

Atlanta's black churches, of course, have some of the same superficial characteristics as those in the white community. Both have their store-front tabernacles with promises of healing and instant salvation. There are also in the black community well-to-do churches with eloquent clergymen who command large and loyal followings. It is to these men that the city's white leadership has traditionally looked not only for assistance in times of racial confrontation and crisis but also as sources for what black Atlanta is thinking. Such a role may have lost these men a certain amount of esteem among more militant young

Negroes, but it is a fact that their churches have been -- in the popular vernacular -- "relevant" to the needs of the black community, particularly in the area of 221-D3 housing. Altogether, counting units already occupied and those under construction, Atlanta's black churches are presently involved to the extent of 1,700 units of 221-D3 housing. To date no white church in the city has actually undertaken such a program, although several are in the various stages of preliminary negotiations with HUD to do so.

Some of the more prominent Negro churches, too, also include a variety of services including day care for working mothers and family counseling programs among their normal functions. One has established a credit union.

WHERE ARE THEY NOW?

No coordinated, direct, programmatic, crash effort has been undertaken by Atlanta churches to meet either violence or the threat of it. There are efforts and projects related to underlying causes, some directly so, others more indirectly. There is an emerging feeling, however, within much of the Atlanta church community of perhaps an untapped reservoir of goodwill in individuals, but a reservoir particularly among whites that is not easy to measure. Those who are concerned seem more often than not to be looking to their church leaderships for the kind of guidance that might help translate their lately-developed concerns into action. In some very exemplary cases, they are finding dedicated leadership; in some instances they find outright hostility; in most they find

ambivalence.

But this much can also be said: There are some men of wisdom directing Atlanta church programs who feel the urgency for much greater involvement and deeper financial commitment from their congregations and from denominational superiors. The work of their inner city ministries is the one concrete tool they have and many, within the limitations imposed on them by the heritage of their church's myopic past, are making determined efforts to use these ministries to their fullest advantage. A survey of these ministries reflects different concepts of what the church's role should be in dealing with urban social problems and probably reflects to some degree their denomination's underlying philosophy in all matters of social concern. In few instances, however, is there evidence that the programs or their emphasis grew directly from any specific act of violence in the city, but more, as one spokesman put it, from the sense that the church has for many years been remiss in not doing more to aid the inner city.

The program of the Southern Baptists in Atlanta includes five missions located in predominantly white low-income areas. One other is operated by the National (or Negro) Baptists. However, all are open to both races. The work of the missions involve day care for working mothers, tutorials, which include reading and writing for illiterates. The mission centers also make available in such a way as their finances permit assistance to those who would otherwise be available for welfare, but who have not yet

lived in Atlanta long enough to qualify for the twelve-month residency requirements. In addition, they have a referral system for rehabilitated parolees.

"Baptists are not ecumenically minded," a spokesman said when asked of his church's role in interdenominational activities to meet urban problems. "We feel that we have our own program. That it is doing the job. Basic to our concerns in this field is to reach the spirit of man through Jesus Christ. Our missions would not take an activist role in advocating civil rights."

The Methodists in Atlanta might be described as having come late to recognize the need to be involved in inner city work, but moving now to make up for lost time, often with innovative programs. Their work in Atlanta began in 1963 with a staff of one. Today it includes a staff of eight with an annual budget of $98,000. The Methodist approach is to stimulate their churches themselves to get involved. Their church in the low-income white Harris Homes area, for instance, has a bus to take people to food commodity distribution centers. The real thrust of the Methodist approach, however, is to make laymen aware of the problems which relate to poverty and, hopefully, from this to get them more involved. A spokesman said the difficulty in operating through local churches is that it is hard to get them to move from the stage of dialogue to action. He foresaw that the Methodists might eventually see the need to set up mission programs in poorer neighborhoods that would serve as advocacy centers for the poor, but admitted that it would take a re-orientation of philosophy

from the Conference in order to do this.

The Methodist program includes at least one unique project, the recently begun Ministry to Government and Social Agencies. The director of this project maintains close working relationships with the Atlanta Crime Commission, the County Department of Family and Children's Services, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, and other related agencies. One purpose of the project is to stay informed of developing community problems in order to keep officials alerted and ready to bring their services to bear on them. Another Methodist program, related more to the unrest of youth than racial tensions, is its "Twelfth Gate Coffee House," a ministry that seeks to involve residents of Atlanta's Tenth Street "hippie" quarter.

The inner city program of the Presbyterians follows the philosophy of involving local churches and laymen through educational meetings and direct contact with the problems of the poor. Although most Presbyterian churches in Atlanta are currently involved in some degree with the program of their church's inner city ministry, the work of the Central Presbyterian Church is seen by many, even within other denominations, as a model of what they would like their church to be doing.

Central Presbyterian, its minister points out, perhaps too modestly, is in "a unique situation." Its membership is composed of many of the socially conscious citizenry of Atlanta. This has given the church a much wider degree of latitude in what it might undertake.

A brochure published by the church outlines its various activities this way:

> Service takes many forms at Central. And involves many members. From a businessman who coaches a basketball team on Tuesday or Thursday nights . . . to an editor who spends Sunday mornings working with girls at Atlanta's juvenile detention home.
>
> All of these efforts are somehow related to Central's neighborhood -- which in a city of a million and a quarter includes many kinds of needs.
>
> In Central's area are housing projects where low-income families are living. During the week the church's facilities -- a well-equipped gymnasium, kitchen, and sunny classrooms, plus church members with every sort of skill -- are used for a boys and girls club program for these youngsters, both black and white, from low-income neighborhoods.
>
> Other Central members help with legal aid, or go to meetings of community organizations in a "listening ministry" to find out where needs are and how churches can help. Others represent Central at Interfaith, Inc., a housing association formed to help sponsor low-cost housing in Atlanta for families who cannot afford or cannot find other places to live.
>
> Many of the members are involved in community service through Central and are working in the church's oldest and best known service project. The Baby Clinic was founded in 1922.
>
> Today the Clinic serves any child in need of medical care, and otherwise unable to get it. More than 5,600 children receive this free medical care annually. And clinic nurses make follow-up visits to their homes.
>
> A volunteer staff of some 100 from Central and other churches mans the admission desk, dispenses medicines and emergency foods, takes case histories and leads recreation in a clinic kindergarten area for the many well children who accompany their sick brothers and sisters.

> Newest Central ministry: A city-wide literacy program, co-sponsored by a number of churches and housed in Central's facilities.

In June of 1968, the Board of American Missions of the Lutheran Church in Atlanta opened a store-front inner city ministry in an interracial community of southwest Atlanta. It is the first such ministry sponsored by Atlanta Lutherans. Although still in the developmental stages, the mission has plans to get involved in day care, art and music education, and public housing.

Atlanta Episcopalians are involved in inner city ministry work through Emmaus House, located in the Summerhill district of Atlanta -- scene of racial clashes in the summer of 1966 -- and the Shepherd's Gate ministry in Atlanta's southside, where racial residential patterns are changing from all-white to Negro. They have also joined with the Atlanta Presbyterians to sponsor the Kirkwood Community Center on Atlanta's northeast side in yet another changing community. The work of all go beyond the more traditional type of mission program in seeking to identify themselves more intimately with the needs of the community to which they minister.

Atlanta Catholics are primarily involved in inner city work through the efforts of the St. Vincents de Paul Society, an organization of laymen. The Society runs a tutorial program for black and white children and operates the East Side Community Center in the Bedford-Pines section of the city.

After the Boulevard disturbances of 1966, one young white

ministerial student who had contacts in the area was able to bring together some of the young black militants to get them to articulate their grievances before a representative of the mayor's office. The group was the nucleus for a club called, "The Purple Hearts," later formed in the community. The club worked closely with an alliance of black and white clergymen called "The Ministerial Volunteers" in creation of the Atlanta Youth Development Corporation, a youth recreational center in the Boulevard community which drew initial financial support from some white churches as well as local black congregations. Later the center, unable to find sufficient long-range church-related financing, came under the auspices of Economic Opportunity Atlanta.

A community organization in the predominantly low-income white Capitol Homes area, organized primarily by ministerial students, has successfully negotiated with local merchants to upgrade the quality of their products and to halt widely resented overcharging practices.

One inner city ministry group, working across interdenominational lines, is the Urban Training Organization. The organization is generally regarded among most socially conscious churchmen as one of the city's potentially most significant contributions to inner city work. The basic philosophy of the organization is to involve seminary students in the real world of the inner city while they are pursuing their more academic studies. Students are placed in various churches around the city,

both in low-income white and black neighborhoods, and in more affluent urban and suburban churches. The idea is for the students to work with both ministers and laymen to arouse the indifferent, to involve the concerned, and to work with those individuals and groups within the various churches who are already both concerned and involved. One of the organization's problems, says its director, is that sometimes both ministers and laymen, once they are aroused, grow depressed over their inability to effect change. "They seem to think the decision making processes in the churches are really all left to those who contribute the most to the budget. Some get impatient with their churches and spin off into other organizations such as human relations councils. Our job, then, is two-fold: not only to arouse the laymen and the ministers, but be effective enough in doing so that they feel there is some reason to go on in a church-related fashion."

Another organization, trying hard to bridge denominational, social, and racial cleavages, and in the process to have some impact on channeling churches into activities that will meet some of the causes of urban poverty, is the Christian Council of Metropolitan Atlanta. The Council, in a sense, is in a state of metamorphosis now from what it used to be -- by almost unanimous consensus of everyone formerly involved -- a paper organization whose chief concern, one uncharitable observer noted, was "to coordinate Easter sunrise services."

Those days seem to be gone. Under a vigorous new director

the Council, within the past year, has actively involved itself in a host of interdenominational activities.

The Council's most significant project, it feels, in the field of promoting better racial understanding in Atlanta and by extension in reaching the underlying causes of racial violence, was production last year of the play, "Behold the Man," a drama in which the role of Christ was portrayed by a leading Negro clergyman. The drama was held at Atlanta Stadium; 50,000 attended, both black and white. One Atlanta minister said that "if the Council had done nothing else in the past two years, the production of the drama 'Behold the Man' would have been enough." Generally the play was well received throughout the Atlanta church community. Few criticized the Council for using a black man in so critical a role. But "it just could not have happened ten years ago in this city," one white woman noted.

More controversial was the Council's supporting role in sponsoring the Atlanta Metropolitan Conference on Equal Opportunity in Housing. The Conference, organized in the aftermath of passage of the 1968 Civil Rights Act to bring about peaceful compliance with the fair housing provisions, caused dissension within conservative church ranks. "We lost some support for participating," Dr. Harmon Moore, director of the Council admitted, "but I just felt we had to. The Chamber of Commerce put itself on the line and I thought we could do as much. The churches everywhere have been used as pawns in the hands of segregationist politicians and it's time we woke up to our real responsibilities,"

But the Council is caught in the middle of two strong currents of religious thought in Atlanta. If the conservatives cavil at its support of fair housing efforts, liberals view it with suspicion on other counts. Its most notable failure, according to one critic, is that it has not given its organizational support to Interfaith, Inc., an interdenominational effort of congregations from throughout Atlanta incorporated as a non-profit organization to use HUD 221-D3 provisions to build low-income housing. Interfaith, Inc., has a total of 20 participants, including the entire Atlanta Catholic Archdiocese which contributed nearly half of the organization's present treasury. Altogether, member churches and religious organizations (such as the Diocese) represent 75,000 Atlantans, but the organization does not have the support of the city's more prominent downtown Protestant churches, and there is feeling among some connected with the group that they have less than solid support from the city's top policy-making leadership. "They say get involved, yes, sure we support you, but if they do, if they really do, we should have far more support from the Protestant churches because many of the same influential people in city leadership are also active Protestant laymen."

Agreeing with Metro Council's basic purposes, but more militant in its methods, is a group of 70 Atlanta ministers who call themselves "The Concerned Clergy." The organization is made up of roughly one-third black membership. Whites are about equally divided between those of the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish

faiths. Their chief action area to date has been in seeking to bring about increased Negro employment among the city's large retail chain stores situated in predominantly Negro neighborhoods. Their one major success with a grocery chain came after a clergy-conceived boycott proved 95 per cent effective during one 24-hour period. A spokesman said the group plans to make its influence felt across a broad range of social issues in Atlanta and, with recalcitrant businesses, it will have no hesitancy in using the boycott tool whenever negotiations seem likely to fail. "You have to fight power with power," he said. "We don't say it directly, but we make it pretty plain that if they don't want to deal with us, they're sooner or later going to have to deal with such a group, for instance, as RAM or its equivalent. I don't feel that's a threat, but given the times in which we live, simply a statement of fact. A lot of liberals just want to talk. But you have to follow talk up with action and sometimes you have to be willing to put your job on the line."

Like the Christian Council, the "Concerned Clergy" has its critics. Some feel it is too impatient; some think it too impetuous. Its defenders, on the other hand, reply that no other single group of clergymen or church-oriented groups have produced more tangible results.

BLACK AND WHITE TOGETHER

Segregation remains the rule in most Atlanta churches, although it is no longer enforced by the police. Spokesmen for

every denomination interviewed in connection with this report insist that the doors of their churches are open to all regardless of race; most of the governing bodies of the various denominations have issued resolutions condemning segregated practices and actively encouraging desegregation. But few formerly all-white churches have many Negro members, and vice-versa. The reasons for this, of course, are not entirely local in nature. They go deep into the whole fabric of American society, into the church's iron-clad separatist policies of the all-too-present past. They challenge the churches of Atlanta and the churches of America. They illustrate in the most palpable way the truth of the Kerner Commission description of "Two Americas, Black and White." Solutions are not easy, involving as they do a great deal of organic bureaucracy within both black and white churches, involving as they do institutionalized racism that cannot be exorcised by the passing of resolutions or the merging of central authorities. The truth, one black clergyman recently said, is not that integration has failed, but that it has never really been tried. "Communication must come first," he added, "and that's where we will have to start." A beginning, he suggested, would be a great deal more pulpit and choir exchanges between churches, lay speakers bureaus of blacks and whites to address the various lay groups. Involved, of course, also is the fact that integration as an end in itself no longer is the priority it once was within the civil rights movement. It is, in fact, to many disenchanted Negroes, irrelevant.

To bring up the subject in many interracial meetings in Atlanta is to suggest one's naivete. Organizations devoted throughout their long histories to the ideal of an integrated society are in the process of re-evaluating the viability of old positions, of re-defining what integration means in terms of present-day "black awareness" reality. The church's position on this issue has not yet been validly defined. Until it is, perhaps, analyses of its relevancy on social concerns are essays in futility. Relevancy, one might ask, to what? The experience of the East Lake Methodist Church is a case in point.

Until three years ago, the neighborhood surrounding East Lake Methodist was all white. As Negroes moved into the neighborhood, the congregation was faced with a crisis of conscience. Of 600 members, only 50 voted to remain open on an integrated basis. The rest transferred their memberships elsewhere. Most of them moved from the neighborhood. To date, the church has approximately 150 members, half of whom are black. To the membership itself, the interracial experience is a valuable contribution to individual growth. But much of the black community views the integrated church with a mixture of suspicion and probably a certain disdain. The minister has the support of denominational superiors, but the East Lake Church (like all churches) is in debt, It must be subsidized by the Conference to survive. It will have to grow, find new members, either from outside the community (in which case it will increasingly become a showcase type of institution) or from within. But Negroes in the community probably

will find no compelling reason to break with their own churches unless the integrated church becomes a real moving and dynamic force in the community. To do so requires a brand of militancy that more moderate white members might reject -- and, more importantly, the Methodist hierarchy sooner or later might find unpalatable. This militancy could mean an assault on absentee landlords to bring their buildings up to the standards of the city's building codes, a constant drumming of city hall for adequate garbage and trash collection, linking up with or spearheading economic boycotts of local merchants who refuse to upgrade or employ Negroes at all, monitoring police-community relations -- in brief, undertaking the kind of fierce, uncompromising advocacy role of the more militant black clergymen -- precisely at a time in history when whites of any social persuasion are finding it extremely difficult to work in all-black communities.

If the ideal of the church in Atlanta or anywhere is integration, where does it begin? Obviously, it must take an active role in efforts to desegregate housing patterns. The open occupancy provisions of the 1968 Civil Rights Act were designed to bring this end about nationwide. Resistance to implementation of these provisions is anticipated by civil rights groups around the country. Dealing with token compliance, subtle dodges of the law and outright defiance will require more than the vigilance of federal agencies or of the traditional civil rights groups. The Methodist ministry to government agencies may be a good starting point for bringing that church

into the arena of locally monitoring civil rights act enforcement. Other churches might consider similar programs, either from administrative posts within their organizational structure or by local lay action, perhaps through affiliation with neighborhood "fair housing" groups. The merits of local action might be greater than is at once apparent. Where laymen have been stimulated to get involved in the social concerns of their church, they would be provided a concrete channel for more direct action than simply talking to each other across racial lines. It would also be constructive action -- responsible, good-citizen action -- as opposed to what some find self-consciously distasteful and undignified in picketing or other visible demonstrations. But the basic question remains: How deep an involvement, beyond developing of decent instincts, do Atlanta churches really want?

BUSINESS AND THE CHURCH'S MISSION: AN ATLANTA DILEMMA

"In every other city I've lived," the minister said, "the churches have had to push the business leadership in anything connected with social action. Here it looks to me as if sometimes the reverse is true."

There was, most observers agree, considerable truth in such an evaluation. Last year, Albert J. Bows, President of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, offered these suggestions as to how Atlanta churches can help the city in its efforts to effect meaningful racial progress:

> Specifically, our opportunities for improvement are in these directions:

> We need those who "have" to become more involved with those who "have not" . . . Get your church board in a bus this month and show them our crowded housing conditions. The "have nots" need to understand that many of the "haves" are deeply concerned about them and are trying to work out the problems involved in helping them make a better life. All of us must realize, however, that people do not change their attitudes quickly . . . . We have had slums as long as we have had cities . . . . You church leaders should encourage your members to open their businesses and professions at all levels to all people . . . . I would suggest that each board seriously consider developing a program to build at least one public housing project under section 221-D3 of the Federal Housing Act . . . . Each church should encourage its employer members to help provide jobs and other assistance in our neighborhood anti-poverty centers . . . . Finally, the church could provide more interchange of activities between the races. Choirs and ministers could be exchanged between Negro and white churches in our community . . . . I can assure you that nothing will happen until the clergy joins us with a resolve to face the facts as they are in Atlanta today.

"The president of the Chamber of Commerce should not have had to have been the one to tell us that," one Methodist layman remarked, but he creditied much of the Atlanta church's interest today in social concerns to Mr. Bows' speech, which has been printed and distributed by the Christian Council. "That and the King assassination which had a tremendous impact on people. People want to do something, but they've got to have church as well as business leadership. We've made good starts." He cited Interfaith and the Christian Council's new directions. "But we can do a lot more."

"I think it is a lot better that business and the city leadership be concerned than that they not," a clergyman of a downtown inner city church remarked, "but we can't and shouldn't sit and wait on them to tell us what to do."

Why, then, have they seemingly done so? Many factors are involved, not the least of which seems to be the city's very good record on race relations in comparison with other cities, North and South. There has been, an observer feels, the sense among the average white moderate, that there is not much he can do that the city hasn't already thought of or is at least making some effort to accomplish.

It seems to go back, then, to Atlanta's image -- long ago characterized by former Mayor William B. Hartsfield -- as "the city too busy to hate." Atlantans, even those who still in their secret archives despise both Hartsfield and the city's present Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., for their "moderate" heresies, are pleased with the image when while visiting other cities Atlanta is so described to them. Cynics who cavil at the image as contrived or, at best, created out of economic self-interest in the wake of Little Rock's industrial disaster after its school crisis of 1957, will concede, too, that there was much civic pride also involved in the city's decision to fight for open public schools -- pride in the city's mystique, in the conviction that runs deep in the native Atlantan's spirit that his city has some kind of special poetry and magic, destining it for greatness.

A glance behind to the early, grimmer days of Georgia's

"massive resistance" era when Atlanta's progressive image in a sense was born shows that the church did, in fact, play a crucial role. Although the lesson of Little Rock was plain (for two years after federal troops were ordered into the city to enforce federal court school desegregation decrees not a single new industry settled in the city) Georgia's political leadership did not budge from its announced position of closing public schools to avoid school desegregation. By state law, in fact, the governor was bound to do so. As late as 1958 then Lieutenant Governor Ernest Vandiver, running for governor of Georgia, when goaded by a little-known and scantily supported hard-line segregationist opponent, declared that when he was elected governor there would be no "mixing" of students in Georgia public schools, "no, not one."

But in Atlanta counter forces were at work. Leading the fight publicly for open schools were Mayor Hartsfield, Ralph McGill, late publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, and an organization known as HOPE (Help Our Public Education), a small, largely Atlanta-centered group of concerned parents whose only interest in the issue was the maintenance of public education, not school desegregation. As debate on the issue grew more and more heated, a group of 311 Atlanta clergymen placed a full page advertisement (which came to be known as the "Ministers' Manifesto") in a Sunday issue of the Atlanta newspapers, calling for open public schools. They were abused mightily for their stand. But they succeeded in stimulating the discussion as it had not

been before. Atlanta physicians shortly thereafter issued a similar statement. Ultimately, of course, school desegregation came to Atlanta in 1961, peacefully and "without incident."

Not since then, however, have Atlanta clergymen again united so publicly on any other issue related to racial matters. In 1963 it was Mayor Ivan Allen who took the lead in advocating passage of the public accommodations section of the then pending Civil Rights Act. In a recent interview in Atlanta magazine, Mayor Allen told just how alone he was when President Kennedy asked him to testify in support of the bill.

> So the Public Accommodations and the big Civil Rights Bill came up in 1963 and this was really the whole turning point in Atlanta. The Chamber of Commerce had gone along with my leadership to support public schools (Allen was president of the Chamber immediately prior to his election as mayor in 1961) and with my other efforts. But when the Civil Rights Bill came up, this was forcing business to give up their right to do business with whom they chose. They bolted completely. . . . The Constitution was not supporting me, nor was the Journal supporting me.

The mayor did not say so, but another "Ministers' Manifesto" at that time would seem to have been in order; none was forthcoming. "The statement on school desegregation was the Atlanta clergy's finest hour," a former Atlanta minister recently said. "They've been going downhill, I'm afraid, ever since."

The man spoke out of a great sense of disillusion, describing the increasing frustrations with his denominational superiors over racial matters which led to his finally leaving the ministry. "The law and order syndrome," he said, "has blunted the average

clergyman's involvement. Urban violence just gives church people an excuse not to do anything."

If his words seem unduly harsh in view of the work by Atlanta ministers described elsewhere in this paper, the fact is that in a growing city such as Atlanta today's radicals can become tomorrow's conservatives, and there are issues in which the Atlanta church might involve itself that would not have the blessing of Atlanta's traditional leadership.

There is, for instance, the whole controversy recently raised by the report, "Student Achievement in Atlanta Public Schools," released last year by Better Schools-Atlanta, a group composed largely of members of the United Liberal Church of Atlanta. A summary of that report's findings reveal these facts:

> Fourth grade pupils in black schools are more than one year behind pupils in white schools based on median reading scores. By the eighth grade, pupils in black schools are four years behind.
>
> Students in black schools attend larger elementary schools, attend larger first grade classes, have fewer textbooks per student, go to school in buildings of less value per student and equipped with less valuable furniture and equipment per student, attend schools with higher pupil-teacher ratios, attend schools with less site area per student, and are less likely to attend schools with speech therapy programs than students in white schools.
>
> There is strong evidence that pupil achievement in black schools is correlated with overall quality of the school. Based on fourth grade median reading scores (1966), pupil achievement was higher at schools with smaller student bodies and larger school-site area per student.

> Sixty-five per cent of our elementary schools are totally segregated, either all black or all white. Only 16 per cent of the elementary schools are integrated.
>
> A total of 92.3 per cent of black elementary students attend all-black schools. An additional 3.1 per cent are in schools with token integration, and only 4.6 per cent are in integrated schools.
>
> Ninety-seven per cent of Atlanta elementary schools have three teachers or less of the opposite race from the majority of students.
>
> Eighty-five per cent of Atlanta high schools have four teachers or less of the opposite race from the majority of students.
>
> Ninety-seven per cent of black public school teachers are in "black" schools. Atlanta's integrated elementary schools have a combined student body that is 22.8 per cent black, but a combined faculty only 5.7 per cent black.
>
> In 1966-67, Atlanta spent $472 per pupil in its public schools. This was below most major metropolitan schools systems either in relation to per capita income, or in absolute dollars.

Some coordinated church response both to the thrust of the report itself and to the city's intimidation of the authors of that report (described elsewhere in this paper) would have been in order some churchmen think.

There were reports last year in Atlanta's so-called "hippie" district of police intimidation of young people who live in that area, but critics of the church note that there was no evidence that this was looked upon as a social concern of the church.

From one militant black clergyman came criticism, too, of the city's construction of a multi-million dollar sports stadium at a time, he said, when the priority should have been given to construc-

tion of low-income housing. He noted that few Atlanta churches saw that as an issue worth fighting about. Police-community relations, he thought, are an ever-present problem to the black community which well-intentioned whites often fail fully to comprehend.

But the city's real test, some churchmen believe, will come when and if the churches get involved in low-income housing outside of traditional and racial and social residential patterns. If, for instance, a group of northside churchmen becomes interested in having a body of vacant land in their neighborhood that is currently zoned for highly restricted housing zoned instead for a housing project or for low-income housing, then, as one urban planner active in the social concerns of his church put it, "We'll separate the men from the boys at city hall <u>and</u> in the Chamber of Commerce."

Atlanta churches, in brief, face issues with many complex ramifications, hard issues that bring a church's conscience into basic conflict with its budget, with conservative -- and sometimes more moderate -- elements of the business and city leadership, with middle class society's concepts of what should be "normal behavior" for all people. All such issues are related to the problem of violence. For if the lessons of the past three years have taught us anything, it should be that riots are not born when a policeman shoots or arrests a youth in a black ghetto or even when rats bite off the fingers of a sleeping baby in a forgotten city hovel. They are born when the spirit of

man is no longer moved to action by the plight of his brother.

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SPECIAL REPORT

LAST REMAINING COPY

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

RACE MAKES THE DIFFERENCE

An analysis of sentence disparity among black and white offenders in southern prisons.

RACE MAKES THE DIFFERENCE

An analysis of sentence disparity
among black and white offenders in
southern prisons.

March, 1969

Price: 30¢, single
20¢, bulk

INTRODUCTION

In examining southern justice, the temptation is great to measure progress in terms of accused Klansmen convicted of murder or arson by juries of their peers. But just as the whole problem of violence and intimidation goes far beyond the acts of southern fringe elements into the roots of a society that has allowed such elements to flourish, so also does the question of dual justice go beyond the easily identifiable civil rights cases. The fact is that in the ordinary administration of justice in the South, there is a clear pattern of sentence disparity between whites and Negroes.

Literature on the subject is relatively scarce. Most of it is focused on capital punishment.

National prison statistics, for instance, show that between 1930 and 1964, 89.0 per cent of the individuals executed in the United States for rape were Negroes.

Professor Rupert C. Koeninger of the University of Texas, in a study of the death penalty as applied to convicted rapists in Texas, revealed that of the 111 execution cases received at the Texas state prison between 1924-62, 84 were Negroes, 21 white, and five were Mexican-Americans.[1]

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[1] Punishment for Rape in Texas, by Rupert C. Koeninger, 1967, mimeographed.

Koeninger also discovered that Negroes received the smallest number of sentences in the range from five to twenty-five years and the greatest percentage of the sentences ranging from twenty-five years to life. However, very little research is available relative to sentence disparity regarding ordinary offenses. The Southern Regional Council has available data that was collected in 1954 from court records in six selected counties in the South, picked so as roughly to represent the several sub-regions -- three rural and three urban counties of the Southeast. Among the most significant biases revealed by this data was in final disposition of the sentence once it has been decided upon. In the systems studied, the judge has the discretion to determine the nature of a sentence which could take a number of forms such as "to be served in full" with no part suspended, partly or fully suspended, or the offender may be fined instead of receiving a prison sentence. "The data revealed that Negroes received a substantially higher number of sentences which were to be served in full than did the white offenders. This was regardless of whether the crime was against a white person or against another Negro. Also, when a Negro is the adverse party, the defendant, Negro or white, is likely to receive a suspended or partly suspended sentence."[2] In this sense, then, Negroes appear to obtain less protection from the law than do whites.

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[2] Study of Six Counties in the South, by James Moss, 1954, unpublished.

The study which follows is based on data collected in the summer of 1967 by law students for SRC's Project on Crime and Corrections. In five of the seven prison systems that make up the study, more Negroes than whites were incarcerated. The percentage of Negro prison population in the states surveyed are as follows: Arkansas, 65 per cent; Alabama, 58 per cent; Georgia, 60 per cent (despite a work camp system that primarily siphons off black prisoners who are not included in these figures); Virginia, 59 per cent. In Tennessee, the Ft. Pillow state prison farm is 52 per cent Negro; however, Negroes represent about 45 per cent of the total prison population of that state. In South Carolina, precise figures were not available; however, reliable estimates put the black prison population at roughly 50 per cent of the total. Beyond the more obviously deplorable inequities outlined here, another even more serious consideration is raised. In a time when the cry of law and order has attained almost the level of the national motto, we would point out that true respect for the law begins with the impartial administration of justice. To the individual men and women who make up the grim statistics which compose the bulk of this report, that respect has long since been lost. To a generation of youth who have seen the treatment given their elders, that respect may never begin at all.

SOME NOTES ON SAMPLING AND METHODOLOGY

The selection of our sample was based on factors of convenience, accessibility, and timeliness. The subjects were adults who were incarcerated in state prisons in the South in 1967.

The data consist of 1,205 cases drawn from the prison and parole records of seven southern states: Alabama (116), Arkansas (208), Georgia (101), North Carolina (197), South Carolina (200), Tennessee (167), Virginia (200).

We received excellent cooperation from state officials in Arkansas, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee.

The Alabama Board of Corrections agreed to cooperate and did open their records to our field workers; however, the warden of Kilby Prison declined to permit unsupervised interviews with inmates and the Alabama Board of Parole answered our written request by refusing any cooperation.

Georgia permitted a summer field worker to collect some cases from the records. When it was discovered that the worker in question had not completed the sample, we requested permission to send another worker. The Department of Corrections begged off due to the difficulties and confusion involved in moving their offices from one building to another. The Georgia Board of Pardons and Paroles refused to cooperate on the grounds that their records are state records.

Virginia officials permitted case recording from central files but declined to allow unsupervised interviews. Further discussion of the nature of the Virginia sample will be found in the section dealing with the state.

Florida was eliminated from the study for several reasons. First, its prison population is untypically transient; second, the state correctional system advised us in advance that they were unwilling to permit unsupervised interviews.

Texas was not included for similar reasons. Additionally, the large number of Mexican-Americans in the Texas population would have made clear black-white comparisons difficult. Also, an excellent study on Texas by Koeninger is already available.[3]

Neither Louisiana nor Mississippi responded to our requests for cooperation.

The cases collected were analyzed on the basis of a number of factors, both racial and non-racial. Type of offense, type of plea, previous record, and presence or lack of counsel were all considered to be independent factors, which could influence length of sentence across racial lines. Race of offender and race of victim were considered to be independent variables which could also effect the sentence. The relatively primitive state of record-keeping in some of the systems made it impossible to consider the effects of aggravating or mitigating circumstances.

It was found that opportunities for presentation of data

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[3] Ibid.

reflecting the entire sample were rare due to several factors. First, statutes which set penalties for various offenses in one state may be two or more separate offenses in another. (e.g., burglary in Arkansas is housebreaking, store breaking, or breaking and entering and larcency in other states.) Second, even when the statutory description of offenses are practically identical in all states, the amount of discretion permitted the sentencing judge varied widely. Thirdly, the nature of a prison population is often affected by factors which are in large part unrelated to length of sentence. For example, in South Carolina, the county work camp system siphons off a distinct segment of the class of felons. As a result, state prisons' populations do not necessarily reflect the whole felon population of the state.

The data presented in Table 1 indicate that, in our sample, Negroes received sentences which were on the average 4.7 years longer than the sentences imposed on white offenders. The range of disparity, in years, was from .2 years in the Virginia sample to 9.3 years in the Tennessee sample. The average sentence for Negroes ranged from 12.1 years in Alabama to 22.1 years in Tennessee, while the average sentence for white offenders varied from 7.5 years in Arkansas to 15.1 years in Virginia.

TABLE 1

NUMBER, PER CENT, AND AVERAGE SENTENCE FOR ALL CRIMES, BY RACE AND BY STATE

State	Negro			White			All			Length of Avg. W. Sentence as Pct. Length of Avg. N. Sentence
	No.	Pct.	Average Sentence (In Years)	No.	Pct.	Average Sentence (In Years)	No.	Pct.	Average Sentence (In Years)	
Ala.	69	59.5	12.1	47	40.5	10.4	116	100.0	11.4	86%
Ark.	103	49.5	14.4	105	50.5	7.5	208	100.0	10.9	52%
Ga.	66	65.4	19.6	35	34.6	12.6	101	100.0	17.2	65%
N. C.	98	49.8	17.0	99	50.2	14.5	197	100.0	15.7	85%
S. C.	94	47.0	18.1	106	53.0	11.6	200	100.0	14.7	64%
Tenn.	60	35.9	22.1	107	64.1	12.8	167	100.0	16.5	58%
Va.	115	53.2	15.3	101	46.8	15.1	216	100.0	15.2	99%
TOTAL	605	50.2	16.8	600	49.8	12.1	1,205	100.0	14.5	72%

When we consider the average white sentence, by state, expressed as a per cent of the average Negro sentence, the variations in relative disparity among the states become even clearer. The average white offender in Arkansas received a sentence which was 52 per cent of the length of the average Negro sentence, while in Virginia, the length of the average white sentence was 99 per cent of the average Negro sentence. For the entire sample, the average white sentence was 72 per cent of the average Negro sentence.

It has frequently been suggested that seeming racial disparity in sentencing may be attributed, in part, to the fact that a larger proportion of Negroes are convicted of crimes of violence than are white offenders. In order to examine this question, the data were analyzed by crime category reflected in Tables 2 and 3, and Figure 1. Figure 1 supports the view that a larger proportion of Negroes are convicted of crimes of violence than are whites, but none of our data indicates that the phenomenon influences disparity in sentencing by race.

Figure 1

BIVARIATE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE BY CRIME CATEGORY AND BY RACE

	Negro		White		All
Category	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.
Crimes v. Persons	385	59.1	267	40.9	652
Crimes v. Property	220	39.8	333	60.2	553
TOTAL	605		600		1,205

Table 2 presents data on crimes against persons. The average Negro sentence was 2.2 years longer than the average white sentence in this category. However, since the average sentences were 22.8 years for Negroes and 20.6 years for white offenders, the relative disparity was less than that for all crimes. In this category, the average white sentence was 90 per cent of the average Negro sentence.

Table 3 presents data on crimes against property. As in the data on crimes against persons, the average disparity is 2.2 years. However, since in this category, the average Negro sentence is 7.4 years and the average white sentence is 5.2 years, the degree of disparity is considerably greater. For this variable, the average white sentence is 70 per cent of the average Negro sentence.

Figure 2 reflects the short term-long term ratio, by race, for first offenders and recidivists. (These data were not available for any of the Georgia cases (101), nor for 66 other cases scattered through the other state samples.) Sixty per cent of the population are recidivists, 40 per cent are first offenders. Fifty-six per cent of the Negro offenders and 64 per cent of the white offenders are recidivists.

Fifty-two and five-tenths per cent of Negro first offenders are serving sentences of ten years or less, as opposed to 67.8 per cent of white first offenders in the sample.

TABLE 2

NUMBER, PER CENT, AND AVERAGE SENTENCE FOR CRIMES AGAINST PERSONS
BY RACE AND BY STATE

	Negro			White			All			Length of Avg. W. Sentence as Pct. Length of Avg. N. Sentence
State	No.	Pct.	Average Sentence (In Years)	No.	Pct.	Average Sentence (In Years)	No.	Pct.	Average Sentence (In Years)	
Ala.	44	72.1	16.7	17	27.9	22.1	61	100.0	18.2	132%
Ark.	55	59.1	22.5	38	40.9	14.9	93	100.0	19.4	66%
Ga.	39	70.9	25.4	16	29.1	18.6	55	100.0	23.2	73%
N. C.	62	54.1	21.4	52	45.6	20.7	114	100.0	21.1	97%
S. C.	62	61.4	23.5	39	38.1	22.9	101	100.0	23.3	98%
Tenn.	38	44.7	31.6	47	55.3	23.6	85	100.0	27.2	75%
Va.	85	59.4	18.5	58	40.6	21.5	143	100.0	19.2	67%
TOTAL	385	59.1	22.8	267	40.9	20.6	652	100.0	21.7	90%

TABLE 3

NUMBER, PER CENT, AND AVERAGE SENTENCE OF CRIMES VS. PROPERTY
BY RACE AND BY STATE

	Negro			White			All			Length of Avg. W. Sentence as Pct. Length of Avg. N. Sentence
State	No.	Pct.	Average Sentence (In Years)	No.	Pct.	Average Sentence (In Years)	No.	Pct.	Average Sentence (In Years)	
Ala.	25	45.5	3.9	30	54.5	3.8	55	100.0	3.8	97%
Ark.	48	41.7	5.1	67	58.3	3.8	115	100.0	4.4	75%
Ga.	27	58.7	7.3	19	41.3	7.6	46	100.0	7.4	68%
N. C.	36	43.4	9.9	47	56.6	8.0	83	100.0	8.8	81%
S. C.	32	32.3	7.6	67	67.7	5.0	99	100.0	5.9	66%
Tenn.	22	26.8	5.5	60	73.2	4.2	82	100.0	4.5	75%
Va.	30	41.1	8.6	43	58.9	5.8	73	100.0	6.9	67%
TOTAL	220	39.8	7.4	333	60.2	5.2	553	100.0	5.9	70%

This significant difference is also reflected among recidivists, where 59.8 per cent of the Negro offenders and 73.8 per cent of the white offenders are serving short term sentences.

Figure 2

Sentence in Years	First Offenders				Recidivists			
	Negro		White		Negro		White	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
1 - 10	116	52.5	131	67.8	168	59.8	253	73.8
11+	105	47.5	62	32.2	113	40.2	90	26.2
TOTAL	221	100.0	193	100.0	281	100.0	343	100.0

Analysis of the data in terms of presence or lack of counsel and type of counsel, was difficult in view of the primitive state of record-keeping in some jurisdictions. There was definite information available on type of counsel in 698 cases (fifty-eight per cent of the total sample).

As shown in Figure 3, data revealed no significant variation in length of sentence between those with retained counsel and those with court appointed counsel, either overall or by race. The disparity in length of sentence between the races remained constant within each category and was comparable to that found in analyzing other variables.

FIGURE 3

SHORT-TERM - LONG-TERM RATIO BY RACE AND TYPE OF LEGAL REPRESENTATION

Length of Sentence	Court-Appointed Counsel						Privately Retained Counsel					
	Negro		White		All		Negro		White		All	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Short-Term	131	57.0	149	66.2	280	61.5	60	54.5	89	67.4	149	61.3
Long-Term	99	43.0	76	33.8	175	38.5	51	45.5	43	32.6	94	38.7
ALL	230	100.0	225	100.0	455	100.0	111	100.0	132	100.0	243	100.0

Analysis of average sentences by race and by plea in the states included in the sample reveals some interesting variations in the general pattern. As shown in Table 4, those offenders who were convicted upon a plea of guilty received shorter sentences, on the average, than did those who were convicted after a plea of not guilty. This is not surprising, of course, since those facing relatively minor charges are more likely to enter a plea of guilty than are those facing charges which would result in long sentences. Additionally, some who have committed very serious crimes are offered an opportunity to enter a plea of guilty to a lesser charge. However, a significant disparity by race remains consistent with, if somewhat larger than, the disparity found in analyzing other variables.

The situation for those convicted upon a plea of not guilty (presumably after a jury trial) is quite different. Overall, there appears to be no significant disparity. However, the validity of these figures is somewhat marred by the small frequency of offenders convicted after trial.

There was not sufficient data available on the race of the victim to permit a very thorough analysis of the sample in terms of intra-racial vs. interracial crimes. These data were not available for the Georgia sample and were clearly determinable in only 359 of the remaining 1,104 cases. The frequency and average sentence in each of these categories are shown in Figure 4, but no particular

TABLE 4

FORM OF CONVICTION

State	VERDICT AFTER PLEA OF GUILTY				VERDICT AFTER PLEA OF NOT GUILTY			
	Negro		White		Negro		White	
	No.	Average Sentence (In Years)	No.	Average Sentence (In Years)	No.	Average Sentence (In Years)	No.	Average Sentence (In Years)
Ala.	63	9.6	41	8.9	16	18.5	6	29.3
Ark.	48	10.7	53	6.5	16	23.3	13	19.9
Ga.	52	19.4	22	13.7	14	22.9	11	11.4
N. C.	65	16.1	78	12.8	30	19.3	6	20.7
S. C.	74	17.8	90	8.9	15	17.5	9	32.4
Tenn.	47	16.5	81	8.7	13	41.4	25	24.3
Va.	66	16.3	62	16.1	19	14.4	19	12.5
TOTAL	405	15.4	427	10.6	153	20.1	119	19.2

validity can be assigned despite the fact that the general pattern is as one would predict on the basis of past studies, i.e., crimes can be generally rated in the following descending order of heinousness:

(1) Negro crimes against whites (28.0 years); (2) white crimes against whites (23.8 years); (3) Negro crimes against Negroes (21.2 years); (4) white crimes against Negroes (20.7 years). As indicated by the high average sentences, almost all of the offenses where the victim was identified were crimes against persons. If we assume that given the economic structure of the South, most crimes against property must be crimes against whites, the figures for the crimes where the race of the victim is not identified become quite provocative.

Figure 4

FREQUENCY AND AVERAGE SENTENCE BY RACE OF OFFENDER AND VICTIM

Negro-Negro		Negro-White		Negro-O		White-White		White-Negro		White-O	
No.	Avg. Sent.	No.	Avg. Sent.	No.	Avg. Sent.	No.	Avg. Sent.	No.	Avg. Sent.	No.	Avg. Sent.
163	21.2	56	28.0	320	12.5	136	23.8	4	20.7	425	8.5

CONCLUSION

In general, our data suggest that there is a significant absolute disparity between the sentences received by black offenders and those received by white offenders, without regard to type of crime, length of prior record, type of counsel, or nature of plea. Careful analysis of our data has failed to reveal how any general factor could account for this disparity other than race.

Comparisons with earlier studies indicate that this situation has not materially changed in recent years. While newspaper accounts and other sources of information suggest that white offenders are now receiving longer sentences for potentially capital crimes against black victims (white offenders now sometimes receive life sentences for raping black women), the general area of disparity in sentences for felony offenses does not seem to have improved signficantly. Unfortunately, available studies of law enforcement and judicial systems are so influenced by agencies' attitudes that one cannot draw firm conclusions concerning which points in the process most frequently select black people and which points most heavily penalize black people.

Cultural differences affect the rate of crimes reported. Official policies and personal prejudices tend to make the arrest process highly selective. The administrative discretion generally allowed prosecuting attorneys to select which

cases to prosecute and to determine the gravity of the charge on the grounds other than the facts of the case opens the whole process of prosecution to undue influences, economic, social, and political; it can be heavily influenced by the personal prejudices of the officials charged with that responsibility. In the judicial process itself, the wide discretion allowed the judges in interpreting law and fixing penalties also exposes the process to extraneous influences. The nature of prison discipline and the expectations of correctional officers are culturally weighed. The classification process, where it exists in the South, is based on views which have little theoretical support and have evolved in large part from the experiences of correctional administrators who are more concerned with the maintenance of good order than with the needs or the potential of the inmate. Parole procedures, while they vary from state to state, generally require that the inmate provide a residence and employment through his own efforts or the efforts of interested friends and are thus weighed against the poor and the black. The almost absolute discretion granted to parole boards is another point in the process which is opened to influence by personal prejudices, political pressures, and irrelevant cultural values. The discretion authority invested in the supervising parole or probation officer tends to be almost absolute since review of their decisions, where it occurs at all, is almost always after the parollee or probationer has been returned to the

institution. Thus, hearings on parole revocation tend to reflect an assumption of the alleged violator's guilt, and the hearing tends to revolve around the question not of whether the offender should have been returned to the prison, but whether or not he should be re-released.

All this is simply to indicate that the problem of disparity in length of sentence and in length of time served on sentences is influenced by so many independent agencies and subjective decisions that it can be solved only by a radical restructuring of all the processes involved in the administration of criminal justice. Attempts to piece-meal reform, while they can provide some relief in individual cases and some closing of gaps in the decision-making processes, cannot move the system materially closer to the implementation of those ideas of justice which are professed to govern the operation of the structures involved.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

COOPERATIVES AND POOR PEOPLE IN THE SOUTH

by
Al Ulmer

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INTRODUCTION

Probably no other more hopeful, more creative effort to remedy basic inequities in the South has ever been undertaken by the people who are victims of those inequities than the cooperative movement described in this report. But there is danger in putting too much hope, or hope of the wrong kind, in this movement. Al Ulmer's presentation of the facts and his warmly sympathetic but realistically balanced assessments make this clear. It is not that in their present weak beginnings the cooperatives are capable of solving the crushing and crucial problems of poverty in the South -- only that they offer a model and a base for not only solving these problems, but contributing to the building of a humane and rational social order in the process. It is not the structures that these people have so far built that are hopeful, but the tough will of men and women against great obstacles to control, to improve the conditions of their lives.

The great need for further development of the cooperatives is obvious, and the need for greatly increased commitment of national resources to the problems of southern rural poverty is implicit in this report. But most of all, there is suggested the need for understanding the strengths and weaknesses of the co-ops, particularly if they are to be considered as the nucleus of a comprehensive attack on rural southern poverty. It is important that there be nurtured in their future growth

or the expansion of their basic idea the impetus which has guided them, toward not only improvement of economic situations, but enhancement of the human spirit.

Mr. Ulmer has been intimately involved in the development of the cooperative movement he describes, first as Director of Community Organization for the Southern Regional Council, later as a consultant to various co-ops. He has participated in the origins and development of the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association (SWAFCA) and the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, for example. He is author of a Southern Regional Council report, Cooperatives, Credit Unions, and Poor People, March, 1966, the first comprehensive description of the beginnings of the movement. The present report continues the story, and assesses developments in the cooperative movement during the two intervening years.

The two reports are a living history of a little known development among some southern people, one of the most positive, hopeful, and, if America is to continue to have the hopeful, positive meaning it has sought in the past, surely one of the most important things happening in America today.

COOPERATIVES AND POOR PEOPLE IN THE SOUTH

There are, at least, forty poor people's cooperatives in the South, fifteen or sixteen of which might be termed, because of size and strength, significant efforts. These co-ops are all in the rural areas of the South. They affect perhaps 15,000 persons, almost all of whom are black. As yet, few of the co-ops have reached the poorest of the poor, the people without land, jobs, or adequate food.

In this report, nine of the cooperative efforts are examined to see to what extent they have helped poor people meet their basic needs -- needs going unmet in today's rural South. The problems of co-ops are also discussed, those resulting from actions outside the co-ops, and those caused by events within the organizations. An estimate is made of what it will take to overcome these problems and to establish a number of strong cooperatives. Finally, there are suggestions for what might be the results of a good co-op movement in the rural South.

Where Are Cooperatives Now?

Seven years ago, Father Albert McKnight, a black Catholic priest in Lafayette, Louisiana, frustrated in his attempts to start a statewide credit union, organized Southern Consumers Cooperative. Members of the Lafayette area Negro community,

both poor and middle-class, were urged to buy shares in the co-op. With the invested money, the co-op in 1964 opened a bakery and a loan company.

The same year, Jesse Morris, a SNCC organizer in Mississippi, and others established the Poor People's Corporation (PPC) as an investment cooperative. PPC made loans to worker-owned cooperatives producing handicraft items and toys.

Three farm cooperatives soon joined these initial efforts: West Batesville Farmers Association in Panola County, Mississippi; Mid-South Consumers Oil Co-op in Whiteville, Tennessee; and Grand Marie Vegetable Growers Association in Sunset, Louisiana. The Grenala Citizens Federal Credit Union in Hale County, Alabama, began operations about the same time. By 1968, there were thirty-eight poor people's co-ops and credit unions. They included farm marketing and farm machinery co-ops, buying clubs, sewing co-ops, handicraft production groups, self-help housing units, bakeries, candy making businesses, gas and oil retailers and wholesalers, grocery stores, and fish processing associations.

Needs for technical and management assistance, for help in marketing, planning, and bookkeeping for these co-ops were partially met in July, 1967, when the Ford Foundation gave $578,000 to Southern Consumers Education Foundation (an outgrowth of Southern Consumers Co-op) to fund the two-year Southern Cooperative Development Program (SCDP). Father

McKnight left Southern Consumers to direct the four-state (Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Southwest Tennessee) program.

Ideas for this program came from members of existing cooperatives and workers from several civil rights and human rights organizations. Out of the thinking that went into the proposal, the awareness of the need of all the newly founded co-ops to learn from one another's mistakes and successes, developed the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, a south-wide organization. The Federation, a co-op itself, is owned and directed by representatives of the various low-income co-ops. Charles Prejean has been director of the Federation since its inception in October, 1967. The Federation provides technical and management assistance to those states not covered by SCDP. The Federation also sees itself as an eventual wholesale supplier and group marketing outlet for its member co-ops. Several foundation grants and a recent grant of more than $500,000 from the Office of Economic Opportunity finance the Federation's work.

Any attempt to assess the cooperative movement among poor people of the rural South has to take into consideration how nearly the co-ops come to meeting basic needs of the people they have touched. Are they helping poor people to obtain (1) more money; (2) decent housing; (3) land for farms, industry, and recreation; (4) adequate food; (5) education or the chance for self-development; (6) political and economic

power; (7) adequate circumstances to keep young people from leaving the rural area; (8) strong, organized communities; (9) a measure of security in terms of such things as insurance against bad health, unemployment, and death?*
A look at several of the co-ops indicates what they have been able to do in the few years of their existence.

The Grand Marie Vegetable Growers Association

The Grand Marie Vegetable Growers Association in Sunset, Louisiana, has packed and marketed sweet potatoes grown by some three hundred members (predominantly Negro), adding an average $300 to $1,000 or $1,500 gross annual income. The co-op has introduced a fall crop of greens and an early spring crop of cabbage, pepper, and okra, making farming almost a year-round, income-producing operation. It has created new political pressures and has helped members gain services due them from the Farmers Home Administration and the Cooperative Extension Service, some for the first time.

Grand Marie started out owing the Farmers Home Administration $68,000, borrowed to buy processing and storage sheds and machinery. It has remained in debt. Poor accounting procedures, an unpaid bill of $7,000 for sweet potatoes, and severely limited operating capital restricting its

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*Most of these criteria were included in a 1941 report by the National Resources Board called, "After Defense -- What?" The answer during the years since 1941 has been very little meeting of these needs of the rural, largely landless, poor.

ability to pay cash on delivery for its members' sweet potatoes, have hampered the co-op's growth. (This problem was partially solved recently by a $50,000 no-interest loan the co-op received from an individual.) In addition, FHA saw fit to fund a competing (almost entirely white) vegetable-marketing cooperative in the same county with a $98,000 loan.

Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association

Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association (SWAFCA) has provided technical and marketing services to Negro members in a ten-county, Black Belt Alabama area. It has operated under a $399,000 grant from the Demonstration Division of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The OEO grant was made despite the opposition of the entire Alabama congressional delegation and the veto of the governor. SWAFCA marketed more than a million pounds of cucumbers, beans, okra, and cotton in 1967 for 850 members. Co-op officials estimated that during 1968 it marketed 24,000,000 pounds of produce for 2,000 members.

The OEO grant included provisions for community services such as adult education, self-help housing, and day-care centers. But SWAFCA has been so occupied with day-to-day business that the community services have been slow in developing. SWAFCA has, however, created a renewed spirit among the poor people who are its members. It has joined together the leaders of more than a hundred small communities. One measure of its potential for creating pressures for more jobs and

better conditions of welfare and social life in the Black Belt has been the amount of opposition from proponents of the status quo it has continued to encounter during its brief lifetime.

For example, recently SWAFCA was served with an injunction by Dallas County Circuit Court Judge James A. Hare, enforcement of which would prevent SWAFCA from spending any federal funds and would halt all normal business proceedings of the co-op. SWAFCA officers, feeling the injunction was a deliberate move to harass and intimidate the co-op members, filed a counter suit against Governor Brewer, Judge Hare, and Selma Mayor Joe Smitherman. The SWAFCA complaint asks for a preliminary injunction and a permanent order against any future interference by Alabama state officials in the legal operation of the co-op.

If the "development" money from the Office of Economic Opportunity should disappear after only one or two years, SWAFCA probably could not continue in its present "inflated" state. Its membership might never recover from such a blow -- after having participated in a co-op born big and almost middle-aged. SWAFCA negotiated with FHA for an $852,000 loan to build packing sheds, buy trucks, and maintain operating capital. State and local FHA officials wanted as conditions of the loan to countersign all checks, attend all board meetings, and rule on who would represent the co-op in legal matters. SWAFCA's board of directors refused to accept the loan under such conditions. Perhaps in some place other than Alabama, these

provisions might have been helpful to a struggling, inexperienced co-op. But in Alabama, with its record of racism, the provisions meant disaster to the board members.

SWAFCA eventually accepted the loan after scoring an unprecedented victory over state FHA officialdom. The key was FHA's agreement to assign a loan officer directly from Washington to oversee the loan. The agreement by-passed state FHA director, Robert Bamberg, owner of a 4,000 acre farm and employer of black sharecroppers.

In the co-op's early days, a $25,000 foundation loan provided fertilizer and seed to SWAFCA members, enabling them to avoid costly advances of these necessities from large-scale vegetable processors under contracts obligating the farmers to resell their produce to the obliging processors, sometimes with interest or at far less than market prices. A co-op spokesman said SWAFCA could have sold $500,000 worth of fertilizer at its reduced prices if it had originally had the capital to buy that much. More than $300,000 of the FHA loan money is going for just that purpose.

The Poor People's Corporation

The Poor People's Corporation in Mississippi has been in operation longer than most of the cooperatives. It consists of twelve worker-owned cooperatives. Their 110 Negro employees (90 per cent of whom are women) produce handicraft items, toys, and novelties known as, "The Crafts of Freedom." The nineteen products include fine suede shoulder-bags in several models selling for around $20, beanbags, dolls popular with Head Start

programs, decorative candles, and jewelry. These goods have been marketed through Liberty House, a co-op owned by the smaller groups, which sells mainly through a national mail-order catalogue. More than one hundred wholesale accounts have been established and a growing network of non-profit retail stores has provided an expanding but still inadequate market. This inadequacy is a problem with which Liberty House continues to struggle.

The workers average about $20 a week, which is about twice the amount a domestic servant or a part-time farm hand can expect to earn in rural Mississippi. Jesse Morris, director of PPC, says, "There is no reason why Liberty House could not handle 200 producer co-ops providing jobs for 2,500 people." Lack of operating capital, primarily, has blocked this goal. Like their members, PPC and other cooperatives involving poor people are economic risks in the normal flow of capital, and therefore normal capital has not been interested in them. But the question remains: Who might be interested? For more than three years, the Poor People's Corporation has refuted appraisals that it is not feasible. As Paul Good remarked in his article on rural poverty in the South: "People interested in feasibility studies should take into consideration that the average poor black person's life in the rural South is <u>not feasible</u>."*

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*NEW SOUTH, winter, 1968, subsequently published in book form by G. P. Putnam as THE AMERICAN SERFS.

Mid-South Consumers Oil Cooperative

The Mid-South Consumers Oil Cooperative in Whiteville, Tennessee, serves an area which includes Hardeman City and Haywood and Fayette Counties. One of the "punishments" whites in this area meted out to Negroes in the early 1960's for desegregation efforts was the refusal to sell gasoline to men and women who registered to vote. Negroes hauled gasoline in fifty gallon drums from Memphis for almost a year until the sellers' boycott was lifted. But memories of the boycott lingered among the black farmers. A group of them decided to launch their own gasoline co-op.

Two years and much hard work later, Mid-South was chartered. It had received a $42,000 loan from FHA, and had raised $4,700 from the sale of stock (an initial goal of $10,000 was abandoned when it appeared unreachable). In the first year, the co-op served 160 farmers, delivering the gas to the farms. The co-op also sells to members and the general public from pumps at the bulk plant.

The co-op survived an initial "gas war" attempt by white service station owners to strangle its operations. Leaders appealed to members to remember why the local stations wanted them out of business and reminded them of the old boycott days. That was enough. The co-op actually sold more gasoline during the weeks of the "war" and planned to expand its operations to include lubrication and the sale of tires, batteries, and a variety of automobile accessories.

Here the success story begins to break down. Mid-South has had a period of slow sales built into its business, the period when farmers aren't running their tractors and trucks, which has hindered its growth seriously. It set about to fill the gap by selling seed, fertilizer, and equipment, and by marketing squash and okra, but the plan was not carried out very well. Beginning steps on a "feeder pig" program and a credit union have similarly faltered. Mid-South did $80,000 worth of business in 1967. The co-op's decision finally not to expand its operations from gas and oil to other services has left it owing $6,000 to its gas supplier and threatened to ruin what was once one of the best co-ops in the South. What happened?

A single, generalized answer is difficult. The co-op manager was seriously ill and away from the job for several months. No one had been trained to replace him and the board chairman, a man almost eighty years old, attempted to run the business. A conservative board of directors, without the manager to push them into expansion which would mean going deeper in debt, elected to sit tight. This is not an unusual reaction for the directors of a low-income co-op. Without an educational training program for a board made up of poor people, it very likely is the response to be expected.

Two years ago, the board was talking about the day when it would buy land and lease it to its members, perhaps own tractors and farm machinery for rent to small farmers, sell seed, market crops, maybe set up a small processing plant of

their own . . . then came trouble. The slow period was recognized by only a few members. When financial difficulties hit, it might be said, "the body killed the heart." The Southern Cooperative Development Program has been working with the board, and has advanced the capital the co-op badly needs. A new manager was hired in September, 1968, and the October audit indicated $3,000 a month losses had been turned into $2,500 a month profits. October, however, has always been a good month for the co-op.

Southern Consumers Cooperative

Southern Consumers Cooperative has an organizational structure other co-ops might well try to emulate. Essentially the co-op is a holding company, with its 1,700 members as the investors. With this capital accumulated (at the rate of approximately $3,000 per month in 1967) the holding company has invested in a bakery and leased a gasoline station. Southern Consumers owns a finance company, created to fill members' needs for low-interest credit and consumer counseling. The company has assets of $85,000. The Southern Consumers Education Foundation also grew out of the cooperative. In its non-profit, tax-exempt role, it has sponsored Head Start programs, run an OEO-funded program for the Grand Marie Vegetable Co-op, and used small foundation grants for adult education, consumer oriented programs, and day-care centers. In addition, the Foundation received a $578,000 Ford Foundation grant enabling it to sponsor the Southern Cooperative Develop-

ment Program.

Southern Consumers Bakery is in Lake Charles, Louisiana. Its main sales item is a mail-order fruit cake. Since this is obviously a seasonal item, the co-op, with assistance from the Negro Businessmen's League, has tried to develop others. Although local members have failed to support the bakery in the past, the addition of fresh donuts and pies offers some hope for future support.

The bakery has encountered stumbling blocks faced by many producer co-ops. Does the co-op make only what its members are immediately capable of producing without training? Or does it make the item best suited to its available market, and provide costly training for the members? From whom does it ask and take advice? The bakery selected the fruit cake with the assistance of market specialists and home economists. But the cake is seasonal, has a poor mark-up or cost analysis ratio, and is expensive to mail. An all-out effort was being made in mid-1968 to make the fruit cakes a paying proposition, including Southern Cooperative Development Program assistance in market development. There was some initial success, but should the effort fail, the co-op would probably either abandon the cake or limit its production.

Southern Consumers is large enough to be a political force in Southwest Louisiana. Candidates ask for its endorsement. On one occasion, it challenged the local Lafayette Parish OEO Community Action Program for failure to have adequate

representation of the poor on its board of directors. As a result, the program was shut down. Washington acquiesced to the local decision. The program remains defunct.

"Cut and Sew" Co-ops

Sewing co-ops are easily the most controversial of the low-income cooperative efforts attempted in the South. Controversy includes the sewing industry's being labeled a "sweat shop." It raises questions of subcontracting versus contracting. And it includes accusations that the small co-ops of poor women are doing work for a non-union wage of $1.60 an hour, thereby putting ghetto Puerto Rican women in New York City out of $2.40 per hour jobs. Also in question is which sewing businesses are true co-ops and which are not. Finally, there is criticism that the co-ops employ only women, when black men are the ones who need jobs.

"Cut and Sew" businesses have been organized in Crawfordville and Blue Ridge, Georgia, and Tuskegee, and Greensboro, Alabama. They employ approximately 170 persons, almost all women. The sewing co-op subcontracts from large clothing manufacturers for its members to sew a certain garment at a negotiated price. The manufacturer supplies the cloth, the design, the trimmings (such as buttons, zippers, tags, belts), and the packages and shipping boxes. The co-op customarily supplies only the thread and the labor -- and sometimes a share of the freight charges.

The subcontract has the advantage of requiring a limited investment in the co-op's beginning period; thus, the co-op can be organized in a short time. The co-op needs only building space, machinery (which can usually be rented or leased with option to buy) and a contract to sew. Disadvantages include the periodic need to secure new contracts as old ones run out (or are discontinued by the manufacturer), the need for expert appraisal of new contracts in the complex area of estimating in advance the labor costs required to fulfill each specific function of the production called for, and the hard facts of being at the mercy of the contractor who can terminate an agreement at any time (leaving the co-op without work) and of depending on him finally for acceptance of the finished product.

Crawfordville Enterprises in Taliaferro County, Georgia, began in 1965 as a small four-man, silk-screening operation with help from the Southern Rural Action Project (until recently the southern arm of the United Auto Workers-financed Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty). After several months, the silk-screen business failed. The enterprise was reorganized as a sewing subcontracting business, eventually employing fifty Negro women.

Strictly interpreted, Crawfordville is not a cooperative, although it is occasionally referred to as such. It is a community-owned, non-profit business. Until recently, its nine-man board of directors consisted of three "outsiders" (techical assistants), three community persons, and three workers. The chairman of the board was the plant manager. It is doubtful that the women employed at Crawfordville have had

much of a feeling of ownership. The business is not controlled necessarily by poor people but by interested persons from both in and out of the community. But Crawfordville has undergone a change in its organizational structure. Upon the insistence of OEO, the "outside" board members have been eliminated and the manager replaced. The business might be said to be "more democratically controlled" due to these changes, but the decision to make the changes could hardly be termed as coming from the people in the co-op.

The co-op pays the minimum wage ($1.60 an hour), but the employees have not yet reached the point where their production is equivalent to their full subsidized wage. The average worker has been producing about $10 or $11 worth of garments a day. An OEO grant has paid the manager and the production manager (a white woman from Mississippi, hired without appreciable participation of the cooperative employees). The machines have been mostly leased with option to buy. The co-op plans to move into a new cement block building constructed with donated money. A credit union was started in December, 1967, with assets in mid-1968 of $2,000. Another Enterprise effort, making mattress frames for bed springs, employs ten black men.

Appalachian Enterprises has employed fifty white women in Blue Ridge, Georgia. The women are all experienced sewers who formed the co-op while striking against a large garment business and refusing the offered settlement. After an initial period of organizational problems and trouble with

their machine supplier, the co-op appeared stable and viable. It didn't have the problem of Crawfordville or Greensboro -- that of training women inexperienced in sewing. The co-op's first contract ran out in February, 1968, however, and only in May did the women begin sewing again. At that time they were not drawing a salary because they were learning to sew dresses (something they had never done before) and were not up to production (sewing enough to pay their own daily wage).

The Green-Hale County Co-op in Greensboro, Alabama, is the most recently formed of the "Cut and Sew" groups. It began in early 1966. Forty women, badly in need of work (this can be said of just about every rural poor person in the South), organized the co-op. They borrowed $1,500 from a local bank to pay for their training ($500 a week, including machines). After four weeks' training, they sewed their first contract and sent it off. The person who had secured the contract for them approved the garments, and shipped them to the manufacturer. They were rejected. Another contract was secured. The work was an overflow from another sewing business that could not handle all of its workload. When the finished work from Greensboro was sent off, the manufacturer sent the pay to the business he had contracted with; Green-Hale never got its share of the money. In a demonstration of the determined spirit that desperation inspires, the co-op continued. The women stayed on for seven weeks without pay. They took another contract and in late 1968 were meeting production.

Tuskegee Mills, suffering from a combination of inadequately trained personnel and contract difficulties, went out of business in late 1967.

Credit Unions

Yet another kind of cooperative effort with yet another set of problems is the credit union. The Grenala Citizens Federal Credit Union is small as financial institutions go, with capital assets around $70,000, saved over a five-year period by black people in Hale County, Alabama, where the average yearly income for a Negro is $600. To understand the organization's problems, one must understand something of the great pressures exerted on rural southern Negroes since the early 1960's. Coinciding with increased mechanization of cotton production and shrinking allotments has been the white man's fear of and attempted repression of Negro voter registration increases. Negroes in Hale County County found their bank loans called in, their credit shut off at the grocery store, their jobs replaced by tractors. If landowners among them needed money to keep their farms, they had but one place to go in Hale County -- the Grenala Credit Union. (In most rural areas, there was not even this.) Grenala made loans enabling seven farmers to keep their farms. It loaned money to people to buy food, clothing, and transportation. It loaned money to some people who might not be able to repay. It loaned itself into trouble. When several

borrowers were unable to repay, Grenala fell below the percentages of cash reserves in proportion to assets that a federally-chartered credit union is required to maintain. Federal auditors gave Grenala two months in which to raise $2,000 or lose its federal charter. Grenala managed to retain its charter, but was able to make very few loans in the aftermath.

This episode points up a dilemma faced eventually by almost every low-income credit union. Should it refuse to make a loan to an extremely high-risk, but needy loan applicant when the person is in such circumstances due to forces beyond his control? If credit unions established by low-income people are truly to serve the needs of the poor, it appears they must make such loans.

Problems of Poor People's Co-ops

It is obvious that the cooperatives vary greatly in how they are attempting to meet their members' needs and in the degree to which they are succeeding. They all have problems. There are "outside" problems, the accumulative results of years of unheeded poverty in an oppressive political and economic system. There are "inside" problems, such as poor accounting procedures, bad management, conservative leadership, insufficient operating and development capital.

The Outside Problems.--These involve the basic question of how many of the needs of poor people, as outlined in the list of nine critical needs, are being met by the cooperatives.

Further, how many of these basic needs can or should be met by co-ops? And how many of the needs must be met by someone if co-ops are to have more than token success?

The co-op built about crop diversification and group buying and marketing has been the most successful of all the recent efforts. It has, however, with few exceptions, included only men who own their own land. The base upon which farm co-ops must build is small and getting smaller. Approximately 7,000 black farm owners in the United States netted an average of $2,500 or more from their farms in 1960. Another 3,000 farm owners made slightly less. Thirty-four thousand other owners and renters had enough off-farm work to give them an annual total income of over $2,500. These 44,000 owners and renters represent only 17 per cent of the Negro farm operators in the United States. The other 83 per cent earn less than $2,500. It is the group making more than $2,500 that farm co-ops can realistically expect to involve, under present conditions. And even these, the elite of the rural black poor, are in a desperate situation. They are old; more than one-third of non-whites owning rural land in the Southeast were over 64 in 1960. This group owned two-fifths of the land owned by non-whites. For all non-white landowners, the average amount of land owned is but 52 acres (as against 249 acres for whites). Fifth grade is about the median of educational achievement.

As for the remaining 83 per cent of black farm operators, they are without land, without money, and without much chance

of getting either under present governmental programs.

If the majority of black farmers still left in the rural areas cannot get land and money with which to develop the land, it is most uncertain what long-range success farm cooperatives can achieve.

If farm cooperatives are to have more than token success, it seems clear that the problem of land must be solved. Should co-ops try to solve the land problem? If so, how? One effort was underway in the summer of 1968 to start a land developing corporation in rural Alabama. The corporation planned to lease land to poor people or to cooperatives of poor people.

It is doubtful whether a private land-buying program can do more than prove the feasibility of poor people owning or leasing their own land. What is needed is land reform. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party at the Chicago Convention called for a program of land redistribution, citing New Deal programs as examples of what might be done today. From 1937 to 1941, the federal government spent $200 million in resettlement programs affecting 35,415 families. A portion of MFDP's suggested plank called for ". . . outright grants of land to poor people. The government should also sell acreage to low and moderate income people at a nominal fee and should offer low-interest, long term loans. Land should be made available from federal and state-owned acreage and from private land now being subsidized to lie unusued which may be taken under the power of eminent domain . . . ." Unless <u>someone</u> can provide

land, farm co-ops are incapable of reaching the very poor. There will remain only small, often conservative, struggling co-op businesses with limited futures.

On the other hand, what if land were made available to poor people along with technical assistance in growing cooperatively marketed crops, a share in a feeder pig or calf program on co-op owned land, part ownership in recreation facilities, day-care centers, adult education programs, etc., built with co-op and government funds (i.e., the transformation of rural farm co-ops into rural cooperative service centers); part ownership in an industrial enterprise or a processing plant? Would such a program possibly offer solutions to some of the needs of the rural poor? It would cost a great amount of money. How much is impossible to estimate accurately until it is tried. Ten thousand dollars per family might begin such an operation.

The outside problems weigh as heavily on non-farm cooperatives and credit unions. Seventy-five per cent of rural black young men drop out of their inadequate schools; a majority of adult rural blacks have not finished fifth grade; 90 per cent of Negro farm houses have no indoor toilet or running water; malnutrition and its effects have crippled the potential of thousands of poor people and, of course, whites own the land, control credit and employment opportunities, and administer justice.

Many of the co-ops presently in existence cannot be expected to continue to withstand these tremendous problems

-- over which they have no control. They began with very little money, small numbers of people, and limited objectives. Limited objectives may prove the most debilitating factor of all, tending to keep the co-ops poor and small. If a co-op can achieve enough size, strength, and allied support, it can take on the system, the complex of outside problems, at least locally. Both SWAFCA and Southern Consumers have been able to push out a little space for themselves in which to grow.

The necessity for expansion and for forming strong federations and regional confederations cannot be overemphasized. Neither can the danger of centralization and the resultant loss in membership loyalty inherent in big impersonal organizations. A cooperative's strength is built upon twin bases, the degree of ownership, and, therefore, the loyalty its members feel, and the quality of service it can provide. For example, fertilizer is a highly competitive commodity; the only way to save farmers' money is to buy it in very large volume. Even then a co-op's price on certain grades of fertilizer might run very close to (perhaps even higher than) local suppliers', especially if the suppliers are out to ruin the co-ops anyway. Unless the individual members of the large co-op have been involved in making the decision to buy the fertilizer as owners of the co-op, the cooperative is in the position of being just another business competing for the farmer's money.

Not only must the co-op member be involved in such a decision, but he must also understand that his savings through

cooperative purchasing come in the form of quarterly or semi-annual distribution of the co-op's profits. Such distributions (called patronage refunds) are made to member-owners on the basis of how much they used the services of the co-op. Since most of the cooperatives are paying back loans, the patronage refunds are paid as shares of stock in the business rather than as cash dividends, the cash going to pay the loans. It is difficult enough to get each member of a small group to understand all of this, even with weekly or monthly meetings. When co-ops get so large and centralized and attempt to do it at annual meetings, chaos is the result.

Decentralization means decisions will be arrived at more slowly. It also means lengthy and numerous discussions of policies and, probably in the beginning, concentration on easily understood unimportant items at the expense of the more important, more complex matters. Initially, decentralization will be expensive; without it, however, co-op members will once again be customers and clients -- not owners.

The Inside Problems.--Co-ops lack money, long-term development capital, and short-term operating funds. An assessment of how much money they need depends on how many of the needs of poor people cooperatives can be expected to meet. The small, stagnant cooperatives need money to help them expand. The already sizable co-ops must have money for at least five years (mostly loan capital) to allow them to grow more and at the same time keep close contact with their members.

Money creates a problem even when present in adequate amounts. It has a tendency, when given as direct subsidy as in SWAFCA's case, to damage the feeling of ownership among the members. This is especially true when a large staff is hired from outside the area at big salaries "to develop" the co-op. As much of the co-op's money as possible needs to come from the members. Co-ops that have forced their members to invest until it hurts generally have members who realize they own the co-op.

Most co-ops lack good managers. Small co-ops usually cannot pay any salary the first two or three years. At present, almost every co-op in the four states in which the SCDP works receives a management subsidy. It is impossible for small (100 members or less) co-ops ever to think about paying their own manager. If one is hired on subsidy, he must expand the co-op to the point where in the reasonably near future the co-op can pay his salary. Local middle-aged poor people with very limited educations cannot usually be trained in six months or a year to be competent managers. Most co-ops have conservative leadership. Several co-ops have men with vision and the ability to set forth expansion plans and carry them out. But in most cases, the managers must force the boards to take the necessary risks to achieve expansion, to incur the debts, and to operate on other than personal financial management lines. This is not a surprising problem. Rural poor people are basically conservative in economics and often middle-class in values. These are middle-aged and

older people, many of whom have worked extremely hard for what little they have and are afraid of losing it. They have no experience in large-scale finance or in making decisions that will affect large numbers of people. SCDP and the Federation are carrying on training programs with the various boards of directors in an attempt to re-orient them to see their communities and their co-ops in realistic new terms. The large majority of board members do not yet understand the potential of co-ops as agents of economic and social change. Many do not yet understand what a co-op is or might possibly be if given the right leadership.

Another internal problem is lack of membership support. Generally, this is caused by the members not understanding that the co-op belongs to them. Poor public relations, a proprietary attitude on the part of many boards, and the failure of most co-ops to see themselves and to work as community organizations, are all responsible. Membership campaigns, radio broadcasts, posters in the community, and better trained boards can be applied to the first two aspects of the problem. The failure of members to understand the community-strengthening aspects of a co-op, regardless of whether every person in the community has bought a share or not, often gives the impression that it is just another business venture of benefit only to its owners.

At times it appears the present co-op efforts have become so wedded to the idea of co-ops as businesses for economic gain of their members that they have ignored their

community responsibilities, a shortcoming which has made many of the large midwestern and northern co-ops, organized during the 30's, little more than economically successful defenders of the status quo.

Farm co-ops need to rent land for landless poor farmers, paying for it out of their patronage refunds, if necessary. This might be an excellent way to use subsidy money to help a near-dormant co-op expand. Consumer co-ops and credit unions could sponsor day-care centers, renovate run-down houses, give scholarships, sponsor athletic events, or initiate any number of other community projects.

What Might a Strong Co-op Movement Do?

For people who must keep hoping, there is always the danger of thinking of the present co-op efforts in ways similar to W. O. Brown's description of the thinking of southern liberals in 1933, regarding race relations: "Every skirmish won appears to us a major victory. We are always in danger of becoming silly romanticists, mistaking gestures for action, our programs for achievements, our dreams for realities . . . We believe because faith and hope compel, not because of the facts . . . ."

The facts of the rural South, and especially the black rural Southerner, reveal a desperate poverty. The facts of the cooperatives owned by poor people reflect this desperation, with several exceptions, in struggling, under-financed efforts.

Realistic hopes for rural co-ops are linked inescapably

with the hope for reconstruction of the rural South. Co-ops, at present, are holding actions or "demonstration" programs. They are making it possible for a few people to stay in the rural South who otherwise would have no alternative but to starve or migrate. And, to a limited degree, they are proof to the 70 per cent of Americans living in two per cent of the land area of the United States that people can also live out in the country.

There are several misconceptions that existing cooperatives might help dispel about the rural United States. They can show that rural life is not necessarily dawn-to-dusk, back-breaking farm life, but can involve small industries, new rural communities, mechanized farming. William Crook says it well in a recent article ("Needed: A New Homestead Act") in the Saturday Review:

> Most of history's recorded failures at rural relocation of population have one thing in common: They have consistently confused rural with agricultural, decentralization of population with country life, and non-urban employment with farming.

Co-ops of poor people require subsidy in order to continue and to expand to include the very poor. As businesses, co-ops can go a considerable way toward meeting many of their own needs out of their profits. In time, some co-ops might even prove to be self-sufficient. But if co-ops are to serve as community-owned tools through which flow power and influence, subsidy is needed. The subsidy might come in the form of long-term low-interest loans similar to the two per cent money the

Rural Electric Cooperatives receive from the federal government, or in direct payments such as the six billion dollars a year private industry receives from Washington. (Agricultural subsidies alone last year amounted to four billion dollars.) Subsidized cooperatives need to be large and as inclusive as possible in their membership. They would be democratically controlled organizations chartered to undertake a variety of business operations while charged with community responsibility -- something subsidized private enterprise avoids religiously unless given cost-plus contracts (Job Corps camps) or 12 to 14 per cent profit guarantees (slum renewal).

Such co-ops, large and decently financed, could compete in the very areas where much of the federal action is -- federal contracts and subsidy. Large and controlling cooperatives could compete with Senator Eastland for his $157,000 subsidy for not growing cotton last year. They could run their own adult education and Head Start programs, be paid in the off-season to beautify highways and small towns like "Operation Green Thumb" in Arkansas two years ago. Co-ops could run Job Corps camps surely as proficiently as Litton Industries. Co-op members could receive payment for sharing their homes during the summer with city slum children. Co-op industries and processing plants could be given preference on certain types of government contracts. Tax incentives could be offered to low-income co-op industries. And, if and when reform programs like the guaranteed annual income become realities, cooperatives could help protect the consumer

rights of their members from what will likely be increased exploitative efforts. If some type of land redistribution program should come into effect, co-op organizations could insure against the repeat of another Homestead fiasco by offering technical assistance, jobs, and credit, and by securing first option rights on their members' land so that if a member were forced to sell the land, it would not slip away from the community.

The results of a good co-op movement could mean a degree of control over their own lives for people who have no control at present.

SUMMARY

There are approximately 40 cooperatives owned by poor people in the South. Fifteen of these are large enough and long-established enough to be called significant efforts. Between 10,000 and 15,000 people are being affected by the cooperatives. Almost all are black people over 45 years of age. All but a few co-ops are in the rural South. None are in large urban centers. Only two co-ops have over 1,000 members (SWAFCA and Southern Consumers), most having between 50 and 300.

Because of the difficulty of judging the success or failure of co-ops, a list was made of rural poor people's needs against which to judge the current cooperative efforts at meeting them. The list includes:

More money, decent housing, land for farms, adequate food, education, power, attracting youth to the rural areas, strong communities, and a measure of security from unemployment, poor health, and a pauper's death.

A detailed description of nine different cooperatives was given to allow the reader a chance to judge the cooperatives for himself. An examination of the basic problems confronting cooperatives, both from inside and outside the co-ops followed. This examination raised the important question of whether co-ops dealing with but one or two of the many problems facing rural people would not be crushed

by the weight of the remaining problems. The example of a small farm co-op was given. Operating on a shrinking base of land-owning farmers, the farm co-ops prospects for long-term success appear extremely limited. The necessity for some form of land redistribution was given as a condition if the farm co-ops were ever to reach the poorest poor. The overwhelming problems of housing, illiteracy, lack of employment, racism, etc., suggest that unless co-ops can be large enough and sufficiently strong to take on the immediate oppressive situations they are in on a community-wide basis, cooperative business will continue to be small, poorly understood, poorly supported, conservative efforts.

The existing cooperatives were seen to represent possibly the only people-run community organizations tackling the economic problems of the rural black poor. With one or two exceptions they are holding actions, little understood by the persons who own them, and turned to primarily because of the desperate situations in which their members find themselves -- searching for some way to remain alive in the rural South.

Strengthened and expanded, subsidized on a long-term basis, co-ops can make an economic impact on the lives of the rural poor. Moreover, properly decentralized to insure democratic control, they would stand ready as channels for a greatly needed rehabilitation effort in the rural South. They could also influence whether or not such an effort is made.

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SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

IN MEMPHIS: ONE YEAR LATER

by

Pat Watters

with

J. Edwin Stanfield

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J. Edwin Stanfield

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Relations

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J. Edwin Stanfield is currently working in Austin, Texas, assisting in the formation of the Southwest Intergroup Relations Council. In March and April, 1968, Mr. Stanfield wrote IN MEMPHIS: MORE THAN A GARBAGE STRIKE, and two supplements to that report.

Pat Watters, Director of Information of the Southern Regional Council, is currently on leave of absence as the recipient of a Rockefeller Foundation grant to enable him to devote a year to writing.

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IN MEMPHIS: ONE YEAR LATER

A year had passed since the bitter sanitation strike, the supporting demonstrations and mass meetings and boycott by an aroused Negro community, the outbreak of violence by a few Negroes and many policemen, and mobilization of the National Guard. A year had passed since the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King in Memphis set cities to burning across the nation. A year had passed since that sequence of events which one white Memphian euphemized as "the trouble in the spring." In late March, 1969, Pat Watters and I revisited Memphis to discover how the city had changed, if it had changed.

"The trouble in the spring" did set some whites to thinking in Memphis -- relatively few, perhaps, but some. Four or five whites who were the only ones in attendance at a mass meeting during the sanitation strike were astonished at what they heard. "If it took all this to get us to listen . . . ," they said.

We talked to one young businessman who admitted that he, like most affluent whites in Memphis, had been a victim of the defensiveness and dishonesty of institutions like the educational system and the news media. He remarked, bemused, how strange it had been that someone like himself had known so little about Dr. King before he came to Memphis, had regarded him as an evil, only to learn that what he taught expressed mankind's highest aspirations and deepest convictions. He tended to blame the national press for the distortion. But a year ago, shortly before the assassination, someone aroused his latent curiosity by asking if he had considered the alternative to Dr. King's philosophy and tactics. The real choice, he said, has come to be seen as between revolutionary militancy or orderly change. "People thought they could perpetuate the past despite both Dr. King and Stokely Carmichael. Finally they saw that what was on the ballot was a choice between what Stokely and what

Dr. King stood for. They saw they could change and help set the terms for it rather than abdicate to militants." He summed up what the changing attitudes of business leadership seemed most nearly to mean: "That the community is finally convinced that perpetuation of the past is no longer on the ballot."

Having taken pains to see that black representatives on an important civic committee were chosen by genuine black leaders, the young businessman had the sensitivity to wonder if he had done too good a job: "We've lost some of the pressure to get the job done by starting right. The white community no longer needs bailing out." Many other comments indicated the depth of his conversion and his understanding. "Somehow we have to bring the Chamber of Commerce crowd together with black people," he said. "Otherwise no laws will get the jobs, the housing."

Pat Watters' report tells about the not-inconsiderable effort of Memphis' business community to encourage black capitalism and employment. A "Freedom Shopping Center" is being constructed. A black-managed industrial park is planned. Officials speak of making Memphis the center of black franchising. There is a "Black Talent Search" program. The report tells about the creation of fifty or sixty "mini-parks" on vacant lots. It tells also of the strengthening of the labor movement, particularly among county and municipal employees. And it describes some of the undesirable reactions and side effects, as well as the continuing high unemployment and low, non-union wage scales.

Perhaps both the best and the worst that can be said of Memphis, one year after "the trouble in the spring," is that Memphis is very like other cities of America -- not really worse and not really better.

That may be comforting to image-conscious Memphians. Some say that what made the most lasting impression on Memphis during "the trouble in the spring" was Time magazine's reference to it as "a decadent river

town." That observation reminded me of the white Memphian who said, after Dr. King's murder, that his neighbors and associates were "not sorry it happened -- just sorry it happened here." Memphis' business leaders have set out to show that this city is as good a place to live and work as any other.

What is unsettling about that is that they will succeed. It is not unappreciative of an effort to let black people have a piece of the action to express disappointment that it is the same old action -- just carried on a little more cleverly. I suppose it was unreasonable and unfair to hope that there might have been a quantum leap in the quality of community in Memphis as a result of having had so costly a sacrifice laid, more or less accidentally, on that city's altar. Still, there is something disquieting about the eagerness with which Memphis is embracing the "black entrepreneurship" fad. One wonders if development of an Afro-American sub-culture is only an updating of the Negro sub-culture -- a doctrine of separate-still-but-really-this-time-more-nearly-equal.

This is not an indictment of Memphis. I am just saddened by that city because I have juxtaposed comments by two Memphians, one black and one white: "Memphis is more than Memphis . . ." said the black man. "The real problem is not buying the house, but living in it," said the white man.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

An official of the Memphis Chamber of Commerce told excitedly of a new black-owned industry in Memphis. "You ought to visit Powell Communion," he said. "It's a fascinating operation. This Negro mathematics teacher by the name of Powell was sitting in church one Sunday, and they were having communion. He got to thinking about all the fuss and bother of washing and filling those little cups, cutting the bread, and collecting and cleaning the equipment afterward. He got the idea of

manufacturing a disposable communion service. So he talked to an engineer and worked out a completely automatic system of production. They're in business now, and have more demand than they can meet. Machinery fills a disposable communion cup with the grape juice, caps it, places a wafer on top, wraps the whole unit in a plastic wrapper, and seals it. It is especially helpful to military chaplains, but they have had inquiries and orders from all over. It's called Powell Communion, Inc. You really ought to visit the plant."

We did not visit Powell Communion. The description was enough. The symbolism of the sacrament may be far more accurate than is intended when a chaplain unwraps a little throw-away container of wine with a precision-cut wafer on top, all of it untouched by human hands, poured and broken in exact measure from the common source far, far away in Memphis, Tennessee, and offers the aseptic portions to a soldier or sailor, intoning the ancient words of institution: "The Lord Jesus on the night when He was betrayed took bread, and when He had given thanks, He broke it, and said, 'This is My body which is broken for you. Do this in remembrance of Me.'"

-- J. Edwin Stanfield

VOICES OF THE PAST AND PRESENT

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., made his last speech, the night before he was slain, to a mass meeting of 2,000 people in the Mason Temple Church of God in Christ, in Memphis, Tennessee:

> Well, I don't know what will happen now. We've got some difficult days ahead. But it really doesn't matter with me now. Because I've been to the mountaintop. I won't mind.
>
> Like anybody, I would like to live a long life. Longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about that now. I just want to do God's Will.
>
> And He's allowed me to go up to the mountain. And I've looked over, and I've seen the Promised Land.
>
> I may not get there with you, but I want you to know tonight that we as a people will get to the Promised Land.

At a "Memphis Cares" meeting three days after the murder, black and white citizens signed a pledge containing these words:

> Our goal is a city in which a man's honest and openly expressed opinion can be respected, without fear of punishment or retaliation, and differences resolved in the understanding that we are all human.
>
> We therefore solemnly, in the presence of God and one another, pledge ourselves -- our time, our effort, our resources -- and if need be, our lives themselves -- to the building of a city where people can trust one another, respect one another, and respond to the needs of one another.

These were words one found in that time of despair that spoke man's greatness, the ability ever to reach beyond calamity, to seek a future better than the horror of the present, building back from the ruin, seeking correction of the mistakes of the past.

In Memphis one year later, there were words spoken that summed up much of what had been done, what had come of that small precious spark of hope for the future that flickered in the city at the time of the greatest tragedy it will ever see . . . "Building of a city . . ." "The Promised Land . . ."

From a militant, caring black leader, the Rev. James Lawson:

"While there are some signs of hope, Memphis is still a racist town."

From a young white businessman to whom the events of the sanitation strike and the shock of Dr. King's murder brought a new concern for the problems of race and poverty in his hometown, John T. Fisher: "The main thing Memphis has done is to change. The pot got stirred. We can't say yet whether it has been entirely beneficial -- except that the process of change itself is beneficial . . . The real job is to bring the Chamber of Commerce and black folks together if we are to solve such problems as housing and jobs -- the laws notwithstanding. It was always possible for a white man to front for a black one and buy the black man a house in a white neighborhood. The problem was for him to be able to live in it."

And from an articulate and integrious labor leader, Jesse Epps, international representative of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO): "Memphis stands almost in the same tracks it did a year ago . . . If Martin Luther King's death achieved anything, it is that the spirit of freedom and full participation in American life have become alive in many minds where it was not before -- because of Memphis -- alive in the hearts of poor whites as well as black people. We can from here reamplify his cause. Nonviolence over the nation has become almost a dirty word. But it was the approach that brought the Roman Empire to its knees. Integration. We have let the power structure define what it means and then people rightfully say that is no good. We must reject the wrong definition, and know that real integration is the only solution for the nation. Lincoln was correct in saying that the nation can't live as two nations."

These were voices a year later speaking what the general meaning for Memphis had been for the infamous murder that occurred there. In these general terms, and in the specifics of what has happened since then to Memphis, even as in the events that led up to the murder of Dr. King,

Memphis does not stand alone, isolate or atypical. Now as then, Memphis mirrors America, the city not yet come but showing signs of striving to be a place of trust, respect, response for people, the America Dr. King loved not yet become the Promised Land.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR

On March 22, 1968, the Southern Regional Council published a special report on a little-known strike of black sanitation workers in Memphis, detailing the recalcitrance even to negotiate with the strikers of the administration of this small city hitherto noted for better-than-average southern race relations. The first supplement, published on April 3, told of continued recalcitrance with white racism, and of a march led by Dr. King which erupted into minor violence by some black teenagers and fierce response by police resulting in the death of one black youth and injuries to sixty people, mostly black. This report, issued the day before the assassination of Dr. King, warned of a sense of impending tragedy and urged that the city should deal honorably and fairly with the strikers -- all that was necessary to end the crisis and tension built up there. Such warnings went unheeded in Memphis, and the third report, issued on April 28, described the terrible tragedy of the assassination. These reports, written by J. Edwin Stanfield of the Southern Regional Council staff, in the immediacy and inevitability of those tragic days in Memphis, unfolded a story of much symbolic truth about the South and the nation, as well as of one of history's most crucial, cruel turning points.

Part of the tragedy that came to Memphis in 1968 had involved that frightening inability of America to perceive the kind of quietly important social and human struggles summed up in the sanitation workers' strike, with its demand for dignity as well as decent wages and working conditions, its serving notice on southern cities like Memphis that the

era of plantation-paternalism in relations of governments and power structures with black people and poor people was ended. Such an important movement going on in Memphis attracted little attention from the press or public. It took violence, the out-of-control actions of police against nonviolent demonstrators, the window-breaking and minor vandalism that broke loose when Dr. King led his first march there, the over-reaction of police, to attract the nation's attention, a part of what can only be called a national morbid fascination with violence.

Southern towns and cities in their times of racial crisis are capable of building an atmosphere of icy, murderous violence-proneness so that to walk their streets, move among their conventionally-dressed, ordinary people is to feel shiveringly a sort of gestalt of hostile danger, as though the city had come to embody all the irrational, morbid, smouldering will to violence in all America, as though it were compelled to act out for the nation rituals of violence and death. You can smell the danger in such a town. So it has been in hundreds of them at times of Negro demonstrations; so it was, as people described it, in Dallas before John Kennedy was killed; so it was in Memphis. The Southern Regional Council's second report was sensitive to this mood, warned of nameless danger, urged settlement of the strike. Men like Baxton Bryant, director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, worked frantically to settle the strike, goaded by the sense of impending disaster.

And then when the disaster came, the worst kind of disaster for America and the world, the nation felt a collective cathartic grief and expiation and, once more, turned its attention from events in Memphis. For the feel of murderousness, of danger, had left the city. Life went on in Memphis.

The sanitation workers' strike, as noted in the last of the Southern Regional Council reports, was settled in the way obvious from

the beginning -- by mediation. This was achieved through the services of an undersecretary of labor with orders from the President to do in the aftermath of tragedy what might have been done to avoid it. The union won small pay increases, grievance procedures, a dues check-off system. And it won the simple symbol of dignity that the black men in it had sought all along, so small a thing, mere recognition in an official City Council resolution of the right of the union to negotiate with the city.

There followed from this victory a period of intensive organization of other city, county, and state employees, and a series of skirmishes and strugglings with a still-recalcitrant city government that incredibly were not resolved until nearly a year after the assassination, and did not seem likely to be over on the anniversary of the martyrdom of Dr. King. Jesse Epps described the process of organization of employees in the city Park Commission and Service and Inspection Department, city and county school board employees, and municipal, county, and state hospital workers. He said after the settlement of the sanitation workers' strike, employees in the other governmental departments were eager to join a union, seeking not only economic gains but, again, that sense of dignity and respect that had been the essence of the strike. White employees as well as Negroes had suffered from the same lack, Mr. Epps said, and pointed out that whites were among those converted to unionism by the strike results. The Service and Inspection Department, he said, is predominantly white, and these workers belong to the union, as do some white Parks Department and hospital workers. In all, he said, there are around 200 whites among 7,000 total members of the union, a high proportion of the white employees in the various departments. "A thing that made my heart leap with joy," Mr. Epps said of a recent meeting of the union, "was that white and black people took their seats as the seats were there, side

by side, not in separate groups." He said about 70 whites were in the crowd of 3,000 at the meeting.

The outcome of the strike increased the strength of the labor movement generally in Memphis, observers agreed, and it had been a city with a notoriously weak one even for the South. The strike also had the effect of inspiring unionization of governmental workers in other towns and cities in the South including, Mr. Epps pointed out, Jackson, Tennessee, Jackson, Mississippi, St. Petersburg, Florida, Little Rock and Fort Smith, Arkansas. "Memphis," Mr. Epps said, "has become the gate of the dam for the South." He said people from other southern plantation-mentality cities and towns in Mississippi, Arkansas, and the rest of Tennessee, had sent words of support to Mayor Henry Loeb in his recalcitrance in the sanitation workers' strike, not wanting to see the spirit of the strike spread across the South. But, he went on, "the message has gone out from Memphis that you don't have to be a servant; you can be an employee. It means the end of the plantation system in southern cities."

The old system, however, does not die easily. Negotiations, skirmishings continued all year to gain for the other departments "Memorandums of Understanding" like that which, in deference to white officials' unwillingness to sign an orthodox labor contract, was executed for the sanitation workers. These efforts came to crisis point in late September, 1968, when 1,200 hospital workers (mostly black) went out on strike over what amounted to a refusal again by the city to recognize the union and bargain with it. Occurring only a few months after Dr. King's death and attracting virtually no national attention and little expression of outrage that substantially the same issue which had brought him to Memphis had to be struggled over again, the strike continued until December. Once more there were marches, almost daily, and arrests, once more recalcitrance by the mayor, evasiveness of responsibility by

the City Council, in what always should have been a routine matter and after the tragedy a matter of more than routine morality. A citizens' group was finally formed to serve as intermediary between city officials and the union; at last in mid-December, a memorandum of understanding was adopted, granting the all-important union recognition, agreeing on pay and working condition improvements.

Then the whole process began all over again in the matter of negotiations by the Brotherhood of Electrical Employees (AFL-CIO) with the city's Light, Gas, and Water Board. As in the hospital strike and other negotiations of Mr. Epps' union, the agency involved contended that there was no city policy setting out whether a union should be recognized. Until the sanitation worker and hospital worker breakthrough, the mayor had contended that court precedent made it unlawful to grant such recognition. Throughout, City Council had held the position that it was the mayor's responsibility to approve raises and, in effect, set policy on union recognition. But faced with the threat of yet another strike by the electricians, City Council in early March of 1969 finally passed a resolution that it was the policy of the city to recognize unions, and reserved to itself approval of financial matters involving city departments. This was taken by Mr. Epps and other black leaders to mean at last that his union could negotiate across the board for all the different types of employees, and such negotiations were undertaken to improve pay and working conditions in 1970. The goal was a modest one: a minimum wage of $2.00 an hour. There were plans for a city ordinance which had as part of negotiations the likelihood of a no-strike requirement balanced by a requirement of compulsory and binding arbitration in disputes.

The City Council resolution was regarded as the real breakthrough that the sanitation workers strike agreement should have been. The Rev. James Lawson commented that it still wasn't clear that the City Council

had learned a lesson, though in the instance it was, finally, going against the wishes of the mayor. But even as union and black leaders congratulated themselves over at last having a fighting chance, the city showed how endlessly it would continue to fight. Some two weeks after the Council resolution there came an announcement from the mayor's office of a wage increase for nurses at the hospitals, violating what Mr. Epps termed the resolution's agreement to negotiate such increases with the union. There were threats once more of a strike.

During the hospital strike, black leaders had agreed on a nine-point "Soul Force" program of objectives. Only two had been accomplished as the anniversary of Dr. King's slaying approached: ending of the strike with the workers' needs satisfied, and establishment by the city of the right of public employees to organize and bargain collectively. The other objectives, all obtainable and in the better interests of all the citizens of Memphis, were:

> Repeal of a "garbage tax," fees imposed to offset cost of strike gains.
>
> Jobs for Negroes in the all-white Light, Gas, and Water Department.
>
> Better education, including incentive pay for teachers, at least two black assistant superintendents, appointment of black people to the next two vacancies on the board of education, study by experts of how schools might achieve better quality, better financing and integration, a massive classroom-building and teacher-recruitment program to end overcrowding, improved curriculum, including teaching of black history.
>
> City spending of at least $300,000 annually to obtain federal matching funds for the war on poverty.
>
> Re-examination of housing and zoning codes with the aim of eliminating slums and achieving racial stabilization of neighborhoods.
>
> "Solve the legitimate grievances of black people in regard to the role of police in the city."
>
> "Ask the City Council to provide real leadership toward these ends."

These modest enough proposals have been the subject of discussion

between some members of City Council and the black leaders, the mere act of meeting together considered salubrious. But the early conversations, as summed up by one of the black leaders, the Rev. Ralph Jackson, amounted to little more than councilmen explaining why they didn't think one or the other objectives could be achieved. Dr. Jackson, who became locally famous during the sanitation strike for his accounts of instant conversion to militancy when he was sprayed with mace by police, said he did think some white leaders at last realized Negroes were not just looking for an excuse for strikes and confrontations. But, he said sadly of the general situation during the year after Dr. King's murder, "I can't see how we are to avoid another confrontation."

So with the cause that brought Martin Luther King, Jr., to meet his death in Memphis, never fully appreciated outside Memphis, hailed for a brief time of the press hysteria that accompanied Dr. King on his pilgrimages, and in the mourning of his death, and then ignored once more. And so with other related events in the year since the assassination.

There had been the intensive organization of Memphis black people to participate in the Poor People's March to Washington in the spring, the city and nearby Marks, Mississippi, providing eleven busloads of demonstrators. There had been the Southern Christian Leadership annual meeting August 14-16 in the city. There had been a rent strike started by a group of about 40 tenants in one small area of sub-standard homes, with seven families finally withholding their rent from May until settlement in November. A suit was filed by the landlord who owned all the property involved to evict one of the tenants, and a countersuit demanding that the rent money, held in escrow, be used to bring the housing up to city code standards. An out-of-court agreement was reached that the tenant could stay, and that the money would not go to the landlord until he made needed improvements. But as often happens in such

efforts, there were attempts after repairs were made to raise rents.

All of these things were happening, small, pitifully inadequate to the great human needs in Memphis, just as in other southern towns and cities black and white people struggled for new adjustments. But the nation has not comprehended such things. The only thing in Memphis that attracted attention during the year was the ominous after-image of the obscenity of the violence that occurred there, the maneuverings and legal steps involved in the bringing to trial of James Earl Ray, a white petty criminal from Illinois, accused of the murder. In its early manifestations, there seemed all likelihood that even by low standards of southern justice the trial itself would be an obscenity -- every vestige of dignity and respect for the martyred dead destroyed in one of those displays of cynical contempt for law the American legal profession is capable of at its worst. (And no judge, however sincere and respectful of law as Judge W. Preston Battle of Memphis seemed to be, can fully prevent such disgraces, such defeat of the meaning of law.) Ray's Alabama lawyer had been noted for representing the Ku Klux Klan in the past; William Bradford Huie published several pre-trial articles based on information apparently to be used by the defense.

But as it turned out, the enigmatic defendant dismissed his first lawyer and with two trial delays resulting hired a rough-hewn Texan, Percy Foreman, who on March 10, less than a month from the anniversary of the murder, entered the surprise guilty plea in an announced "deal" whereby Ray was sentenced to 99 years in prison. With both prosecuting and defense attorneys and the U. S. Department of Justice and the judge in the case himself citing lack of evidence of conspiracy, the routine and rapid handling of the court procedure lacked any answers to the many unexplained questions that had been raised in the mind of the nation regarding Ray's ability alone to accomplish such a crime and then escape the country. Only Ray, enigmatic and contrary, had in his courtroom

outburst expressed doubt that there was no conspiracy. He was later to seek to reverse his plea, this time employing as lawyer J. B. Stoner, one of the most rabid anti-Semitic, anti-Negro racists the South has ever produced. The proceedings failed, too, that function of justice most valuable to a society -- catharsis and expiation. And it was otherwise flawed. Something of the sensitivity, the respect for the dead and for sacred meaning of life attendant on these proceedings was suggested in accounts of a remark considered cannily witty when made by Mr. Foreman on seeing a sheet-covered model of the Lorraine Motel where Dr. King met his death, a courtroom display prepared by the prosecution. Said he, to appreciative snickers: "It looks like the Last Supper."

(The Lorraine, a neat, unpretentious motel in the downtown of Memphis, has become both a sight-seeing curiosity and shrine, understandably. In the neon-lit atmosphere of a Memphis night, with all the emotional awareness of the meaning of what happened there (a car with an Illinois tag stopped before it and a family peering out silently at it), the place seems eerie, haunted. Guests move about in the normality of such a place. There are souvenirs of the tragedy not untasteful on sale in the office. The balcony where he was killed has been glassed-in. Something in the arrangement or in the lighting or maybe in the observer's mind is suggestive of the cold inhumanity of a hospital. There is a paper legend: "I have been to the Mountaintop." And inscribed in marble these words: "Martin Luther King, Jr./ January 15, 1929 - April 4, 1968 / Founding President Southern Christian Leadership Conference / They said one to the other / Behold here comes the dreamer / Let us slay him and we shall see what will become of his dreams. / Genesis 37:19-20 / Ralph D. Abernathy, President." Inside the motel office, the young woman who is clerk, had said "yeah" when asked if it was all right to look at the memorial.

Did many make such a request? "Oh yes." Her voice, her black face were not bored, not cynical -- were weary, depressed -- as though all the depression each person coming here might feel viewing the site were accumulated in the place and weighed down on her.)

Black reaction to the handling of the Ray case, to the "deal," was generally angry, said the Rev. Mr. Lawson and others. A lot of people, he said, felt that it was a cover-up. There were reports from Memphis' ghetto of real tension, "a real undercurrent of disgust, close to despair." What it meant, said Mr. Lawson in his ability to articulate what probably most black Memphis people and others across the nation felt, was that "the trial shows the power structure's inability to respond to human need -- in this instance, the legal power structure. The real need was to give facts, answer questions. It is one more instance of the power structure's inability to perceive reality. A court that pushes through a case without all the facts crushes the dreams of black people that institutions respond to their needs." He added that black people of Memphis had not been vengefully calling for Ray's blood. "They feel that the racism of the nation killed Dr. King."

There was of course other criticism, nationally, even editorially in the two local papers, and from white Memphis people. A newspaper reporter said virtually everyone he had talked to, white and black, believed there was a conspiracy, and resented the trial's not being allowed to develop whatever evidence there was. Not so did conservative business leaders in the city feel, according to one familiar with their views. All along they had concluded there would be "no benefit" to the city from a prolonged trial. The experience of Los Angeles in the trial of Sirhan Sirhan for the assassination of Robert Kennedy had only confirmed their view. It would have brought the press back in, "outsiders" who would inevitably draw conclusions,

reflect ire on Memphis. So they were delighted in a practical sense over the way things were handled. Later, perhaps in part in response to criticism of the proceedings, principals in it, the judge, the prosecuting attorney, an appointed public defender, all expressed misgivings about the unanswered questions of the case.

Baxton Bryant, executive director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, had held a press conference to criticize city and federal law enforcement agents' apparent lack of interest in a witness who told of overhearing a white Memphis man's telephone conversation before the slaying telling someone to "get him on the balcony," and to go to the white man's brother in New Orleans to be paid $5,000. The council's state board of directors subsequently addressed a resolution to the state's congressional delegation asking it to call on President Nixon to appoint a commission "to conduct a thorough investigation of the question of conspiracy and to make full disclosure of the facts to the American people."

Memphis black leaders in the midst of all this had been developing plans for a solemn Memorial March, "Lest We Forget," on the April 4 anniversary of the tragedy. National dignitaries, including Mrs. King and Senator Ted Kennedy, were expected. The march would seek rededication to the main tenets of Dr. King's thought: freedom, nonviolence, integration. As part of preparations, a request was made of the city for participation in development of memorials in the city to Dr. King. Black people hoped to develop a "living memorial," a leadership training center or the like. They asked the City Council to name some public property for him -- the airport, a new bridge over the Mississippi River to Arkansas, a school, a street. Indications that only a school would be so honored, and a remote one at that, and the possibility of not even that, resulted in a withdrawal of the request. Subsequently, there was a flurry of official resolutions regarding the April 4 observance.

The county government and the county Human Relations Commission separately urged white citizens to participate in the march; the City Council called for an expression of sorrow and sympathy from a united community and nation to the family of Dr. King and the people to whom he meant so much. The Chamber of Commerce was expected to make a statement also calling attention to the March.

BEHIND THE EVENTS: RESPONSE AND LEADERSHIP

A phrase that recurred in answers by black leaders to the question of whether Memphis had changed during the year after the assassination was one to the effect that what change there had been reflected concern of white Memphis over the city's image, rather than genuine remorse and realization of the wrong of racism and poverty. To an observer, an "outsider," there was some evidence to support the observation, but as much to refute. Perhaps the latter reflected ineptitude at image-building. But a fairer appraisal would have to take into account the new complexity of relations between the races in the South and the nation that had developed by 1968, the national phenomenon of impotence of citizens and government alike, even where there existed a constructive will, to remedy the social and psychological afflictions of the nation, and, finally, the whole complicated context of attitudinal change, the difficulty ever of understanding fully a single individual, let alone a city like Memphis full of half-a-million of them.

Judge Battle in his remarks at the end of the proceedings when Ray pleaded guilty used a phrase which must have puzzled most non-Memphis people who read it. Speaking of what had transpired in the administration of justice in the case, he said: "I submit that up to now, we have not done too badly for a 'decadent river town.'" But in Memphis, the phrase had clear meaning. Time magazine, it seems, referred in passing in its story of the assassination to the proud little city,

that grew up at the top of the Delta feeding on the human suffering involved in the South's long thralldom to cotton agriculture, as a "decadent river town." The slur stood out in the mind of white Memphis as a symbol of what many felt most in the wake of the terrible tragedy of Dr. King's death, summed up in the absence of any lamentation over the murder in Judge Battle's court and in these other words in his remarks: "Memphis has been blamed for the death of Dr. King, to me wrongfully and irrationally. Neither the decedent nor his killer lived here, their orbits merely intersected here . . ." If one extends the scope of the metaphor as Memphis black leaders do and says that American white racism killed Dr. King, one might then begin to measure Memphis' guilt, part of the magnitude of the failure of Dr. King's message ever to penetrate the mind of America, his simple message of redemptive grace, forgiveness, expiation of guilt. If white Memphis felt more deeply than grief over murder of a great man, the slurs cast on their proud town, did white America generally react to the tragedy in any more relevant terms?

If we judge a people not by what they say nor even by what they accomplish, but by what they set out to do, it is possible to conclude that the effect of the martyrdom, the immediacy of it in Memphis has had important, maybe lastingly significant, impact on the population, white and black.

White leadership, the business community, the power structure of Memphis, was probably unjustifiably represented during the tragedy most notably in utterances and attitudes of the mayor, as more than normally Neanderthal in southern racist and reactionary attitudes. Actually, while as is often the case in the South, the worst reactionaries, those given to right-wing fanaticism, seemed for the time of the tragedy to have gained ascendancy in the city, there has existed perhaps more than in most southern cities among whites a cohesive and fairly competent

liberal element. Their strength has, as middle-class Negro influence, been enhanced particularly in recent years by the long tradition of Negro voting in the city, dating almost to the beginning of the century, back to the lamentable days of the Crump machine. One effect of the assassination was to stir this liberal element into greater activity, and into deeper involvement in the ordering of the society. Another was to expose many whites, poor as well as affluent but mainly in the middle-class, to the ideas, the ideals, the plights, the articulate demands of black Memphis citizens, and even to win some of these whites, if not to complete sympathy, to sympathetic actions. What these white people who were affected by the tragedy have actually accomplished, even as what continued black struggling during the year for social justice accomplished, has been puny enough. But what Memphis has set out to do has been, by southern standards and in the face of national norms, impressive efforts at racial reconciliation and attempts at economic reform, in their concept if not accomplishment, probably more meaningful, more hopeful than in any other southern city, and who can tell of better outside the South?

A major development was a revamping of the Chamber of Commerce. The hiring of progressive-minded and modernist professionals like executive officer David Cooley and the setting up of a Human Resources Department under Randall Conway and Clifford Stockton reflected a decided new tone. A fund-raising campaign among the affluent had been underway before the assassination with a goal of two million for a "Greater Memphis" campaign. (The year of the first anniversary of Dr. King's martyrdom was the year of the 150th anniversary of the founding of the town by Andrew Jackson, John Overton, and James Winchester.) After the assassination (and the tragedy was generally conceded to be the cause) the program was oversubscribed by double. If cynics, querulous white ones as well as black militant ones, were correct when they said this merely reflected misguided concern with

image, it was not in the simplistic way whites put it, that the city was going to buy a lot of advertising to counteract bad publicity. The chamber program seems equipped with all the cleverness and know-how that Atlanta pioneered in image-building and other southern cities, even Birmingham and Jackson, Mississippi, have successfully emulated.

One hopeful difference in Memphis has been the amount of attention and effort given to enhancing the economic condition of Negroes, both in programs seeking to hire so-called unemployable poor ones and to set up in business competent middle-class ones. The former program has consisted in appeals to employers to participate in a federal program where they are reimbursed for salaries of the "unemployables." A goal of 1,000 such jobs was set for 1969; by March, some 400 had been contracted. If the goal and achievement were little enough compared with the density of poverty in Memphis or what business might have done (about one per cent of businesses had responded), another aspect of the matter was more hopeful. It reflected a grudging change generally, observers said, in local business attitudes toward federal programs in general, something akin to the changing attitude toward organized labor, auguring well for such things as the struggling poverty program in the city.

A main problem with such employment schemes in Memphis is the low prevailing wage scale, generally at $1.60 an hour, the minimum wage law's poverty level, a legacy of the old distrust of unions and federal programs. Employers complain they can't get laborers for such princely wages, and this is probably true; a ghetto dweller in various hustles or by welfare can likely live as well. One of the compelling arguments offered by the government employee's union for a $2.00 an hour minimum was that people making below that could qualify for welfare from the governmental coffers, so that the only purpose of wages below that level from the government was humiliation of workers.

The thrust toward black capitalism, in part a chamber project, in part the activity of individual white businessmen, including some from without Memphis like John J. Hooker and his associates of Nashville, has been probably as strong as any in the South. There is envisioned in such things as Hooker's Mahalia Jackson fried chicken enterprise -- a counterpart to Minnie Pearl (after the Grand Ole Opry star) fried chicken -- a center of black concessionaires; another scheme encouraged for blacks involves a computer system concession. Southerners need ever to look askance at the national models, like exuberant capitalist activity, white or black, urged upon them. Among the proudly proclaimed examples of black enterprise has been the development of a firm to manufacture and market disposable communion service equipment. The patented invention of a black former mathematics teacher who had the inspiration for it in church, it is a plastic-packaged, computer-measured, complete kit, and among interested potential purchasers is the U. S. military, the utility of such a product, without mention of the ultimate irony, apparent for the Viet Nam war.

More ambitious black capitalist concepts include development by the local National Business League (a sort of Negro merchants association) in which the chamber has assisted of a Freedom Shopping Center. It is to be near a depressed housing area and will be as much as possible owned in $5.00 shares by neighborhood people, and as much as possible have stores leased to black operators. Mayor Loeb himself was among speakers urging white businessmen to buy $100,000 in equity stock (this necessary before the enterprise could begin construction of the center); total issue was to be $250,000 worth of the $5.00 stock shares. The businessmen bought $125,000 worth. Metro-Memphis, a non-profit corporation set up to foster black businesses, created the shopping center with loans from the Small Business Administration and

black life insurance firms, with a total investment of $1,250,000. A corollary, less-ambitious shopping center scheme is the Afro-American Enterprises, a little row of already existent shops, a restaurant, dry cleaners, and grocery which has been leased by the church of the Rev. Zeke Bell with profits put into community improvement. The last store in the row, by far the most profitable, a liquor store, remained under white control. In other manifestations of black capitalism, individual Negroes have been set up in private business with loans from individual whites, like B. L. Hooks who resigned a state judgeship, and later became operator of a dry cleaning establishment.

The Rev. Mr. Lawson expressed less enthusiasm than most leaders, black or white, for the various black capitalism schemes. "Tommyrot," he said. "Small businesses are not viable in today's economy." He described as more hopeful efforts he and other black leaders have made to establish an industrial park with black-owned factories. Through a non-profit Greater Memphis Urban Development Corporation, they sought OEO impact-area funding, thought they had been promised a million dollars, but were turned down for the time. Mr. Lawson said Urban Development had an agreement with Chrysler to buy a certain automobile part they could manufacture; their plan was to develop other markets for the same product. They have asked the chamber to study local factories which give big outside orders for parts or equipment that they might manufacture and supply at reduced shipping costs. He said the plans called for training of the hard-core unemployed, and managerial training for black people. Factories and cooperatives, he said, credit and consumer and wholesale cooperatives, were the answer -- not small businesses.

Whatever the feasibility of such schemes as were afoot in Memphis, the changed attitude of some of the white leadership, some of the "power structure," reflected in them seemed important. Mr. Fisher and

others said this was as much a matter of people and progressive ideas that had been there all along coming to the forefront as it was a matter of conversion. Mrs. Frances Coe cited a five-year-old integrated organization of some 200 women which has worked in such things as voluntary Head Starts and, in cooperation with the Jewish Community Center and others, operated three day camps for needy children. They have also been a part of a "Food for Fitness" program, providing school lunches and even breakfasts, voluntary social workers, and medical care, at two schools. But in 1968, such activities were heightened, she said, with plans developed to extend "Food for Fitness" to twenty schools, with individual churches "adopting" a school, and with plans and $55,000 OEO funding for more day camps. Another group whose work has been impressive is the Catholic Human Relations Council. Mr. Butler, the director of the OEO, said he would have to give a qualified yes and no on the question of white attitudinal change. He said since the assassination, he has been invited to appear before many more white groups than previously. Much of this, though, he said, was a going through motions, with little personal change evidenced in participants. On the other hand, he cited the change in tone of his annual appearance before Church Women United. Last year, he said he was able to "hit hard" in condemnation of a slave-cotton economy concept still extant, and this year, he said, he "brought it down" to "the society not permitting us to achieve reconciliation with God, if this is the purpose of life," in neither instance incurring wrath in the audience. "I felt I could broach such subjects, where before I couldn't." He conceded that some of the change might be in his own assessment of the white audience. Another indication of a new will on the part of individual whites to do something about problems was the development in the summer of 1968 of "mini-parks" in slum areas. Individual citizens would finance the

clearing of vacant lots for playgrounds and the city would furnish recreation equipment. The thing snowballed, according to city councilman Downing Pryor, with people seeing a park, or hearing about the parks, and calling in to offer money for another. In all, fifty were built.

The most impressive anti-poverty effort was a program to deal with malnutrition among the city's poor. A joint undertaking of the St. Jude Children's Hospital (prominent for television promotion by Danny Thomas) and the city's poverty program, the effort involves a systematic examination of poor children by the hospital, and where malnutrition is found, the prescription of a certain medication for it -- food. With the help of the prestige and pressures of St. Jude, the sponsors prevailed on the United States Department of Agriculture to provide food, tons of it, each month. It is given to the child and all of his family, along with full, free medical treatment at the hospital, as part of a long-range research program to study malnutrition, its effects and remedies.

By far the most talked about effort at reconciliation of the races were the informal attempts and formal programs for interracial communication. This had started during the sanitation workers' strike, the Tennessee Council on Human Relations instrumental in setting up one session at which business leaders and politicians agreed to sit and listen, not say anything, but hear the viewpoints of union and other black leaders. They came away amazed at the cogency of the arguments and that no one had been willing even to listen to them. After the assassination, formal conversation groups were formed by Memphis Community Leadership Training, Inc., with local foundation financing for a full-time director and (two so far) weekend gatherings of some sixty black and white people for exchange of viewpoints and the tricky blessings and treacheries of "t group" sensitivity sessions.

Nine conversation groups, of from eight to twelve representatives each of the black and white power structures, were holding regular sessions into 1969, and a dozen pairs of individuals had set out to form that many new ones. The Chamber of Commerce had aided in the effort; William Kephart, a white Episcopalian minister, was in charge of it. Some black leaders were skeptical, others not. Whites tended to value the effort most. The Rev. Mr. Lawson said he attended once and just listened, and then spoke out the second time, and felt himself adjudged too radical and ceased to attend. But no one, including him, would contend that such effort at communication, however superficial or restrictive of the authentic voice of the black masses, was not constructive, was not preferable to the old lack of communication. The insight that this lack, as much as anything else, had led to the tragedy of the spring of 1968 seemed acute. Mr. Fisher summed up the amount of change represented in these formal and other informal efforts just to talk to each other. In the past, he said, elements of the power structure tended to feel that to listen to another's viewpoint, especially the black viewpoint, was somehow to be implicated in it, to believe it. Now, he said, there was a willingness to listen, and to answer back, a more realistic apprehension of the moaning and purpose of communication.

Examples of the opened avenues of communication were variously cited. There had been the instance of even the editors of the two newspapers and two bank presidents attending a discussion session, one of the bank presidents finally declaring himself committed to various improvements, with the confession that two years before he couldn't have cared less about problems of the black people. And there had been the boycott of downtown merchants started by a welfare mothers' organization protesting the refusal of the prestige stores to extend credit to people on welfare, driving them to the high-interest,

high-price installment stores. Some members of City Council, in the new willingness to listen, met with them informally, heard their plaint and communicated its justness to the store-owners. The credit policy was changed, the boycott ended.

Nevertheless, as Mr. Lawson pointed out, the opened channels of communication were not often utilized by the mayor nor the numerous reactionary and fanatic rightist elements Mr. Loeb was considered still to speak for. Nor did they often extend to black leaders like himself who were considered radically militant by most whites, even some of the more liberal ones.

The most often repeated answer to the question about change in the city, from some white respondents as well as black, was that Mayor Loeb had not changed. His tactics were more subtle, the black leaders would concede, but his attitudes and aims seemed the same -- essentially summed up in his position during the sanitation strike, an unwillingness to concede the rights of black people to citizenship.

There was also considerable criticism, as during the strike, of the two newspapers, the Memphis Commercial-Appeal and Press-Scimitar, owned by the Scripps-Howard chain. Though the former had abandoned with published regret that his day was past, the offensive sayings of "Hambone," a cartoon embodiment of the old "yassuh-boss" debasement of Negroes, and had instituted an erudite (its black author a Yale graduate) column of Negro commentary, both papers were still considered attuned to the old patterns and attitudes in their editorials generally and in such matters as continuing to use racial designations in crime stories. Both were generally considered by the black leaders and some whites to have deliberately played down, indeed covered up, news of the hospital workers strike, one possible reason (though no excuse) for lack of national coverage. (Another reason: it occurred during the Presidential campaign when the best of the southern reporters for national

publications were engrossed in recording for posterity the utterances of George Wallace, Richard Nixon, Hubert Humphrey, Curtis LeMay, Edmund Muskie, and Spiro T. Agnew, while in Memphis as elsewhere the voice of the people went unheeded.) One of the more telling criticisms of the papers was that of the Rev. Mr. Jackson who said that they had played up out of all proportion the young radical group called the "Invaders," while ignoring more responsible and more truly radical black leadership with greater following.

Police -- who had been so much an instrument of the irresponsibility of white leadership during the sanitation workers' strike -- were still criticized by black leadership. This was despite the fact that the former chief, J. C. MacDonald, and Inspector O. C. Evans, often denounced by blacks, had retired and been replaced, and with acknowledgement that during the hospital strike (perhaps out of the mayor's new subtlety) officers with cooperative attitudes were assigned to the demonstrations, and police behavior was generally good. The chief complaint in 1968 and into 1969 centered on search and seizure operations, the stopping of blacks on the street and even in their homes for identification and frisking. There were frequent complaints of brutality, beatings in the constitutionally questionable process. A recent issue of the black Tri-State Defender described a chilling episode of this where a reporter and photographer witnessing and taking pictures of a frisking were themselves frisked and had the pictures destroyed. There was also concern among black leaders, even those least sympathetic to the young people involved, of the number of arrests of members of the Invaders. At least twenty of them had been jailed on a variety of charges by March, 1969, including creating a disturbance and the serious one of shooting a policeman. (One black leader, not condoning the offense, pointed out that it had occurred after an Invader clearly horsing around with what was clearly a toy

gun had been arrested for carrying a weapon.) The belief among blacks was that there was a deliberate effort to break up the Invaders with arrests and harassment, and that the campaign in the way of racism's undistinguishing mechanisms extended to all young black people with Afro haircuts or dress.

Finally, and most sadly, the white church, which had been less than fully responsive to the meaning of the sanitation workers' strike, but had poured forth mourning and lamentation after the assassination, seemed since then to have departed the scene of action and social justice for the most part once more. Not the least cause was the reported chastisement by the white congregations of many of the ministers who participated in public mourning for Dr. King. None there were either who seemed to have heeded the invocation of Christianity by James Bevel of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, who told a gathering of the National Council of Churches in Memphis that the place for those attending was at the jail where their brother, James Earl Ray, was in need.

As for black leadership, it had been through the year afflicted with some factionalism, some demoralization from the events of the past spring, and some degree of confusion in the face of the changes in white leadership, the wavering of the line that had been so solidly drawn between black and white in the past. An inevitable question in such a situation: how much of the goodwill gestures of whites was genuine, how much Machiavellian? Was the push, for example, to put black people into business entirely benign, or in part a way of co-opting the most competent leadership? But the most salient point about the black leadership, touching and in its way magnificent, had been its will to continue to keep alive the spirit that had united and inspired it during the sanitation workers' strike, before tragedy struck, a genuine and effective cohesion of people and leaders with

sure goals and a just cause. The leaders in March of 1969 seemed as frantically busy, as harried and hurried as they must have been during the crisis of that month in 1968. There was a little feel to it of their holding to such frenetic activity as a way of not having to confront the awfulness of the tragedy that had occurred among them. But mostly it seemed a true and effective effort to hold to and keep moving toward the goals that had inspired them, the quest for dignity and a decent living for all the people, undeterred by the most calamitous setback by the spirit of racism nor by the more subtle temptation to overestimate small gains and relinquish the pace and pressure. In this spirit, to the degree that it reflected the will of black people, was the most hopeful sign of all in Memphis, along with however much of willingness there existed in white Memphis to respond genuinely to it,

MIRROR TO AMERICA

One of the more disturbing and ironic misapprehensions of most white leadership in Memphis involved a local variant of the old problem Mr. Fisher pointed out, the inability to distinguish between constructive and destructive elements of Negro leadership. There was general feeling that the black leaders who had been most active in the sanitation workers' strike and in keeping alive its spirit were somehow wildly radical and revolutionary. This sort of delusion was incredible when applied to men like Mr. Epps, the Rev. Mr. Jackson, the Rev. Mr. Lawson and various others who still held to Dr. King's tenets of nonviolence and integration, and in the term freedom evoked all the support of the Bill of Rights and Western idealism that had been the strength of the old southern civil rights movement. The delusion that such men were somehow dangerous, subversive, was fed by the fanatics of the right in their active ministry to Memphis. The shibboleth, Communist, outmoded and downright archaic even in most rightist circles in America,

continued to be used with conviction by the fanatics of Memphis to describe such men, enthusiastic adherents though they were of black capitalism among other Americanisms. Such a charge was made recently against not merely Mr. Lawson but any hapless teacher who might attend his church or his meetings in an anonymous letter to school principals.

The Rev. Mr. Jackson's plaint that the papers and much of the white public were fascinated with the Invaders while ignoring leaders like himself and the others who had real following was but part of the problem. There probably was considerable identification in the white mind of such responsible leaders with the tendencies toward irresponsibility manifested by the Invaders. The Invaders had from the beginning hovered, sometimes (or to some seeming) a thoroughly progressive force, attuned to the best in the revolutionary youth movement of the nation ("the only potential in the community" one knowledgeable black civil rights professional called them), but sometimes (or to others seeming) a threatening force -- for anarchy, self-destructive violence, the rage of adolescence unchecked, unstabilized, the rage of the tormented poor allowed reckless expression. Whichever they were, the vanguard of progress or the agents of black self-destruction and race war, and in all likelihood they were capable of being both or either, they were symptomatic of not merely southern (being overall less sophisticated and less brutalized than their counterparts from northern and far-west ghettos and white middle-class suburbs) but national failure, a failure in effect of a society to its youth. If black leaders during the sanitation strike and sometimes afterward seemed to be playing with fire in using them as a threat to force attention to their own demands, white leadership was even more certainly reaping the whirlwind by such things as the police harassment of the Invaders themselves and others their age who looked Afro. For a time there were efforts to involve them in less than

efficacious, less than dignifying poverty program subsidy; their performance and apparently their arrogance, a demanding more than their strength could command, soon lost them this probably also mistaken attention. Their influence subsequently reached a low ebb; only after the jailing of so many of them did sympathy from black people reawaken, and by March of 1969, meetings and activities of those still out of jail were attracting far more young people than probably many black as well as white Memphis people were aware. One black leader, not bothering to put it in delicate terms, described the potential of such young people everywhere, and of what adult credulity and a certain overestimation of the young can produce. They would have been content to stay right on singing freedom songs and marching peacefully, but some of them got to talking rough, he said, and white reporters started quoting ominously their teenage bravado talk and the next thing you knew, they were taking themselves seriously and calling themselves the Invaders.

In the meantime, the Rev. Mr. Lawson spoke of a far more widespread and more real radicalism that had built in Memphis during the sanitation workers' strike and after the assassination. It has expressed itself, he said, in such things as the continuing willingness, even demand by a congregation such as his that the church be involved to the hilt in social concerns -- something that wasn't true before. He also cited a black radical organization that seemed more middle-class, less youthful than the Invaders, called the Black Knights, numbering among its membership young professionals and intellectuals, as well as Viet Nam war veterans. Their activities have included organizing young people, and they have talked, at least, of organized self-defense against police lawlessness.

In the meantime, the inadequacy of such white Memphis programs as that of seeking more jobs for the black poor (or for that matter

the failure of middle-class conversation groups to have much relevancy to conditions producing the Invaders) was suggested in an episode involving the Invaders. Three of their spokesmen came to Baxton Bryant, saying members wanted straight jobs, were willing to "dig ditches." He called an employer who said he did have vacancies and to send applications over. Seven applied, and found themselves among 150 seekers of fifteen available jobs. Mr. Bryant was among those who saw the Invaders as being ready to come back into society, as seeking, like Memphis itself, a better image. Sanity, not to mention the instinct of self-preservation, would suggest to black and white Memphis people alike that they help them return.

But how? Here was the nub of the question for Memphis and the rest of America. Said the third sad report from Memphis by J. Edwin Stanfield in 1968:

> The fundamental issues of quality education, housing, and jobs -- and the dignity of which they are part -- are not settled in Memphis or elsewhere in the nation. Memphis is America in microcosm. The sickness which led to the death of Dr. King can lead to the death of the United States. The only atonement for this murder, the only hope for national survival, is fast, full action to remedy the wrongs of racism.

The problems of Memphis were those of the nation. Indeed, an OEO "Economic Profile" showed that, while magnitude of poverty in the city was "extremely unfavorable" in comparison with the rest of the country, such things as severity of poverty, economic compensation, economic activity, family resources, employment conditions, educational achievement, were right at the national norm; and such things as functional illiteracy, health status, sufficiency of housing, were only "moderately unfavorable." Adequacy of health care was "extremely favorable." All of this was of course far less cause for optimism about Memphis than pessimism over the rest of the country.

The profile showed Memphis' Shelby County with a larger number of poor people than 99 per cent of the counties of the rest of the country;

41,239 families in the county were poor. Though most of the data was for 1966, Mr. Butler of the Memphis OEO said there had been no drastic changes in the years since, including 1968 as a supposed year of atonement. One thing had changed. In 1960, of all the unusually large number of poor families in the county, 60.8 per cent were Negro, while only 35.9 per cent of the population was. In 1968, a conservative estimate would be that 85 per cent of the poor families were Negro. And despite the adequacy of health care, there were 2,068 infant deaths per 100,000 live births compared with a national norm of 1,700, again reflective of disproportionate poverty which was disproportionately black.

In such another index of social health, school desegregation, Memphis lagged even by southern token standards. In 1968-69, according to the school superintendent's office, the school population is 53.4 per cent black. Of the 57,353 white pupils, 1,086 were in predominantly Negro schools, and of 65,799 Negro pupils, 1,842 were in predominantly white schools. Of approximately 5,000 teachers, 251 Negro ones were in "white schools," and 214 white ones were in "Negro schools." These have been the results of a federal court order under which the city has sought to obey the law of the land since 1961. Proportionately, far more white workers have joined the black union run by Mr. Epps than white children have gone to black schools. The difference in motivation is the key; schools in Memphis as everywhere else in the country need to be made all so good (where now none are excellent) that advantages of attending a particular one outweigh disadvantages, even the imagined ones of racial prejudice.

The inappropriateness of condemning Memphis because it is as bad in these matters as the rest of the country seems obvious. Judge Battle was correct. Memphis did not kill Dr. King, not alone. The conditions destructive of human life, of human hope, of dignity which fester across

the land, in the countryside and the cities, most assuredly did; the biography of James Earl Ray, accused of actually pulling the trigger, is as pitiful a story of family poverty as could be found in the worst shack in black Memphis, as scathing indictment of what America has allowed happen to generations of its people as any sounding of the counts of cruelty to black people, dating to slavery.

The most appalling thing about Memphis as microcosm of America is the essential lack of real leadership, of strongly enunciated and acted upon principle by the people -- and they are mostly white -- of real power, coming forth neither on the local level from any of the institutions capable of providing it, no more than it has come forth in the nation with any real result from any of these sources.

The strongest influence of the kind evident in Memphis, beyond token gestures of whites and strong struggling of blacks, so desperately needed is the spirit still alive of the leadership that Dr. King gave for a brief, illuminating time to America. Erik Erickson has written of how Gandhi's spirit prevailed in the industrial town in India where he led his first strike, how eventually it produced there a model of humane, creative industrial life. In some sense, in the intentions if not the achievements of the people, white and black, to build the kind of city where people might live out lives of satisfaction and dignity, a similar spirit may be discerned in Memphis -- still alive. But if it is to prevail, to develop the potential possible, in Memphis and in America, there must be more movement, more coming together of those with power and those who live with the reality of what must be done. (The real solution, said John T. Fisher, young automobile dealer and community leader, is the working together of the militants and the kind of men who know how to get things done in business, who can make things move from A to B.) This will mean more than image-building, than image being placed over reality as has more nearly happened in other southern

cities than so far in Memphis. And it will mean more than research as the needed pragmatic rationale for feeding starving children.

If there were a sign of health unique to the South hintingly, tantalyzingly suggesting itself in conversations of Memphis people, white and black, it was an ability (in the whites a tradition of generations in support of evil, in blacks perhaps a part of skepticism about anything involving whites) to look askance at the proffered offerings and values of the rest of the country in the matters at hand needing solution. The South has ever wanted to show the nation a thing or two. Maybe in such hints as there were in Memphis of full awareness that humanism, human values hold the key to the problems of race and poverty, not merely pragmatism and business as usual (even if it becomes a little black), the South might yet do it.

In the meantime they planned to march on the anniversary of the martydom, to revivify the idealism of freedom, nonviolence, integration. In such faith, and it was not unique to Memphis, Dr. King lived on. His widow, Mrs. Coretta King, delivering a sermon (the first woman ever to do so) in St. Paul's Cathedral in London, told how those things that her husband sought found expression in new awareness of black Americans of pride in themselves, their heritage. Referring to the "revolution of rising expectations," Mrs. King said that poor people all over the world were now aware of the possibilities that life offers "some men." What these people now wanted was to be able to reach their full potential as people. The words lived a fleeting moment in the little restaurant at the Afro-American Enterprises Shopping Center. A boy and girl of about nine or ten were at the counter, waiting for their order to be served. One looked up and directed the other's attention to a hand-drawn poster on the wall above a booth, a drawing of a young black man and young black woman, the legend: "Soul Brother, Soul Sister. Black is good." They both took it in, then turned to

each other and smiled, proudful -- but without malice for the white man who smiled at them and as quickly got back childrens' shy, unaffected grins. If there was meaning in Memphis a year after the assassination, it had not to do with the specifics of the struggle continuing there of the constructive against the destructive, but with the general question, more pressing now even than when Dr. King was killed, of what all of America would do about the problems threatening the future of those two children, and all their generation -- whether within them as within Memphis, the constructive forces would find support.

-- Pat Watters

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SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

FAYETTE COUNTY, TENNESSEE: TRAGEDY AND CONFRONTATION

by Dwayne Walls

FAYETTE COUNTY, TENNESSEE: TRAGEDY AND CONFRONTATION

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
October, 1969

Price: .40 each
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Dwayne Walls, a professional newspaperman, is currently on leave of absence from the Charlotte, North Carolina, Observer.

INTRODUCTION

A report such as this, dealing with racial conflicts in a small West Tennessee town, raises issues that go beyond immediate geographic confines. The fact is that Somerville is probably no worse than scores of other towns across the rural South in which significant change in white attitudes has yet to occur. The events, as the author notes, recall the early days of the civil rights movement and provide "the freshest evidence available that the Negro's fight for equality is far from won in rural America, that many still place abiding faith in nonviolent confrontation with oppression."

But the year is 1969, not 1961, and to judge Somerville as if the intervening eight years had not occurred is to deal in unreality. We know more now, hopefully, than we knew then. We know that people are human however moral or righteous their cause might be and that their capacity to suffer is not illimitable. We know that when the national purpose is clearly articulated by strong federal leadership a climate is created for positive local action. We know that where local officials show courage and impartiality in the administration of justice that irresponsible elements in our society do not dictate policy.

Given the past history of Somerville and Fayette County, Tennessee -- the scene of the first "tent city," the

scene ten years ago of a cruel economic boycott by whites against Negroes seeking to register to vote -- the events described in this report might well be inevitable. There is a point at which people must finally exert their humanity, as Negroes in Fayette County today are doing. The question as to whether other Somervilles must yet occur remains unanswered. But the lesson is here, again, for those with the understanding and resolve to profit from it.

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

THE VOICES AND THE MOOD

"I've always said that someday something like this would happen and then we would see America happen -- we would see leadership come forth and say this is wrong. But it didn't happen here. Whatever goodness was present in the white community was totally paralyzed by latent racism -- by the hoodlum element."

The words are those of Rev. Baxton Bryant, executive director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations.

The place is Fayette County, Tennessee, in the autumn of 1969. The events have brought the economy of a town to a standstill, shattered such racial communication as existed and turned the countryside into a place of fear and midnight terror.

"He cussed me," the deputy said, "and anytime anybody cusses me I'm gonna find out who it is."

That is the voice of law and order as it prevailed in Fayette County a few weeks ago. Specifically it is the voice of a special deputy as he explained in court why he could positively identify a young Negro charged with throwing a rock at a police car.

"I have prayed and agonized over this thing trying to decide what is the right thing -- the Christian thing -- to do. I just don't know. Sometimes it is awfully hard to know what is the right thing, what God would have us do."

That is one voice of the white church in Fayette County, beginning a halting and obviously painful explanation of why the organized white churches of the county have done almost nothing to ease the racial conflict that has gripped the county since mid-August.

"Come up here and get your damned hoodlums." That is the voice of the county school superintendent demanding in an angry telephone conversation that the black principal of the Negro high school forthwith remove 200 or so of his pupils from the grounds of the white high school, where they had staged a demonstration.

Fayette County, an hour's drive east of the Memphis motel where Martin Luther King was murdered, is the freshest evidence available that the Negro's fight for equality is far from ended in rural America, that many still place abiding faith in nonviolent confrontation with oppression.

In the first four weeks of conflict, about 150 to 160 persons were arrested. Some of them received slight injuries from club-wielding deputies and police. Others claim to have been roughed up by deputies after their arrest. One young demonstrator was treated for a slight head wound which he claimed was received when a deputy sheriff shot him. He identified the deputy by name and said he saw the man unholster his pistol and shoot. But Sheriff Bowling insists that not one shot was fired by any law enforcement officer throughout the first four weeks when a tentative peace settled over the county.

The surface calm was imposed by federal Judge Bailey Brown of Memphis who extended, withdrew partially, and then re-extended federal protection to the demonstrators.

Today, the little county-seat town of Somerville is under siege economically -- or, as one local attorney put it, it is a town that has been treed -- by a black boycott so effective that three local stores have gone out of business. Organized demonstrations in protest of long simmering grievances are being conducted regularly.

THE HOBSON FARM INCIDENT

The incident which precipitated the present conflict began as a trifling chance encounter. Returning home from a shopping trip into Somerville about noon on August 12, Miss Vester Hobson veered her car slightly around a truck parked on the side of one of the town's narrow streets and nearly collided with an oncoming car driven by the 17-year-old son of a local grocer.

Miss Hobson, 25, is a teacher at Fayette County High School, and she recognized the youth as the driver of the oncoming car. She judged that he was driving too fast.

As his car passed hers, Miss Hobson called out the open window: "Boy, watch where you're driving."

Even in Fayette County, the matter might have ended there except for several factors. The youth is white and the son of a man known locally for his short temper, es-

pecially when he is dealing with Negroes. Miss Hobson is a Negro. Her sister is an employee of the local Farmers Home Administration office, and there had been friction previously between Miss Vernell Hobson and the youth's mother, a former employee in the FHA office.

Miss Hobson, her sister Vernell, her mother Mrs. Raymond Hobson, and her nephew Michael had, in fact, forgotten the incident by the time they arrived at the Hobson farm about three-and-a-half miles northeast of Somerville. Miss Hobson had started up the steps to unlock the back door of the Hobson home when she saw a pick-up truck turn into the yard and skid to a halt next to the Hobson car.

The youth and his father jumped out of the truck and demanded of the other members of the Hobson family, who were just getting out of their car, "Who was that driving that car?"

"What difference does it make?" Vernell Hobson replied.

"I was driving," Vester Hobson said, coming toward the car.

"What was that damn smart remark you made?" the son asked.

Instead of answering, Vester Hobson asked a question of her own: "Do you realize you're on private property?"

"Why, hell yes," the younger man said. And with that he grabbed Miss Hobson by the neck with his left hand and

started hitting her on the side of the head with his right hand. Miss Hobson estimated later that he hit her five or six times.

When Vernell Hobson intervened, the father joined the fray with a similar attack on Vernell.

The girls' 62-year-old mother watched horrified for a moment and then asked: "Why are you beating these girls? What have they done?"

Receiving no answer, she tried to pull the elder assailant away from Vernell. He then turned on her with several blows with his fist and finally a blow on the head with a blackjack he had pulled from his hip pocket.

Mrs. Hobson fell to the ground bleeding and called to Vernell to run into the house and try to get a gun, but the young man knocked her from the steps.

The fight ended at this point, as Mrs. Hobson's daughter-in-law arrived from her home across the road.

As the father and son backed toward their truck, Mrs. Raymond Hobson pulled herself off the ground and told them: "You won't get away with this. We're gonna call the sheriff right now."

"You damn right," he said. "That's just what I'm gonna do -- have you all arrested."

(This reconstruction of the incident and the conversation was provided by Miss Vester Hobson and corroborated by Mrs. Jennie Ray Hobson, who witnessed the entire scene at the Hobson home from her home across the road. The white

man, whose business caters almost totally to Negro customers, declined to discuss the events of that day. "But I will tell you it was a made-up thing," he said. "Not one-tenth of it was true." He denied that he used a blackjack. He blames the Hobsons for starting the trouble. The whole thing started, he said, because "it was just time for somebody to do a little clowning.")

The Hobsons' call to the sheriff's office somehow was routed to the fire department, which sent out a truck with several men on board plus two carloads of volunteers. A deputy sheriff arrived at the Hobson home only because a deputy routinely accompanies the firemen to any fire outside the city limits of Somerville.

The firemen and the volunteers left as soon as they learned there had been no fire. The deputy remained long enough to hear a rough outline of what had happened and then advised the Hobsons they could come to the courthouse and swear out a warrant.

The Hobsons first drove to Memphis, about 45 miles west, for treatment of their injuries, postponing their legal action until the following day. The elder Mrs. Hobson had a cut on the head which required several stitches. The daughters suffered bruises of the arms, neck, and chest.

At 9 a. m. Wednesday, August 13, the Hobsons went to the sheriff's office and signed warrants listing several charges against the men who had attacked them. Sheriff Bowling then read to them warrants signed by the whites the

previous day charging the Hobsons with disorderly conduct. The sheriff suggested a hearing at 1 p. m. that day, but the Hobsons declined due to lack of legal counsel. The hearing was scheduled for Friday, August 15, and the whites were cited to appear. They were not arrested and they were not required to post bond, points which later caused resentment within the local black community.

The father and son were arraigned in different courts. The youth was tried by Juvenile Court Judge T. V. Luck and found guilty of assault and battery, disorderly conduct, and trespassing. He was sentenced to an indefinite probabation and put under the supervision of his parents.

General Sessions Judge Paul R. Summers heard the charges against the father and bound him over to the county grand jury on the same charges as those against his son plus assault with intent to commit murder. He was released and posted a $1,000 bond for an appearance before the grand jury on November 24. If the grand jury indicts him, he will stand trial in circuit court.

The status of the warrants against the Hobsons is still unclear. Clerk of Court Thomas German said the Hobsons also were bound over to the grand jury, although the Hobsons have not been informed of this. They do recall that the sheriff read out three additional warrants to them at the Friday hearing, all of them signed by the elder white. Vester Hobson was charged additionally with reckless driving and Vernell Hobson and her mother were charged with striking

a minor.

To some people within the black community of Fayette County, the beating of the Hobson women came as the ultimate outrage in a long history of indignity, insult, and repression suffered at the hands of whites.

Negroes in Fayette County are among the poorest in the nation.* Historically, they have enjoyed about as little individual freedom as anyone in the nation. Less than ten years ago, sharecroppers and tenant farmers were forced off their land for attempting to register to vote. White businessmen refused to trade with them. White physicians, it is recalled by some, would not treat them.

Almost all of the gains of the civil rights movement have come in school desegregation, and this within the past three years, as the white community gave ground grudgingly and with increasing withdrawal from communication or social intercourse with the black population.

The result was that racial tension in the county already was tight when the incident happened at the Hobson farm. Local civil rights leaders had been planning throughout the summer to intensify their activities with the opening of the new school term. Mass meetings had been held, discussions with attorneys had been going on regularly, and

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*Median family income in the county is $1,363, according to the most recent Department of Commerce statistics. It is the third poorest county in the United States. Only 30 per cent of the population is white.

grievances were being enumerated.

A report of the Hobson farm incident did not appear in print until Saturday, when one of the Memphis papers carried a brief story of the hearing. The Fayette Falcon, the local weekly newspaper, did not run the story until its edition of August 21, the following Thursday. Although the Falcon later proved to have talons considerably blunted in tackling the local racial scene (the word Negro is not capitalized in the Falcon, for example), it likely cannot be blamed for not printing the story in its edition of August 14. The paper carries a Thursday date each week, but it is published on Wednesday. The incident happened Tuesday afternoon, and legal action did not fall within the public purview until Wednesday morning. Thus, it is conceivable the paper simply did not know about it.

Nevertheless, the news spread rapidly throughout the Negro community and a large number of black citizens -- variously estimated at 600 to 1,300 -- attended a mass meeting Thursday night to hear details of the incident and to consider a course of action.

What they decided upon was an economic boycott of the town of Somerville, to be conducted with picketing and periodic demonstrations. The picketing began the next day, after the court hearing for the elder white charged in connection with the beating. The following Tuesday, August 19, another meeting was held to organize the black community for a sustained campaign.

DEMONSTRATIONS AND SPECIAL DEPUTIES

It is extremely difficult to compile an exact, impartial account of events in the county during the succeeding three weeks -- first because news coverage of the situation was spotty, at best, and second because the white community had withdrawn so completely into itself that almost no one was willing to discuss the situation with an "outside" reporter.

The local newspaper editor simply did not have time, he said, and pointedly recommended officials at the courthouse.

In an initial meeting, the sheriff also did not have time to talk that day. How about the next day, then? Well, the sheriff allowed, he had planned to do some dove hunting the next day and he did not think he would have time then, either.

Judge Summers of the general sessions court, graciously consented to discuss the situation at length as soon as he could find the time, but in four days there was never time enough.

Down the line of authority, a regular deputy sheriff's verbatim comment was: "I ain't telling you a goddamn thing. If you want to know anything, ask the sheriff -- if he'll talk to you, and I doubt that."

The attitude of the special deputies might be characterized by the comment of one who was given to menacing

glower as he leaned close to look over the shoulder as a reporter took notes: "Boy, you people /the press/ really got the sheriff riled up. He's madder'n hell. You all watch out."

In a second meeting, the sheriff walked off from the interview abruptly when he was told (erroneously) by one of his deputies that the reporter had been seen talking earlier with Rev. Baxton Bryant.

"I can sum up how this whole thing happened in one short sentence," the sheriff said before ending the interview. "It was Baxton Bryant and Jim Mock starting trouble."

(Baxton Bryant, executive director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, is an amiable man of vast energy and a veteran of many civil rights confrontations, including the garbage strike in Memphis last year. He had been active also in Fayette and neighboring Haywood County for some time prior to the Hobson incident. Those who know him best say he is a tough organizer and an astute negotiator, and that he does not commit himself rashly or judge events on the basis of surface appearances. He has the confidence of the black community of Fayette County, and his presence on the scene no doubt has strengthened the resolve of local black citizens. Being white, he has also increasingly been the target of local white resentment. But to blame him for the situation in Fayette County seems fatuous. He was in Somerville in response to appeals from local citizenry and in taking a leadership role in the demonstrations,

he was doing his job as he saw it. His organization, composed of many prominent Tennesseans, black and white, issued a statement endorsing his actions after he was twice arrested.)

(James Mock is a black student at Memphis State University who was invited into the community by black citizens to help train, organize, and direct the direct action part of their campaign.)

Although Negroes are not 100 per cent unified behind it, one organization tends to speak for the entire black community because it is the group most readily available to the press and most willing to discuss the situation openly.

That group is the Original Fayette County Civic and Welfare League, Inc. John R. McFerren, a local grocer, is president. His wife, Mrs. Viola McFerren, is perhaps somewhat more active in League work than her husband. She is a woman of some national reputation in civil rights and she is a member of the national representative advisory committee of the U. S. Office of Economic Opportunity. Locally, she is chairman of the League's steering committee, the 15-member group which directs strategy for the boycott activities.

The League was founded in 1959 and launched the first significant civil rights work in the county -- a voter registration drive that increased black registration from fewer than 50 persons to several thousand. The League's

success brought retaliation from the white community through the eviction from the land of tenants and sharecroppers and a trade ban against Negro citizens. Such action seemed only to make the League stronger. The once-famous "Tent City" of dispossessed black farmers erected in late 1960 was built and operated under League auspices. Since that time, the League has been the dominant force in periodic civil rights activities.

The League's steering committee met on August 18 and, at the same time, a group of younger men who had been involved in picketing set itself to the details of direct action. At the invitation of Mrs. McFerren, a member of his organization, Rev. Bryant had arrived in Somerville that day and met with the younger men that night while the steering committee was in session. The youngsters were concerned about their lack of knowledge and training in the tactics of nonviolence and at their suggestion, Bryant agreed to contact Mock in Memphis.

Mock agreed to train and direct the group and arrived the following day for the second mass meeting. He later was to bring with him a small group of friends who call themselves "The Memphis Mobilizers" -- about a dozen young men who already had decided to resign their staff positions with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to work as an independent team in direct action planning and consulting. The group, however, did not develop any substantial following among local Negroes and after its initial visit,

did not return.

By the end of that week, picketing had been organized into a routine, and the pickets -- mostly high school students carrying signs -- tramped the little business square around the courthouse without incident. Generally they were protesting white attitudes, which were regarded as having been uniformly illustrated by the Hobson farm incident.

They began having trouble on Saturday, August 23, after Sheriff Bowling's call-up of his special deputy force. The special deputies are ordinary citizens, mostly farmers, who have no training in law enforcement techniques and principles and whose role in the past apparently had been more honorary than anything else. They had been used at least once before to direct traffic during a Christmas parade. Upon call-up for duty during the boycott, they were issued military-type helmet liners and billy sticks and, in some cases, khaki shirts with an identifying shoulder patch. They brought with them their own assortment of guns, with the result that they gave the town the appearance of a movie set during the filming of a cowboy saga. Some of them wore western style hats instead of helmet liners. One wore cowboy boots and a long, western-style pistol holstered low on his hip.

Rev. Bryant and several other observers claim to have counted about 50 such deputies on duty at various times during the worst of the confrontations. On August 26, the Memphis <u>Commercial Appeal</u> carried a story by the Associated Press

quoting Sheriff Bowling to the effect that "in excess" of 50 men had been called to duty. But the sheriff estimated later that "not more than 12" special deputies had ever been on duty at any given time.

Whatever the true number, it did include several Negro special deputies at first. But they served only one day and quit -- very likely, as it was reported to the sheriff -- because of pressure from their fellow Negro citizens.

The lack of training among the special deputies was evident their first day of duty. Although no arrests were made that Saturday, numerous pickets complained of harassment by the special deputies. Pickets were informed they were in violation of a 1963 town ordinance, and the picket signs were confiscated.

According to Bryant, the pickets surrendered their signs peacefully, but in each case with a reminder to the deputies that Constitutional rights were being violated. Bryant reported the following reply by one special deputy: "Constitution, Constitution, Constitution. I'm sick and tired of hearing Constitutional rights from you kids. I'm going to take your damn Constitution and beat the hell out of you."

The first arrests came Sunday, August 24, at the end of a three-mile "march against fear" from the League-owned community center south of town into the courthouse square. The League had obtained a town permit for the march and

expected no trouble. When the 250 marchers arrived at the courthouse, however, they and others who had joined them at the square were halted by the sheriff and told they could not rally on the courthouse lawn. At the direction of the county attorney, he said, anyone steppoing from the street onto the lawn would be arrested. After a quick conference on the spot, the march leaders decided to test the county's order. Another conference with the sheriff produced an agreement whereby anyone choosing to step onto the lawn for arrest could do so peacefully provided they did so one at a time and that they passed between the sheriff and Rev. Bryant.

By Bryant's count, 86 adults and 55 juveniles were thus arrested while other demonstrators sat around the lawn singing and listening to speeches. (Newspaper accounts later put the number of persons arrested at 63 and again at 100, without distinguishing between juveniles and adults. The sheriff later estimated around 70, although he did not have the exact figure handy.)

All but six of the persons arrested were charged with trespassing and disorderly conduct and released on their own recognizance for a court appearance the next day. The six, all from out of town, spent the night in jail. The county had set a bond of $350 each and required that it be in cash.

The six persons besides Bryant were Miss Joanne Cooke, a writer for a religious publication in Nashville (Motive magazine); Dr. Bill Griffen, a professor at Cortland State College in New York; and three of his students, Carol Morgan-

stein, Charles Wilson, and Bob Tiletz. In addition, two other persons charged and released Sunday afternoon later were arrested and jailed until the hearing Monday. Cash Williams was arrested at his home about 11 p. m., and Terry Saine of the nearby community of Moscow turned himself in for arrest early Monday morning when he heard that the sheriff was looking for him.

Five of the eight were bound over to the grand jury, along with all others arrested, and released on bond after hearings Monday and Tuesday. But charges against Bryant, Williams, and Saine were upgraded to the felony charge of inciting to riot, and bond was set at $2,500 each. Williams and Saine were bonded out Monday, Bryant on Tuesday.

Meantime, 13 other persons had been arrested Monday for picketing in violation of the town ordinance. Adults were fined $50 and costs. Juveniles were given the same penalty as all other juveniles arrested, 60 days probation.

The picketing and the arrests ended for a while Monday when Judge Summers signed a temporary restraining order enjoining all persons connected with the movement from picketing local business stores. The petition for the injunction was submitted by a group of 19 merchants.

The boycott continued, however, and picked up additional strength. Another rally, this time with Sheriff Bowling's consent, was held Saturday, August 30, without incident. Joined by a caravan of supporters from Memphis under the leadership of Jesse Epps of the American Federation

of State, County and Municipal Employees there, several hundred persons listened to a battery of speeches on the lawn of the courthouse.

But the following weekend, the official attitude toward demonstrations had changed again when the League marched into town for another Saturday rally. The demonstrators were met at the courthouse by Sheriff Bowling and refused permission for the rally. After three unsuccessful attempts to reach the lawn, the group began a sit-down in the streets. It was broken up when demonstrators were hosed down with water from firehoses, and 18 persons were arrested. (Among those hosed was a representative of the state Human Relations Commission, who was on the scene as an observer.)

After the hosing, Baxton Bryant joined a group of students on the courthouse lawn and was ordered to leave by special deputies. Bryant noted that the sheriff was in charge there. The sheriff overheard his remark and also ordered him to leave. He did so, but was later arrested, jailed, and held in isolation without bond for nearly 24 hours before his attorneys were able to get bond set again at $2,500. The charge against him was violating the local injunction. After his release, he was talking with a group of pickets downtown when two white men approached him. One held a small knife at his side. They took him by the arm and said, "We want to talk to you." Four of the Negro students moved up to separate Bryant from the men and the men stepped aside.

Mrs. Virgie Hortenstine of Cincinnati, Ohio, coordinator of the Fayette-Haywood Workcamps, took a picture of one of the two men. He grabbed her camera and broke it, injuring Mrs. Hortenstine's thumb.

One possible reason for the sheriff's switch again to a hardline attitude was concern among whites that continued demonstrations might carry over into the schools, which were scheduled to open the following Monday, September 8. During school registration on September 4, about 14 Negro parents and their children had staged a sit-in at Somerville Elementary School in an effort to register there. Enough white parents had decided privately to keep their children out of school on opening day that white attendance was estimated at something like 20 per cent of expected attendance.

League members also were looking toward the opening of school, but the firehoses were something that had to be dealt with immediately. They turned to federal court in Memphis for relief and got it from federal Judge Bailey Brown.

THE FEDERAL COURT ACTS

At 8:30 p. m. that Sunday, September 7, Judge Brown signed a temporary restraining order guaranteeing the black community of Fayette County the right to peacefully picket and assemble at will on any streets, sidewalks, or public places, subject only to normal regulation of traffic and access to premises.

Pickets were to be allowed in any number and with signs, as long as free access to business establishments was permitted.

Further, the order voided the previous restraining order issued against the demonstrators by Judge Summers in the local court and barred local officials from proceeding with prosecution in any manner of those previously arrested for violation of the restraining order or local or state laws. It ordered the immediate release of any demonstrators still in jail at the time.

Judge Brown's order was in effect less than 24 hours when it, too, fell to the seemingly capricious on-again-off-again indecision of law enforcement that had been displayed for nearly a month.

At mid-morning, the day after Judge Brown's order was signed, several hundred black students at W. P. Ware High School left their desks by pre-arrangement, assembled outside the school grounds, and marched into town. From the courthouse, about 200 of the 700 assembled then turned and marched back the same street and into the halls of the predominantly white high school.

Their purpose in going to the white high school was to dramatize the point that they had been assigned to an all-Negro school with right of transfer only if they sought re-registration at the predominantly white high school. Ostensibly, they marched to the school to register for classes there.

According to the local newspaper account, Sheriff Bowling then called Judge Brown in Memphis for instructions and was told to "get them out of the school and off the grounds." This the sheriff's force and local police proceeded to do, using billy sticks and getting rocks and verbal epithets in return.

Several students received lumps and brusies when deputies and police were clearing them from the grounds of the white high school.

One of the demonstrators, 25-year-old Velma Coach, later was admitted for treatment of a slight head wound at a Memphis hospital. Coach was sitting in a car with James Mock and two other men when he was injured. Coach said he saw a deputy just outside the car draw his pistol and fire into the car. "He was looking at Jim Mock when he fired," Coach said. "I think he was aiming at Jim and hit me instead." He said also that the deputy fired a second shot but that another deputy hit the man's arm, knocking it upward so that the shot went wild. Sheriff Bowling was asked about the reported shooting and repeated his previous insistence that his men had not fired a single shot throughout the month-long conflict. Apparently Coach was the only person either in the car or near it who can say definitely that a shot was fired, although others said they heard a noise that sounded like a shot.

No arrests were made at the school, but the deputies singled out about half a dozen demonstrators for arrest later

in the afternoon and into the evening. Five youngsters were arrested. One juvenile was given 60 days probation for obstructing traffic, and another got four months probation for using profanity. One adult was bound over to the grand jury under $250 bond for obstructing traffic, and another charged with disorderly conduct was bound over on $350 bond because he "took the Lord's name in vain."

The fifth defendant was charged with throwing a rock at a police car, a felony under the specific state law cited in the warrant, and was bound over on a bond of $1,000.

If it had been angry before, the white community was positively outraged by the mass march into the predominantly white high school. School Superintendent John E. Gabwell was so incensed when he learned of it that he placed a telephone call to the principal of Ware High and told him: "Come up here and get your damned hoodlums." (Interestingly, however, the principal of the white school later testified in federal court that the students were waiting quietly to register.)

Thus, while law enforcement people were rounding up demonstrators, attorneys for the city and the county were on their way to Memphis to petition Judge Brown to impose some restraint on the demonstrators.

Judge Brown complied by amending his previous restraining order. By consent of the attorneys for both sides, the judge stipulated that peaceful assembly should be limited

to once a week; that the demonstrators would have to give three days advance notice before each march or rally; that each march would be subject to reasonable regulations as to routes and time; that they should be limited to not more than 200 persons; that marchers would be allowed to carry signs and posters, but that they must march no more than eight abreast.

He further stipulated that no assembly could be held on public property, streets, sidewalks, or thoroughfares except for a reasonable time each Sunday on the north side of the courthouse property.

Picketing was allowed to continue. But pickets henceforth would be limited to not more than 40 persons at any one time -- ten on each side of the square. Pickets would have to wear an identifying armband, walk single file, and remain at least 12 feet apart.

The League and its supporters were appalled by the judge's amended order and angry with their attorneys for consenting to it. They were especially concerned about the 200-person limitation on peaceful assembly, and began planning immediately to test the amended order by deliberately violating it the following Saturday. While limiting their own demonstrating force to exactly 200, they would be joined in Somerville by several hundred other demonstrators from Epps' group in Memphis and possibly elsewhere.

As it turned out, there was no need to test the order. After numerous conferences and telephone conversations through-

out the week, Judge Brown was convinced to change positions. The arrival of two representatives of the Justice Department no doubt helped the decision along. On Friday, September 12, Judge Brown consented to an unlimited number of marchers, liberalized the rule on advance notice of marches, and requested Governor Buford Ellington to send in state police to provide protection for the marchers.

NEGOTIATIONS WHEN?

It was at that point that both sides, but especially whites, began to see more clearly the need for negotiation.

Peace overtures had been exchanged several times since the week following the incident at the Hobson farm, but they had been half-hearted passes without any real conviction or desire. Blacks were unwilling to negotiate too quickly for fear of surrendering their momentum at too cheap a price. Whites were not really interested for reasons that go back as far as ante-bellum days.

Fayette County, lying hard by the Mississippi state line, is one of the oldest counties in West Tennessee and its white citizens are among the proudest and perhaps the most insular citizens of the region.

In some ways, they are Tennesseans in name only. As one visiting writer said of the county several years ago, "The state line that separates the county's southern edge from Mississippi is geographical only." From a sampling of the white leadership in Somerville there comes irrepressible

conviction that their feet might be in Tennessee, but spiritually and sociologically, their hearts are in Mississippi.

A speech by former Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett six weeks before the incident at the Hobson farm was one of the big social events of the summer season at the Fayette County Saddle Club. The speech and public rally were sponsored by the local Citizens' Council, the same group that called another mass rally September 9 that backed up traffic for nearly a mile on U. S. 64 west of town.

Somerville is a town where the Protestant Ethic rules the social conscience. The majority of white people are not evil people. Its sheriff is not a Bull Connor or a Jim Clark. The distinguished looking lawyer reputed to be a political boss of the county is only a pale copy, at best, of a Leander Perez or a George Wallace. When the local newspaper continues to print the word Negro without capitalizing it, the reason probably is no more sinister than simply because that is the way the word has been printed throughout the paper's century-old life.

Fayette County has, in fact, produced an incumbent state senator whose record and philosophy on casual examination indicate a level of competence and concern not often found in state legislatures, North or South.

But Fayette County also is one of the few surviving fiefdoms of the old Cotton Kingdom, which produced a way of

life that defies and survives the mere mortality of man. Somerville is a town whose residents could still happily proclaim to a visiting reporter in 1952 that there probably wasn't another town in that part of the state in which life went on so nearly as it did in the good old days of half-a-century ago.

Somerville is less than an hour's drive from Memphis. Yet it did not get its first non-agricultural related industry until 1951 and, until a few weeks ago at least, life still went on to a surprising degree as it must have in the good old days.

And it does seem to be evident, as Rev. Bryant said of it, that Somerville is a town paralyzed by latent racism. When Bryant first visited the community after the Hobson incident, he called on the sheriff, the mayor, and two local ministers asking for some public expression of sympathy and assurance that the white community did not condone the sort of thing that happened on the Hobson farm. He asked the ministers to visit the Hobsons to give privately the same sort of sympathy or concern. He was refused in all requests.

Five weeks after the incident the Hobson farm had been visited exactly twice by white persons expressing sympathy. One of those persons asked, as an afterthought, that his visit not be mentioned publicly because he would not want his white friends to know that he had called.

On the other hand, there is the report that the white

grocer involved in the Hobson incident approached a group of white men several days after picketing began and remarked lightly that the town appeared to be having some sort of trouble. The men reportedly turned their backs on him and walked away without answering.

Whatever its thoughts toward the man now or then, whatever it feels toward Negroes, the white community unquestionably is sorely, genuinely aggrieved. It does not yet accept the social revolution sweeping around it because it does not yet comprehend that revolution, nor does it really see the need for it. Many Somerville whites are dumbfounded when told that they are the object of a nonviolent movement. Nonviolence, to their way of thinking, is the kind practiced by the special deputies, not the demonstrators.

As one genteel, reserved woman of many harvests put it: "These officers [the special deputies] have been superb in the performance of their duties. They have stood and taken things that a month ago they wouldn't have thought about taking."

In its grief and bewildered anger, the white community turned into itself. But in so doing, at least some of its citizens got an honest look at themselves.

One man, a layman who thought he had a finely developed social conscience, ended an interview with a confession.

He pressed his thumb and forefinger against the upper bridge of his nose as if to relieve a mental strain and said

in a quiet voice of near resignation: "Hate is in me. I see it and I feel it. I believe now the philosophies that Christ brought exist in individuals and not in groups."

He paused for a moment and then added, "Six weeks ago I wouldn't have said that."

But then six weeks ago, he said, he was accustomed to dealing with black men of humility -- a degree of pride, yes. But not an arrogant pride. Those people on the streets were not only proud, they were, to his way of thinking, arrogant.

In a relatively short lifetime, he had begun to question the ingrained social philosophy of a plantation upbringing, but events had moved faster than he and -- like so many other good-intentioned whites in similar situations across the South -- he remains on the periphery, uncertain of his society's principles, but unable yet to break his ties to them.

Sheriff Bowling is an insurance man elected three years ago with solid support from the Negro community. His opponent in the sheriff's race later joined the Tennessee Bureau of Investigation and during August was the source of most of the information reaching Governor Ellington out of Fayette County -- a point of dissatisfaction among local Negroes.

Although Bowling has been in office three years, he actually has functioned only about one year. Soon after he was elected, he was thrown by a horse and spent the next two

years in medical treatment for a severe leg injury. He still walks with a slight limp despite a built-up shoe heel on his shortened right leg.

It was the sheriff who made the first overture for negotiation. He called John McFerren on August 18 and asked McFerren to come to the sheriff's office. When McFerren declined because of the press of business at the store, the sheriff drove to the store and talked with McFerren and with Mrs. McFerren. That night he attended the meeting of the League's steering committee and delivered what later was described as a remarkable speech, although it did not include any specific proposal toward negotiation.

The surprising thing about the sheriff's speech was his comment about his special deputies. The black attitude toward these deputies is characterized by Mrs. McFerren's opinion: "They are a bunch of redneck hoodlums with no experience and no thought of human decency toward black people. They are trigger happy and they believe they can beat Negroes down to where we were 100 years ago." Thus, the sheriff was questioned at length about his deputy force and his decision to mobilize them.

Some of the sheriff's comments were reported by Rev. Bryant, who attended the meeting: "This may surprise you, but I'm going to agree with most of what you've said about my deputies. It's a lack of funds to hire a man with the intelligence and caliber to know how to handle these

things. Even down in Memphis, you look at the police officers and they're not hardly average citizens. I'd say they're below average. The county won't pay for better. Every man I have is below average intelligence. When they put on a gun, they're almighty. Without a gun, they don't feel like they're anything."

The sheriff added: "What we need is some good lines of communication. We need some good officers. If y'all can come up with two or three good names, they'll be up for appointment."

Of the incident at the Hobson farm, he said: "I have made a mistake. I took it too lightly. I'm only human. Different people have different ideas. If I made a mistake, then I'm sorry it's made and I'll try not to do it again."

Several days later, Judge Summers made an abortive attempt at creating a negotiating committee but gave up in anger. The move floundered early over the disposition of jail cases.

Judge Luck of the juvenile court then emerged as the principal spokesman for whites wanting negotiation -- first on a verbal basis and finally, at the League's insistence, in writing. The judge is chairman of the county court and the county's chief fiscal officer. As court chairman he is the nominal head of local government.

Whites insisted repeatedly that they could not conduct any meaningful negotiations because they did not know

what the blacks wanted. Finally, on August 29, the League wrote to Judge Luck listing seven conditions that must be met before talks could begin on the issues.

1. They demanded a public statement by leaders in the white community condemning the attack upon the Hobsons.
2. They called for restoration of all Constitutional rights, especially the right of peaceful assembly to protest grievances.
3. They demanded that the special deputy force be removed from the streets and replaced, if necessary, by federal marshalls.
4. All charges against blacks were to be dropped.
5. Fines were to be rebated.
6. The black community was to be reimbursed for all funds spent in defense of its rights.
7. Finally, the response was to be communicated in writing.

On September 11, Judge Luck responded in writing, agreeing to meet with any committee selected by the steering committee and suggesting that the meeting be held the following day.

But one sentence in his letter indicated to blacks that he either did not understand their position or that he was

unwilling to accept it. Referring to the seven points the League had listed as necessary as a condition to beginning talks, Judge Luck replied: "We feel that the matters set out are the principal issues which we need to discuss."

The League replied the following day that the seven points were not issues to be discussed but rather conditions that must prevail before the issues could be discussed.

The issues, the League letter repeated, are "'that all discrimination must end and justice must be done for all our citizens.' Once conditions are met for talks, we are ready to discuss specific proposals in all areas of concern of how the issues can be implemented."

It likely will take considerable time before negotiations will get to the point at which specific issues can be discussed. When the time comes blacks will have these items high on their list:

Equal representation on the board of education (currently they have none); reapportionment of the county's 36 magisterial districts to eliminate racial imbalance (the 36 elected magistrates constitute the local governing body in Fayette County. Currently six of the 36 are Negroes. Blacks are now planning to file a petition in federal court seeking court-ordered reapportionment with a new voting registration); equal employment opportunities in both private business and government agencies (there is virtually none now beyond menial positions. There are two regular Negro deputies who work part-time).

On September 18, Judge Brown re-amended his amended court order of September 12, restoring much of the freedom to demonstrate that he had first granted and then taken away. He also specified that the new order will remain in effect until a three-judge panel can hear the matter in November. That panel probably will be composed of Brown, federal Judge Robert M. McRae, Jr., and Judge Harry Phillips of the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Until then civil rights forces in Fayette County have the right of unlimited marches with an unlimited number of persons in each march provided they remain eight abreast. They can conduct marches through the town on any day of the week, provided they give a 24-hour notice. They can assemble on the courthouse lawn on Sunday, but not during business hours on Saturdays (and presumably, but not so stated, on weekdays).

They may continue the boycott, with a maximum of 40 pickets on duty at any one time. Further prosecution of all arrests so far will be held in abeyance, except for the five persons arrested September 9 during the march on the white high school.

The League intends to continue its boycott, reinforcing it with a public demonstration at least once a week until it gets relief either through the courts or from the white leadership of Somerville, or both.

One knowledgeable white citizen of Somerville said on September 10: "Ten years ago the whites here tried

economic pressure against the blacks and it didn't work. Now the blacks are trying it against the whites and I don't think it will work now either. The blacks think they'll bring the white man to his knees. But it will not happen. He might fall on his face, but he won't bow down."

He might be accurate. But it is significant that Fayette County's economy today is far different from what it was 10 years ago.

The affluent Sommervillian drives to Memphis for much of his shopping. Local merchants are dependent on local black trade for the majority of their business. Even a buy-at-home campaign by local whites likely would not support the local retail trade at more than a passable minimum. Fayette County is a cotton county. It is the fourth largest cotton producing county in Tennessee. But also it is the fourth poorest county in the United States, and while cotton has had some disastrous years in the past decade, the poverty program has put an estimated $1 million into the county in less than half a decade. Much of this money passed ultimately through local cash registers, and if merchants were not conscious of it before, they are painfully aware of it now.

The boycott is devastatingly effective because it is enforced with every reasonable means available, including the clearly implied threat of physical harm to blacks who compromise it and the open threat of social ostracism. However, the likelihood is that neither enforcement tactic

will be necessary in the near future. Negro solidarity on the boycott was illustrated in late September when the local Negro teachers association, hitherto considered much less militant in its attitude toward the demonstrations, voted to support the boycott. Another indication of its support among blacks came during a public meeting at the League's community center two weeks ago. One woman explained to the presiding officer that she had some money on deposit in a local bank. She wanted to know if she could leave it there and also if she could visit the bank to withdraw funds to live on.

"Sister," she was told, "you got to keep your money somewhere and it's all right to keep it in the bank. But you be sure to let us know what day you're gonna visit the bank. We don't want to get you mixed up with some shopper."

CODA

On Saturday evening, September 27, after a demonstration in Somerville, shots were fired into McFerren's store from a speeding pick-up truck. One bullet, identified as having been fired from a 30-30 Winchester rifle, struck three feet over the head of Baxton Bryant. Pursuing Negroes were able to get the license number of the truck and turned it over to local authorities. Law enforcement officers moved swiftly. That same night the sheriff arrested two young white men on charges filed by the Tennessee Bureau of Investiga-

tion. In a hearing on Monday, September 29, the men were bound over to the general sessions court on the charges "of firing missiles into a place of business with the intent to inflict death." Bond was set at $7,500 each. The incident further heightened tensions in the beleagured county but some thought that the revulsion of more moderate whites against the shooting might stimulate meaningful negotiations. For the truth most assuredly is that for all the county's intransigence such acts are not condoned by more than a handful of local whites. Many -- among them the most influential -- would like to see peace and security restored, preferably on their terms, but if not then in some negotiated, face-saving way. The same could probably be said of the county's more affluent, less militant Negroes.

At this writing, only days after the latest and most serious act of violence since the incident at the Hobson farm, it was too early to say when negotiations might begin. But one thing was certain. There would be no reversing of the clock in Fayette County, no return to the plantation way of life.

On the lawn of one of the comfortable white churches there is a large sign that stands as a constant admonition to the congregation and to passers-by, an admonition that seems singularly appropriate today. It is man-high amid a neat, brick-lined flower bed. Its blue letters against a black background proclaim: "By taking the easiest way out the flowing stream becomes crooked -- the same thing can happen to a man."

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE FEDERAL RETREAT IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

THE FEDERAL RETREAT
IN
SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
December, 1969

Price: .50 each

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This report was researched and written by Horace Barker, a Columbia University graduate student, during summer and fall, 1969.

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INTRODUCTION

Since 1965, the Southern Regional Council has issued three reports commenting on the progress of school desegregation and the mood of the South, criticizing where we thought necessary those federal agencies charged with enforcement. Our 1968 report, in turn, drew sharp criticism from some federal officials who felt that we were overly harsh in our indictment of their efforts.

A new administration has taken office since our last report. Again, we have viewed the federal administrative role as critically as we think the occasion demands. We do not do so with the purpose of making partisan comparisons; however, we feel an obligation to note that the mistakes of the past (and they were numerous -- and oftentimes they were the result not only of administrative incompetence but political compromise with justice) were never made in an atmosphere of outright intransigence. Somehow, beginning under President Eisenhower at Little Rock, southern civil rights forces have felt that the tremendous power of the federal executive was behind their efforts, whether or not it was always manifested in the most desirable or effective ways.

In 1969, it is no longer possible to be so charitable. This year there has seemed to be a deliberate effort at work in the federal administrative machinery to reverse

such progress in school desegregation as has already been so dearly won. That effort, if not demonstrably successful in diminished percentages of students in desegregated schools, had cynically held out the hope to southern segregationists that the law of the land would not really have to be obeyed. On October 29, however, the U. S. Supreme Court in ruling on 30 Mississippi school cases, ordered immediate end of segregation, striking down in the process the "all deliberate speed" wording of its 1954 Brown decision. The decision helped restore the shattered faith of civil rights advocates in the federal process, but, despite all reason and all past experience, the likelihood, sadly, seems to be that the false hope engendered by the administration has laid the seed for new resistance in the Deep South.

It might be argued that the administration has simply followed what it has divined as the national mood, that it has come to think that the majority of the American people, for the moment anyway, no longer favor the principle of a desegregated society. If such is in fact the case (and we by no means conclude that it is), no greater indictment really could be made of the administration. Leadership that truly leads does so as much by moral example as by administrative maneuver. To date, as the remainder of this report illustrates, such leadership has yet to be in evidence from the highest office in the land.

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor, SRC Publications

PART I

COMPROMISE WITH COMMITMENT

Setting the Stage

In 1963, after nine years of court litigation following the 1954 Brown decision, only 1.17 per cent of the black students in 11 southern states were attending schools with white students. Five more years of administrative enforcement authorized by Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act placed 20.3 per cent of the region's black children in desegregated schools during the 1968-69 school year. Federal funds had been terminated in 123 southern school districts.

As the 1968 elections approached, southern segregationists, encouraged by the apparent influence of some southern senators at the Republican National Convention, were urging local educators to hold back on further desegregation plans. In South Carolina, television commercials showed Senator Strom Thurmond endorsing Nixon and reporting that the candidate favored freedom-of-choice plans.

For his part, the nominee gave little indication of what his school desegregation policies might be. He was, his critics noted, sufficiently ambiguous as to satisfy southern segregationists without fatally damaging his support among northern Republicans. In one interview broadcast in North and South Carolina, he stated explicitly that segregation should not be perpetuated and that the Brown decision was correct.

Although Nixon criticized the use of freedom-of-choice plans as a camouflage for continued segregation, he also said that withholding funds from school districts which refused to integrate was a "dangerous policy."

> When you . . . say that it is the responsibility of the federal government and the federal courts to, in effect, act as local school districts in determining how we carry . . . out /the Brown decision/ and then to use the power of the federal treasury to withhold funds or give funds in order to carry it out, then I think we are going too far . . . In my view, that kind of activity should be very scrupulously examined and in many cases, I think should be rescinded.[1]

In subsequent news conferences in Anaheim, California, and Detroit, Nixon stated that federal aid should be denied in a " . . . clear case of segregation." At the same time, he claimed that HEW had exceeded the intent of Congress and was trying to implement "enforced integration."[2]

Noting the logic of such statements, one southern paper editorialized, "Nixon endorsed the 1954 Supreme Court decision . . . however, he opposed virtually every effort short of divine revelation for stepping up the desegregation process."[3]

As a result of such equivocation, many observers, particularly in the South, expected a significant change in school policies if Nixon were elected. Thus the Washington

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[1]The New York Times, September 13, 1968.

[2]The Charlotte Observer, October 10, 1968.

[3]Ibid., September 15, 1968.

Post noted: "While carefully hedged, the net effect [of Nixon's Carolina statement] was to express doubts about federal action in withholding funds to eliminate dual systems."[4]

An editorial in the Columbia, South Carolina, State used selected quotations from Nixon's speeches to portray the candidate as favoring "quality education" without a "federal agency punishing" local communities and as being against bussing.[5]

Regardless of Nixon's willingness to enforce the law and his personal aversion to discrimination, many segregationists in the South saw a new day of hope.

The Administration's Team

The background and reputation of top policy-makers will usually provide some indication of how their respective agencies will interpret and enforce the law. Under the present administation, key positions in the Department of Justice and in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) have been filled by men with contrasting viewpoints on what the government should do about desegregating schools.[6]

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[4]The Washington Post, September 13, 1968.

[5]The Columbia State, September 20, 1968.

[6]James K. Batten, "The Nixonians and School Desegregation," Southern Education Report, June, 1969, p. 26.

The general counsel in HEW's Office for Civil Rights (OCR) is responsible for guiding the administrative enforcement proceedings against a school district which refuses to eliminate its segregated school system. This position was filled by Robert C. Mardian who had expressed publicly his dislike for termination of funds as a means of enforcing Title VI.[7] In March, 1969, someone leaked to the press a Mardian memorandum to Robert Finch, Secretary of HEW, in which Mardian suggested that the department's desegregation guidelines be eased -- but without any public announcement.[8]

In the Justice Department, Attorney General John Mitchell and Jerris Leonard, head of the Civil Rights Division, reportedly favor a "go slow" approach to desegregation.[9] Leonard himself went to Jackson, Mississippi, to defend in federal court the administration's decision to seek a delay in desegregating 30 Mississippi school districts. When attorneys on his own staff protested the administration's position, Leonard responded in a letter declaring in part that the administration is "determined to achieve /desegregation/ through a sympathetic approach to the problems of all

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[7] Ibid., p. 27.

[8] Ibid.

[9] See Newsweek, September 8, 1969, pp. 29-30, for a summary of the Attorney General's views on civil rights matters, including desegregation policy.

persons affected . . . We will . . . use the technique of negotiation and conciliation before invoking coercive remedies."[10]

One other administration official apparently having a very influential voice in the determination of southern desegregation policies is Harry Dent, former aide to Senator Strom Thurmond (R.-S. C.). Dent is one of the President's chief political advisors. Both Mitchell and Dent have been reported as favoring a "southern strategy" for the Nixon administration which will "combine the strength of Richard Nixon and George Wallace into a national Republican majority."[11]

Despite the attitudes of the officials just described, civil rights advocates were able to take some hope in other appointments to sensitive policy-making positions. Robert Finch took office with relatively progressive credentials on racial matters as did Leon Panetta, Finch's choice as director of OCR. Panetta had been a legislative aide to former Senator Thomas H. Kuchel, a liberal California Republican. As an advisor to Finch before the inauguration, Panetta had been a firm advocate of strong civil rights action. Other appointments buttressing the liberal side

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[10] The Washington Post, September 2, 1969.

[11] Quoted from Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson's column in the Atlanta Journal-Constitution, August 17, 1969. See also the column by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, the Washington Post, August 14, 1969.

included Under Secretary John G. Venenan, who believed "HEW had a 'social' as well as a legal duty to push ahead on desegregation,"[12] and James E. Allen, former commissioner of education in the state of New York.

The appointment of men with such greatly varying commitments to civil rights may help to explain the numerous erosions in desegregation policy during the past ten months. Those administrators and staff personnel wanting to enforce the law consistently faced overwhelming political opposition within and without official administration circles.

The Policies Change

When the new administration was inaugurated, OCR was enforcing school desegregation according to the policies issued in March, 1968, and revisions made in June, 1968. These policies, for the first time, set an actual deadline for elimination of the dual school system.

In summary, all school districts were required to be completely desegregated by the 1970-71 school year, and in most cases, by September 1968 or 1969. Only districts with black majorities or with construction difficulties were eligible to apply for a 1970-71 deadline. If a 1970 terminal date was accepted, the district had to take suffi-

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[12] Batten, op. cit., p. 27.

cient steps in the interim period to assure that the deadline would be met. Such interim steps normally included actual movement of students producing desegregation of one or more grade levels. Ideally, under these policies, each school population should ultimately reflect the same racial ratio as the population of the school system as a whole.

The first major test of the new administration's policies came early -- with results that presaged future decisions. On January 29, five southern school districts had been scheduled to have their federal funds forfeited, but Secretary Finch, apparently trying to please both segregationists and moderates, succeeded only in obscuring the administration's intentions. He first terminated the funds and then gave the districts the opportunity to have them restored retroactive to the date of termination, if they submitted acceptable desegregation plans within 60 days. Two of the districts submitted such plans, and had their funds restored. Three failed to do so. Their funds were terminated.

Subsequent to the decision on the first five districts, Secretary Finch approved termination orders for nine additional districts for a total of 14 terminations authorized between January 20 and July 5.

The July 3 Statement

The first official signal of retreat came when new

desegregation policies were issued on July 3, 1969. Enunciated in a joint statement by HEW and Justice, those policies affirmed that the administration in the future would place greater emphasis on Justice Department litigation than on administrative enforcement of Title VI. The statement also seemed to offer something to everyone concerned with segregated schools. For those wanting yet more time to comply with the law, the administration said:

> "It is not our purpose here to lay down a single artibrary date by which the desegregation process should be completed in all school districts."

For those stubborn people who wanted the law enforced, the statement said that school districts generally would have to provide for full compliance during the 1969-70 school year. But, it also said that the administration would consider " . . . sound reasons for some limited delay . . . tak/ing/ into account only bona fide educational and administrative problems." Although the announcement also purported to "strip away the confusion which has too often characterized discussion of this issue . . . ," it simply added to the confusion with respect to what constituted a "bona fide educational" problem and how much desegregation the southern districts would have to achieve during the coming year.

On another point, it seemed to many to be deliberately misleading. "Guidelines," it said, "are administrative regulations -- not court interpretations of the law." This, of course, was certainly true, but the fact is that the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals had approved and upheld as

constitutional the most controversial part of the 1967 guidelines in its Jefferson and Macon County decisions.

The thrust of the announcement was simultaneously to declare that the 1969-70 deadlines would be both relaxed and, maybe, hopefully enforced. Jerris Leonard, the assistant attorney general in charge of civil rights enforcement, sagely noted, "I assume that there are people who can read it any way they want to read it, and undoubtedly they will."

A few days after the July 3 statement, OCR distributed its own interpretation to its regional offices, insisting that the policies established in 1968 continued to be in effect. Districts which had failed to submit acceptable plans or which had been terminated would still "be expected to complete the elimination of the dual system by the fall of 1969 or 1970." For the first time, however, official OCR policy permitted the extension of deadlines beyond 1970. Even OCR's "strict interpretation" acknowledged this new departure: "In those cases where extreme and valid reasons related solely to administrative feasibility make these dates [1969 or 1970] not practicable . . . a limited extension of time will be acceptable . . ." However, the possibility of approving a post-1970 terminal date theoretically did not suspend the requirement of substantial interim

steps.[13]

Politics and the Pace of Desegregation

A recent study of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights observes: "Since the July 3 statement, there has been a slackening of federal efforts to desegregate . . . schools in the South."[14] The observation is based primarily on an analysis of the administration's role in a series of court cases affecting groups of southern school districts.[15] If the Commission also had examined carefully the desegregation standards reflected in voluntary plans accepted by OCR since January 20, it would have found that the desegregation slowdown began before the July 3 statement.

Like the Johnson administration, the Nixon administra-

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[13]Further clouding the intent of the July 3 statement was a published report in the Washington Post quoting Panetta to the effect that Secretary Finch was preparing "a clarifying letter" for distribution to southern school districts. The letter was to assure districts that the existing March, 1968, policies were still in effect and that districts which had already submitted acceptable plans for 1969 or 1970 would be required to meet their commitments. Although, as the report has noted, OCR officials interpreted the July 3 statement in the same light, the clarifying letter from Secretary Finch was never sent. The Washington Post, July 4, 1969, and the New York Times, July 16, 1969.

[14]"Federal Enforcement of School Desegregation," A Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, September 11, 1969, p. 51. /Hereafter cited as "Federal Enforcement."/

[15]The Commission examined administration policy in court cases involving districts in Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana.

tion has allowed certain districts to escape with a minimum of progress. That is, select districts have received very special consideration due to what can only be called "political circumstances."

Chester County, Tennessee, is a poor county in western Tennessee which George Wallace carried two-to-one over President Nixon last November. Under federal pressures, Chester County had initiated a "freedom-of-choice" plan which had placed 100 (25 per cent) of Chester's black students in desegregated schools by the 1968-69 school year.

In 1967, HEW officials made two trips to the county in an effort to negotiate a plan producing total desegregation. But local officials stood firm against further progress, and the department initiated enforcement proceedings. For two years the district made few changes. Then on February 16, 1969, Secretary Finch announced that he was terminating the county's federal funds in 30 days. Finch's action "shocked" the school board, and on February 24, the school superintendent wrote Senator Howard Baker (R.-Tenn.) requesting one more review.[16]

Several days of negotiations ensued involving a special team of HEW officials, Chester County officials, and the

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[16]The Chester story was reported in an extensive article appearing in the Long Island paper, Newsday, May 7, 1969. Subsequent conversations with OCR officials have confirmed that account.

director of Tennessee field operations for Senator Baker.[17] On March 16, the Chester County school board approved a plan that desegregated grades 9-12 in the county's all-black school by transferring the black students to the white high schools. However, under this plan, the first eight grades of the black school remained segregated.

Veteran HEW officials pointed out that the plan would be a violation of existing standards because (1) the district was not a majority black district (only 14 per cent black), and (2) existing physical facilities could accommodate full desegregation in 1969. Therefore, there were insufficient reasons for granting the district a 1970 terminal date.

Finch extended the 30-day termination date beyond March 16 and met with Senator Baker and the school superintendent on March 19, according to the Nashville Tennessean. "Finch met with Panetta and the three top department guideline experts and asked them to suggest some wrinkle that Chester County might accept to overcome the segregation of grades one through eight."[18] After further discussion, the county finally agreed to send 35-40 white elementary students to the all-black school in 1969 for classes in music and chorus. Total desegregation was promised for 1970.

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[17] The Nashville Tennessean, March 20, 1969.

[18] Newsday, May 7, 1969.

Panetta claimed the plan was acceptable, but he apparently had very little choice. "To be very frank, I did not like the plan, but it can be defended as being legal," he said. Senator Baker announced Finch's decision to restore funds to Chester County on March 19 -- six days before voters in the adjacent congressional district went to the polls in a special congressional election. According to Panetta, the special election had "some influence" on HEW's normal decision-making process. "Had not Senator Baker indicated a great interest in the case, and had not the Secretary become involved, the chances are that Chester County's funds would be terminated today."[19]

Many HEW professionals remained convinced that Chester County received something other non-majority districts had never received: an extra year to desegregate without a clear need for construction of new facilities. Edwin H. Yourman, HEW's assistant general counsel for education, commented, "As far as I know, there never was a case where there was so much feeling [in the department] that they

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[19] Ibid. Tennessee's third district congressman, Bill Brock, was also involved in the case. William Timmons, a member of the President's Congressional Relations staff in the White House had telephoned Panetta about the case at Brock's request. A White House Congressional Relations aide, Lamar A. Alexander, also called Panetta "two or three times at the request of Baker's office, but only to get information on the status of the case."

The political maneuvering apparently had little of the desired impact on the voters in the special election. The Republican candidate ran third behind the American Independent Party candidate and the Democrat, who won.

already had a usable facility." Another official refers to Chester's plan to build eight new classrooms onto a white school building as "something we can hide behind" in defending the Chester settlement to other school districts.[20]

A later instance of apparent political intervention involved 21 school districts in South Carolina where the federal district court had asked HEW to submit desegregation plans. Education experts from the Title IV Equal Education Opportunities Program (EEOP)[21] drafted plans which, in accord with current OCR standards, generally required completely unified school systems for the 1969-70 school year. When most of the local districts resisted the proposals, political pressures apparently succeeded in having the plans revised and the EEOP staff overruled through intervention of top HEW and Justice officials. The plans were hastily "modified" so that all but three of the school districts received a September 1970, not September 1969, terminal date.

The proposed new plans for nine of the 21 districts completely violated established standards for requiring sub-

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[20] Newsday, May 7, 1969.

[21] The Title IV program was authorized by Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The program's purpose is to provide technical assistance and advice to those districts attempting to eliminate dual school systems.

stantial interim steps because no additional grades were to be desegregated in 1969-70. Although the other nine 1970 terminal plans required somewhat more substantial interim steps, one OCR official termed them "very charitable."

Deviations from established policies due to special political circumstances were certainly not initiated by the present administration. Panetta points out that in July, 1968, the Johnson administration's reaction to a situation involving a Columbus, Mississippi, district was similar to the Finch response vis-a-vis Chester.[22] However, the numerous inadequate plans accepted since January 20 tend to support the contention that the present administration is rather highly susceptible to southern political pressures.

Four days before the opening of the 1969-70 school year, Palm Beach, Florida, had a 1970 plan approved with weak interim steps even though only 27.8 per cent of its 65,700 students are black. Operating a freedom-of-choice system in the 1967-68 school year, Palm Beach had only 17.7 per cent of its black students in desegregated schools. The low rate of desegregation continued despite the fact that the district received in 1965 through 1967, one of the largest Title IV technical assistance grants ever awarded

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[22] Newsday, May 7, 1969.

to one district for the purpose of formulating a desegregation plan.

In the summer of 1968, HEW attempted without success to negotiate a plan to achieve greater desegregation. On August 20, 1968, the district was formally cited for noncompliance. However, Title VI officials continued to negotiate while the enforcement proceedings also progressed. By January, 1969, OCR's charge of noncompliance had been upheld by a hearing examiner and an appeal from the district was pending before the Reviewing Authority. Negotiations continued throughout the school year. Further assistance was provided by experts from the Title IV desegregation center at the University of Miami.

OCR officials were concerned that the district be required to achieve as much desegregation as possible in September, 1969, because adjacent districts were also in the process of negotiating plans. As the opening of the 1969-70 school year approached, Palm Beach faced the possibility of losing $8.4 million in federal aid if an agreement were not reached.[23]

During the week prior to the beginning of school, however, OCR officials finally agreed to accept a desegregation plan proposed by the local county school board. Senator Edward Gurney (R.-Fla.), who had acted as an "intermediary"

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[23] The Miami Herald, September 30, 1969.

in the case, announced the settlement on Friday, August 29, soon after OCR offices closed.[24]

The approved plan was considerably weaker than either of the plans which had been proposed by OCR or the Title IV education experts from the University of Miami. The Title IV program had invested thousands of dollars and several months working out a plan which met the requirements of Title VI. Both the Title VI and the Title IV plans called for 90 per cent desegregation in 1969-70. The plan which was accepted will result in only about 20 per cent desegregation in 1969-70, with promises of more to come in 1970-71.

(Administration critics find one consistent political note in the Tennessee, South Carolina, and Florida cases. In all three, Republican politicians were given the chance to show their constituents that they could deal effectively with a Republican administration to the point of slowing down desegregation in several individual districts.)

In some districts such as Clark County, Georgia, and Fulton County, Georgia, OCR made an effort to stand firm behind reasonably sound plans in the face of strong political pressure to do otherwise. OCR officials working in Fulton County had to contend with the vociferous interventions of Representative Fletcher Thompson who stated his

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[24] Ibid. One well-placed official estimates that residents in one section of Palm Beach County contributed over a million dollars to the Nixon campaign.

intention to seek the impeachment of Secretary Finch.

Fulton County had a student enrollment of over 34,000 students in 1968-69, of which 11 per cent were black. In May, 1969, regional officials referred the case to Washington after negotiations with Fulton officials failed to provide assurances that the district would substantially increase the number of students in desegregated schools in the 1969-70 year. (Only 13 per cent of the students attended desegregated schools in 1968-69.)

During the summer of 1969, OCR officials in the regional and Washington offices, refusing to buckle under pressures from local officials, discussed at least four different plans with Fulton County schoolmen which would desegregate six of nine all-black schools in the county system in 1969. On July 25, the county board voted to close the all-black Eva Thomas High School in College Park and to send the students to three white schools. This action, however, fulfilled only one part of an OCR-approved plan because eight other all-black schools would remain in operation during 1969. Before the final confrontation between OCR and the county board, the case was removed from OCR's jurisdiction as a result of a suit brought by the Atlanta Chapter of the NAACP.

Retreat Without Confrontation

In addition to those cases where absence of firm adherence to established policies can be related to obvious

political influences, several inadequate plans have been accepted since January 20 even though direct political intervention was not so readily apparent. These cases are significant because they illustrate how weak voluntary plans can contribute to a general relaxation of desegregation standards and can further delay the achievement of desegregated education. Acceptance of such plans may also suggest a conscious or even unconscious relaxation of standards on the part of OCR administrators as a consequence of nonsupport from top political officials in the administration.

In Gulfport, Mississippi, the student population is 22 per cent black, and no serious construction problems prevented full desegregation in 1969. In the summer of 1968, OCR negotiated a plan permitting the district to continue a freedom-of-choice system which achieved about 30 per cent desegregation in the 1968-69 school year. The 1968 plan also provided for complete desegregation in September, 1969, through the use of a new system of zoning.

In February, 1969, Gulfport reneged on the 1968 plan and requested until 1970 to complete its desegregation program. "Community resistance" was cited as one reason for seeking the delay. Regional OCR officials in Atlanta told the district that such reasons were inadequate and, if accepted, would violate established policies. After fruitless negotiations with the district, the regional office referred the case to Washington with a recommendation that

the district be cited for noncompliance.[25]

Additional discussion between local officials and OCR officials in Washington produced a plan which would increase total desegregation from 30 per cent in 1968 to 50 per cent in 1969, and allow a terminal date of 1970.[26]

Acceptance of the revised Gulfport plan represented another departure from strict adherence to the policy of allowing only districts with majority black populations or construction problems to have a 1970 terminal date. When questioned about the Gulfport plan, Washington OCR officials pointed out that the neighboring district in Biloxi continued to operate a freedom-of-choice plan under a court order. Therefore, the officials contended, community political pressures were such as to prevent Gulfport from peacefully and completely desegregating in 1969. If the same reasoning were applied throughout the South, the pace of desegregation would be dictated by the degree of resistance it encountered.

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[25]The three HEW regional offices serving the South (Atlanta, Charlotte, and New Orleans), are authorized to approve a district's desegregation plan. All plans are not acceptable at the regional level are referred to Washington, usually with a recommendation that the district be cited for noncompliance. The referral action in itself will often encourage the district to negotiate a plan with officials in Washington. If a settlement is not reached, the Washington office may initiate enforcement proceedings.

[26]The effects of Hurricane Camille required no change in Gulfport's basic plan for desegregation.

In Aiken, South Carolina, (Senator Strom Thurmond's district) the district's desegregation plan achieved a 35 per cent level of desegregation in 1968-69. Like Gulfport, the plan was approved in the summer of 1968, and promised virtually complete desegregation in September, 1969. In April, 1969, the district sought to revise its plan. The renegotiated plan, pending acceptance in Washington, is expected to achieve 60-65 per cent desegregation in 1969 and 100 per cent in 1970. However, since Aiken is not a majority black district and does not need new facilities, established policies were compromised by failure to adhere to the 1969 terminal date.

Lancaster, South Carolina, and South Panola, Mississippi, are other districts which have 1970-71 terminal dates, even though neither has a majority black population nor serious construction problems.

More serious deviations from established policies are illustrated by similar voluntary plans accepted from two South Carolina districts -- Berkeley and Orangeburg County district No. 4, and Twiggs County, Georgia. These are districts with majority black student populations. On paper they have good 1970-71 plans, but their interim steps for 1969-70 promised only miniscule increases in desegregation. (In this respect, the interim steps are similar to the steps approved for at least nine of the 21 South Carolina court order districts already discussed.)

For example, In Twiggs, Georgia, 64 per cent of the

student population is black. Under freedom-of-choice plans, the extent of desegregation remained the same in 1967-68 and 1968-69 -- about 4.5 per cent for both years. The plan accepted from Twiggs in April, 1969, promised 100 per cent desegregation in the 1970-71 year, but no additional desegregation over the 4.5 per cent was anticipated in 1969-70. Interim steps include joint meetings of clubs and organizations between black and white schools, exchange of classes in civic and world history, and cooperation between high school newspaper staffs.

Although these steps may offer some degree of progress, the Twiggs plan represented a clear departure from established policies of requiring as much desegregation as is administratively possible. If a district has not increased the percentage of students in desegregated schools in two years, one may reasonably doubt that without more federal pressure, the district will move from 4.5 per cent to 100 per cent desegregation in September, 1970.[27]

On the basis of available data,[28] it would be irre-

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[27] According to HEW reports, Twiggs failed to implement even these minimal steps in September, 1969.

[28] See "Federal Enforcement" and the statement by Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel, NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc., New York City, September 9, 1969. /Hereafter cited as LDF statement./ The former report, however, does not evaluate any voluntary plans. The two additional districts listed in the LDF statement are Salisbury, North Carolina, and York No. 2 (Clover), South Carolina.

sponsible to assert that a majority of the 106 voluntary plans accepted in 1969 have been substandard in terms of OCR's own criteria. But the cases which have been reviewed indicate varying degrees of weakness in interim steps and do bring into question the "effectiveness" of all the plans accepted. The known substandard voluntary plans accepted in 1969 in addition to the approximately 100 court-order plans accepting minimal desegregation in September, 1969, have made a major contribution to the general slowing down of the desegregation effort.

The administration also has ignored at least 80 school districts with majority black populations, permitting continued segregation.[29] The failure to enforce the law in these districts dates back to the Johnson administration. But the status quo forces grew more intransigent through continued delayed inaction.

The administration's policies have been terribly inconsistent. Abandonment of uniform standards for desegregating districts even before July 3, and rejection of a "single arbitrary date" by which desegregation must be achieved, have contributed to frequent discrepancies among the steps taken by individual districts. This in turn places increased local pressure on school officials to proceed according to the lowest common denominator

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[29] LDF statement, p. 2.

of desegregation and aggravates the problem of monitoring the plans. In the absence of clear standards, "bona fide educational and administrative problems" threatened to become excuses for perpetuating educational discrimination and social injustice until well into the 1970's.

The Whitten Amendments

Another clue as to the administration's attitude on Title VI enforcement was its initial failure to oppose the Whitten amendments in the House. As in 1968, Representative Jamie Whitten (D.-Miss.) offered amendments to the House HEW-Labor appropriations bill which would seriously curtail the federal government's efforts to bring about desegregation through withholding of federal funds. Pro-civil rights Republicans requested help from Secretary Finch's office in fighting the restrictions. According to one newspaper source, "They were assured aid would be forthcoming -- a public statement to be issued by Finch." During House debate, however, the statement never materialized, due apparently to opposition from the Attorney General's office.[30] As the Washington Post observed on the day before the House vote, " . . . to let the . . . amendments go by without opposition /from Republican leaders/ would provide a very clear signal to the South and further undermine the efforts

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[30]The Atlanta Constitution, September 12, 1969.

of Mr. Nixon's appointees at HEW."[31] Subsequently, in a press announcement on September 11, Finch expressed his opposition to the amendments. In testimony before the Senate Appropriations Committee, he formally voiced his department's opposition to the legislation.[32]

Delays Inherent in the Administrative Process

Thus far, we have dealt with federal actions that have compromised the administrative enforcement process. But the sad fact is, civil rights advocates point out, the process itself allows for serious and often crippling delays.

Over 50 districts were listed as being at the first stage of the process for the week ending November 20, 1969.[33] That is, they had received notice of HEW's intention to initiate formal enforcement proceedings and defer the

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[31]Even though the House passed the amendments, civil rights forces did not place all responsibility for passage on the Republicans because at least 50 voted against the amendments. "And one of the things that undermined the best efforts of the valiant opponents of the Whitten riders was the conspicuous absence from the floor of many liberal Democrats." (Quoted from the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights Memo, No. 12-69, August 11, 1969, p. 2.)

[32]Marquis Childs has suggested that "Finch is a kind of St. Sebastian, set up to take the arrows of attack with the patient smile of martydom." (The Washington Post, September 17, 1969.)

[33]Department of HEW, Status of Title VI Compliance, Interagency Report, weekly cumulative listing, November 20, 1969.

district's federal funds. In two cases, the notice was filed three years ago (November 25, 1966, for Richardson, Texas, and December 12, 1966, for Americus, Georgia) and no additional enforcement steps have been taken. In the remaining 19 cases, notices were filed on or before August 25, 1969.[34]

The second stage in the enforcement process is a hearing before a federal examiner who determines if the school district is in violation of the law as claimed by HEW. HEW's November 20 status report listed three districts for which a hearing had been conducted in 1968, but no decision had been rendered. Several other hearings had been completed prior to August, 1969, but again, no decision had been rendered.

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[34]After a district has been cited for noncompliance, it frequently will agree to desegregate while the enforcement proceedings are in progress. Subsequently, OCR often will suspend the proceedings at whatever stage of enforcement has been reached and lift the deferral of federal funds, but refuse to drop the proceedings. The district continues to be listed as under enforcement but in reality, no penalties are imposed or other action taken at that time. This procedure eliminates the necessity for starting enforcement proceedings from the beginning, should the district break its agreement and renege on its plan. One may assume that after a reasonable period of time, the proceedings either should be dropped because the district desegregated, or be continued because the district failed to desegregate. Otherwise, "enforcement" becomes meaningless.

Americus, Georgia, is one of the districts where deferral of funds has been lifted, although officially the district has been under "formal enforcement procedures" for three years. In the Richardson, Texas, case, HEW apparently cited the district three years ago, deferred funds, and has taken no action since.

The decision by the hearing examiner is final unless appealed to a five-man Review Authority, appointed by the Secretary of HEW. If the district is found to be in non-compliance and no appeal is made, the case goes directly to the Secretary for his signature ordering termination of funds. Two years ago, hearing examiners found two districts to be violating the law. A decision was rendered against Bowman School District No. 2 in South Carolina on December 11, 1967, and against Hart County, Georgia, on January 19, 1968. By November, 1969, no appeal had been made to the Authority, and no fund terminations had been ordered by the Secretary.

A more common delay in the enforcement process has occurred when cases are appealed to the Review Authority. Twenty-six cases were pending before the Authority on November 20. The average time lapse since the hearing examiner's decision was six months. Elbert County, Georgia, has been pending since December, 1968, and Palm Beach, Florida, since January, 1969.[35]

Another case pending before the Authority at present involves Richlands No. 1 school district in Columbia, South Carolina. Early in 1969, the local hearing examiner over-

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[35] HEW accepted a "weak" desegregation plan from Palm Beach in August, 1969. Like Americus, Georgia, both Elbert and Palm Beach are receiving federal funds. "Formal enforcement proceedings" have not been dismissed, however, pending the districts' progress toward desegregation in 1969-70.

ruled OCR objections to a desegregation plan submitted by the Columbia city school board. OCR believed the plan to be very inadequate and appealed the ruling to the review panel. Although the appeal has been pending since May 1, 1969, a decision had not been reached as of November 26. Thus, due in part to the inefficiency of the administrative review process, the district has already started another school year, still receiving money under a plan OCR considers to be in violation of the law.

When the Authority does make a decision, the Secretary may then exercise his responsibility and terminate the funds. On November 20, 13 districts were listed as violators of the law as determined by decisions by the Authority. Decisions in eight of the cases had been rendered in June, 1969, or before, but the Secretary had taken no action.

HEW's response to a recent ruling by the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit added further unnecessary delay to the process described above. On August 12, 1969, the court decided against the government in a case involving termination of funds in Taylor County, Florida. The court rejected HEW's practice of assuming blanket discrimination in all federally-aided programs on the basis of faculty or student segregation. HEW was ordered to make separate findings of discrimination for each of the 23 different aid programs the district had received.

On September 17, HEW requested that 39 cases using pre-Taylor administrative procedures be returned to federal

hearing examiners for review according to the Taylor guidelines. Reconsideration of these cases probably will not result in a reversal of earlier discrimination findings. However, the administrative enforcement proceedings were expected to be delayed for several months while the hearing examiners conducted their review.

Given the fact that the appellate court rendered its decision on August 12, HEW contributed to delay by waiting until September 17 to return the 39 cases to the hearing examiners.[36]

HEW can take steps to mitigate the inefficiencies of the administrative enforcement process. For example, the Secretary has the administrative authority to enlarge, eliminate, or otherwise alter the Review Authority to make it a more efficient body.[37] Decisions of hearing examiners which are appealed should be adjudicated by the Authority immediately after the hearing. Delays of a month, much less six months, are inexcusable.

Unless HEW acts to expedite the process, administrative red tape and political expediency will continue to prevent efficient policy implementation.

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[36] Delay was further abetted for 90 days while HEW and Justice debated whether to appeal the decision to the Supreme Court. No appeal was made.

[37] On June 26, 1969, Secretary Finch appointed four new members to the Department's five-member Civil Rights Review Authority, but two of the four were generally regarded by HEW staffers as likely to be sympathetic to appealing districts. See the Atlanta Constitution, July 26, 1969.

PART II

CLIMAX IN MISSISSIPPI

The Administration Rebuked

The most far-reaching administration decision reflecting the influence of those opposed to quick and effective desegregation involved school districts in Mississippi. On July 3, 1969, 30 Mississippi school districts were ordered by the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit to take whatever steps were necessary to desegregate their schools completely by September, 1969. This order was in accord with the May, 1968, Supreme Court ruling involving New Kent County, Virginia, that freedom-of-choice desegregation plans were legally inadequate unless they resulted in the elimination of dual school systems.[38]

Acting on the Circuit Court's order, technical assistance teams from the Office of Education's Title IV program collaborated with local community officials to develop desegregation plans which were filed with the federal district court on August 11. However, on August 20, Secretary Finch sent a letter to the group of federal judges who were to hear arguments on the plans requesting that the

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[38] Green, et al. v. County School Board of New Kent County, Virginia, et al., U. S. Supreme Court, No. 695, May 27, 1968.

district court delay the hearing until December 1 so HEW could file other plans. In his letter, Finch explained that his department had lacked sufficient time to draft the plans and that chaos would ensue if the plans were put into effect when school opened on August 25.[39]

The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund immediately filed a motion (which was denied) asking the court to change the federal government from a fellow plaintiff to a defendant along with the Mississippi segregationists. "The U. S. government," said attorney Melvyn Leventhal, "for the first time has demonstrated that it no longer seeks to represent the rights of Negro children."[40] The government's request for a delay was granted by a two-judge federal panel, and upheld by the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. The Legal Defense Fund then took its appeal to U. S. Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black. Black reluctantly upheld the Circuit Court, but at the same time denounced

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[39] Finch's letter stated, " . . . the administrative and logistical difficulties which must be encountered in the terribly short space of time remaining, must surely, in my judgment, produce chaos, confusion, and a catastrophic educational setback to the children in the school districts." The Washington Post, August 25, 1969.

Opposition lawyers for the Mississippi school boards had advance knowledge that the delay would be requested. Justice Department's lawyers who were in Mississippi to argue the case were not informed. The Atlanta Constitution, September 9, 1969.

[40] The Atlanta Constitution, August 26, 1969.

school desegregation delays and suggested that the full court hear the case. The high court agreed to do so. In pleading its case, the Legal Defense Fund asked the court to strike down the "all deliberate speed" clause in the 1954 Brown decision.

On October 29, in what was generally seen as a landmark decision comparable to the Brown ruling 15 years earlier, the Supreme Court unanimously reversed the Fifth Circuit decision.[41] The Mississippi cases were remanded to the Circuit Court, and the latter was instructed to order immediate desegregation in all of the school districts, accepting all or any part of the plans submitted to the court by Title IV officials on August 11. The Fifth Circuit ordered 27 of the districts to implement the Title IV plans and to begin operating racially integrated schools by December 31, 1970. Because of serious transitional problems, three of the districts also were allowed to follow the Title IV plans which provided for partial desegregation in January, 1970, and full desegregation by September, 1970. The decision was accepted by all parties concerned.

In addition to precipitating the crucial action by the Supreme Court, the administration's action in Mississippi had earlier produced an organized protest of attorneys in the Justice Department's civil rights division. Unhappy over

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[41] Beatrice Alexander, et al., v. Holmes County Board of Education.

the administration's July 3 statement on school policies and its proposed modification of the Voting Rights Act plus the Mississippi decision, 90 per cent of the division's staff attorneys held a series of meetings to determine what, if anything, should be done to prevent "the whole civil rights drive from going down the drain."[42] At almost the same time, a group of black summer interns sent Mitchell a memo charging the department with "timidity on civil rights."[43]

The dispute within the civil rights division embarrassed the administration. By October 16, two leaders of the protest had been forced to leave their jobs. Gary Greenberg, a Harvard Law School graduate, was given two-and-a-half hours to clear out his desk after he told Leonard that he could not defend the administration's position in the Mississippi cases.

The other expelled leader was Joe Nixon, an Alabamian and five-year veteran of the civil rights division. Nixon charged that Leonard saw his " . . . higher obligation as servant to John Mitchell, rather than to enforcement of the law." The attorney also described Leonard as being " . . . very susceptible to the sophisticated southern defenses about needing more time and having administrative problems or

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[42] Newsweek, September 8, 1969.

[43] Ibid.

needing to prepare the community for change."[44]

Another less publicized event related to the Mississippi incident was the voluntary transfer of three top officials from the EEOP. Within a few weeks of the administration's request for delay in August, Dr. Greg Anrig, director of the EEOP; Mr. Frank B. McGettrick, deputy director; and Mr. Richard Fairley, head of the southeastern region of EEOP, were reassigned at their own request to other duties within the Office of Education. Anrig and his associates have been consistent advocates of firm desegregation policies. The EEOP plays a crucial role in the overall desegregation effort, particularly in the hundreds of districts under court order, including those in Louisiana and Mississippi. The loss of three experienced professionals strongly committed to ending segregated school systems further weakened desegregation efforts. The transfers also gave additional evidence of dissatisfaction among federal officials with the political game the administration was playing with school desegregation.[45]

A close examination of the circumstances surrounding the Mississippi cases makes reasonably clear the administration's untenable position before the court. Although Finch

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[44] The Washington Post, October 16, 1969.

[45] The Washington Post, September 23, 1969.

had discussed the Mississippi situation with OCR officials several days prior to the formal request for delay, neither Panetta, the director of OCR, nor James Allen, the liberal Commissioner of Education, were ever contacted about the specific decision to seek postponement of the plans. Furthermore, once the decision was made, neither the director of the Title IV program nor the branch chief of the southeastern region for Title IV appeared in court to testify in favor of the decision to seek delay.[46] In other words, the decision apparently was opposed by the HEW top civil rights and educational officials most familiar with the situation in Mississippi. The plans which were submitted to the court on August 11 were prepared by trained educators who had visited each of the school districts at least three times while the plans were being drawn.

One little-reported aspect of the case is that although the proposed plans called for immediate desegregation in all but three of the districts, the plan also suggested interim steps which could be taken during the 1969-70 school year to accomplish partial desegregation. Title IV personnel were well aware of the difficult problems facing some of the districts. If the district court had decided to defer complete desegregation because, for example, of

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[46]At least seven other Title IV staff members refused to recant their findings that immediate desegregation was feasible. The Washington Post, September 23, 1969.

impending chaos, interim steps were already outlined by the Title VI plans. Apparently the Secretary, or whoever made the decision to request a delay,[47] found even these steps to be too "catastrophic" for the local communities.

A survey of the proposed plans reveals that 16 of the 30 districts had five schools or less and three districts had only two schools. The decision to request delay in all 30 districts completely disregarded varying local circumstances and the possibility that some districts might have gone ahead with the suggested plans.[48]

Another alternative to delaying desegregation until December 1, and thus until 1970-71, would have been to request a few weeks delay in the opening of school to give the local officials more time to prepare. There is nothing sacrosanct about the date when a school has to open. Such delays have been ordered in the past to facilitate desegregation plans.

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[47] Well-placed federal officials suggest that the initiative for the decision came from the Attorney General's office and that Finch was brought into the picture as an "education expert" to help mute criticism of the Justice Department and White House politicians. Reports indicate that pressure by Senator John Stennis (D.-Miss.) and the rest of the Mississippi delegation encouraged a reevaluation of the plans. The Washington Post, August 25, 1969.

According to a report in the New York Times, September 19, 1969, Stennis wrote the President, threatening to abandon his crucial leadership role in the ABM fight unless desegregation was slowed. The White House denied having received the letter.

[48] See "Federal Enforcement," p. 55, for further comment.

With respect to improving the quality of education for all children in the districts in question, administration critics point out that the case for delay had little merit. If the white community was intent on preventing complete and orderly implementation of the desegregation plans, a three-month's delay seemed only to give opposition more time to solidify.

According to some of the federal officials who worked on the plans, at least half of the Mississippi school superintendents revealed in private conversation that their jobs were less difficult when the government was firm in demanding complete desegregation.

In many segregated communities in the Deep South, few whites will admit publicly that they will send their children to school with blacks. "People say a lot of things," one Mississippi attorney and advisor to the Leake County Board of Supervisors told Time magazine, "but when it gets right down to it, they don't always do what they say they're going to do."[49]

The Administration's Reaction

The Supreme Court landmark decision in the Alexander v. Holmes case gave HEW and the Department of Justice a new

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[49] Time, September 19, 1969, p. 21. Leake County was selected for analysis by Time as a district typical of those granted a reprieve.

opportunity to initiate firm and consistent enforcement actions against districts which have refused to desegregate their schools. HEW took advantage of the opportunity and announced on November 16 that it planned to take affirmative action immediately affecting 112 school districts:

1) Forty-six districts which had been "negotiating" with HEW over what constituted an "acceptable" plan for their schools were given 30 days to formulate plans for desegregating their schools by December 31, 1969. Failure to comply will result in the districts being cited for noncompliance -- the first step in administrative enforcement leading to final terminations.

2) Thirty-one districts which have used long, drawn-out court battles to delay being placed under a final court order must submit to HEW a court-approved plan requiring desegregation by December 31 or face administrative enforcement.

3) Thirty-five districts which submitted acceptable plans but failed to implement them in September will be cited immediately or referred to the Department of Justice in those cases where Justice is certain it can move quickly to file a lawsuit forcing desegregation. According to Paul Rilling, director of OCR's regional office in Atlanta, this administrative action against reneging districts does apply to all such districts in Georgia which have not been sued by the Justice Department. Prior to the policies announced on November 16, the government had taken no action

against approximately 16 reneging districts in Georgia.

4) HEW also announced on November 16 that it would urge the 97 segregated school systems which have lost their federal funds to submit an acceptable plan by December 31 and thereby regain their money. Otherwise, the districts face the possibility of a lawsuit.

Civil rights advocates may applaud the fact that HEW now plans to move more aggressively to bring certain recalcitrant districts into compliance. At the same time, the fact that action has to be taken in so many districts is an indication of the weakness and inconsistency of previous policies. For instance, one may question why HEW was even negotiating with 46 districts after the school year began without having cited the districts for noncompliance. That is, if a district has not agreed to comply with Title VI and desegregate its schools by September, 1969, a firm enforcement policy would dictate immediate initiation of enforcement procedures before additional negotiations were held.

A large majority of the 46 districts are those with majority black populations. No significant action had been taken in these cases since the Civil Rights Act was passed in 1964. The negotiations that had taken place were of a "technical" nature involving no substantive discussion. Now steps apparently will be taken to desegregate some of the 80 districts with majority black populations. (About 21

of the districts are located in Georgia where they will not be affected by new administrative actions.)

Another weakness of past policies is illustrated by the delayed action against the 31 districts involved in litigation. HEW since 1964 has had the legal authority to initiate enforcement procedures in any litigated district not under a final court order. But in the past the authority had been used only sporadically and with little positive benefits.

The policies announced on November 16, however, do commit HEW to take new positive steps to speed school desegregation as the court has ordered. This affirmative action, apparently taken despite the absence of directives from the White House, constitutes a significant effort to reverse the tide of evasive and apathetic desegregation enforcement fostered by the administration since January. The success of the effort now depends on successful implementation of the announced policies. OCR's initiative is in contrast to the failure of the Justice Department to initiate litigation implementing the court's ruling in many districts where Justice previously had initiated desegregation suits.

Despite this indication of a more vigorous enforcement program on the part of HEW, many civil rights advocates feel that the court's decision permitted, or even required, HEW to take additional steps.

For example, for the first time in three months, OCR

plans to initiate enforcement proceedings against Georgia school districts which reneged on their plans in September, 1969. However, in lieu of the desegregation suit which Justice filed against the state of Georgia in August, OCR still plans to make no effort to negotiate voluntary plans with the remaining segregated Georgia districts, or to move against districts which have failed to submit plans. This means that after five years of neglect, at least 21 majority black districts will continue to be unaffected by HEW's administrative inducements to desegregate. Although the Justice Department has taken the legal action to secure statewide desegregation by 1970-71, civil rights advocates feel that the possibility of court-ordered desegregation sometime in the future is a poor excuse for excluding potentially effective administrative action to secure desegregated education immediately.

The most questionable aspect of HEW's post-Alexander policies is the department's refusal to speed the desegregation process in any of the 120 districts operating under HEW-approved 1970-71 terminal plans.

According to Paul Rilling, the policy toward the 1970 plans is based on the fact that while HEW has an obligation to implement the Supreme Court's decision, it also has an obligation to those school officials who submitted voluntary desegregation plans in good faith under ground rules prevailing before October 29. Rilling points out that the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals approved 1970 terminal plans with

substantial interim steps in 1969-70 for three of the Mississippi districts affected by the Alexander decision. The Legal Defense Fund did not appeal these cases.[50] OCR has decided, therefore, that it would be unfair to those who entered into "good faith agreements" on 1970 plans to reopen the cases at this time. OCR does plan to review the plans to see that the 1969-70 interim steps are carried out.

Rilling indicated that OCR's regional branches still could recommend that a 1970 terminal date be approved for districts submitting a voluntary plan if the district's reasons for requesting the extra time met the criteria which the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals established for the three Mississippi districts. The final decision on such a recommendation, however, would be the responsibility of the director of OCR.

Civil rights advocates have raised two major objections to OCR's decision to simply audit the implementation of the 1970 plans;

A. The basic guideline concerning the timing of desegregation prior to October 29 was the Supreme Court's "all deliberate speed" doctrine which since 1954 has per-

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[50] Charles Morgan, director of the American Civil Liberties Union's southern regional office in Atlanta, has suggested that the Supreme Court's mandate required all 30 districts to desegregate by December 31, and that the Fifth Circuit erred in approving the delay for three of the districts.

mitted great flexibility in setting deadlines for ending segregated education. Now the high court has ruled that "all deliberate speed" is "no longer constitutionally permissible." The new obligation is "to terminate dual school systems at once . . . ."

The primary responsibility of OCR in the field of education is to bring about desegregated schools. OCR personnel and local school officials are mutually bound by the court's new directive. Districts entering into so-called "good faith agreements" to desegregate in 1970-71 under the old ground rules should be required to revise their plans to comply with the new standards. In terms of both fairness and faithful implementation of the court's decision, all voluntary plan districts should implement plans which are in accord with the newly defined constitutional standards.

B. In implementing the Supreme Court's decision in Alexander v. Holmes, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed its position prior to the decision and ordered 27 Mississippi districts to desegregate completely by December 31, 1969. Three districts were granted 1970 terminal dates because of the serious problems relating to the size of the districts (two had over 10,000 students), the large number of all-black schools involved, and the incomplete construction of new schools. All of the districts were required to take substantial interim steps in the 1969-1970 year. These steps will result in an immediate increase in student and

faculty desegregation.

HEW has stated that it will review its 1970 plans "to assure that substantial 1969 interim steps were fully implemented."[51] But this position avoids a difficult, but very important, issue by assuming that all of the HEW-approved 1970 plans do in fact include "substantial interim steps." As the 1970 voluntary plans reviewed in this report illustrate, HEW has accepted 1970 plans with a great variety of interim steps which evidence a complete lack of consistent standards.

Plans similar to and including those for Twiggs, Georgia, and Berkeley, South Carolina, do not anticipate any increase in the number of students in desegregated schools in 1969-70. Districts like Palm Beach, Florida, succeeded in getting plans approved which require only a minimal increase in desegregation during 1969-70.[52]

In view of this mixed-bag of 1970 plans and interim steps which HEW accepted prior to the landmark October 29 decision, civil rights advocates feel that HEW should do more than review the plans to see that they are implemented. HEW has an obligation to review, and where appropriate (one

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[51] HEW press release, November 16, 1969, p. 3.

[52] The reader will remember that the plan finally accepted by OCR for Palm Beach was expected to increase desegregation in 1969-70 from 17 per cent to 20 per cent, whereas OCR had originally advocated a plan to achieve 90 per cent desegregation in 1969-70.

feels this would be in many cases), revise the plans so that they comply with the court's mandate of immediate desegregation, or at least meet the criteria for interim steps set by the Fifth Circuit in applying the Alexander decision to the 30 Mississippi districts. (See pages 65-67 for comment on the Fifth Circuit's order of December 1 approving fall, 1970, deadlines for complete desegregation in 13 other southern school cases.)

Some observers point out that unlike the Legal Defense Fund, the Justice Department has not initiated new actions in those cases involving court-approved 1970 plans. Failure of Justice to act, especially in cases such as those involving the 21 South Carolina districts where virtually no increased desegregation has been ordered by the courts for 1969-70, also restricts action by HEW since the latter has always acted in "close coordination" with the Department of Justice. But HEW is under no legal obligation to follow Justice. From a legal perspective, HEW in fact is free to renegotiate the 1970 plans at any time. Some legal authorities feel that OCR is obligated to reopen cases. Jack Greenberg, director-counsel of the Legal Defense Fund, has indicated that court action may be taken to force a faster rate of desegregation in districts with HEW-approved 1970 plans.

To reopen the 1970 plans would increase the political and administrative problems involved. But these problems are not insurmountable. OCR still has a unique opportunity

to bring every school district following a voluntary plan under one consistent standard of immediate desegregation.

PART III

RESPONSE IN LOCAL DISTRICTS

A crucial factor influencing the progress of desegregation is the attitude of local community leaders, particularly their understanding of what action the federal government will require. There is substantial evidence to suggest that the administration's vacillation has strengthened local defiance of the law. The number of districts reneging on commitments to desegregate since January 20, for instance, probably is one indication that local districts perceived a weakening of federal enforcement.

In the six southern states[53] under the jurisdiction of OCR's regional office in Atlanta, 145 districts were operating under approved terminal desegregation plans by September, 1969. The performance of these districts has been verified by OCR. Eighty-three districts completely implemented their plans. Fifteen districts still under negotiation had achieved "substantial implementation" of their plans. Forty-seven (or 33 per cent) of the 145 districts had reneged. In the 1968-69 school year, only seven (or seven per cent) of the 97 districts in the region operating

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[53] Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee, and South Carolina.

under approved terminal plans reneged.[54]

According to HEW, "It is important to note that each year, HEW is dealing with a larger percentage of difficult school districts; the districts with the fewest obstacles had earlier submitted voluntary plans."[55] One could reasonably expect that some of the 227 districts throughout the South promising complete desegregation in 1969 would refuse to fulfill their commitments regardless of administration policy. Nevertheless, the number of reneges this year in Region IV, and probably throughout the South,[56] is significantly larger than last year.

Regional OCR officials in Atlanta estimate that maybe one-fourth of the districts which failed to implement their plans faced "unavoidable problems" and would have failed under any circumstances. The other districts may or may not have sought delays had the administration taken

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[54]Data provided by Paul Rilling, director of OCR's regional office in Atlanta, November 26, 1969. Data from Alabama are not included because that state is under a court order.

[55]Progress Report on Civil Rights, September, 1969, Department of HEW, Office of the Secretary, p. 3. See Gary Orfield, Reconstruction of Southern Education (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1969), p. 336, for discussion of past administrative strategy in moving against segregated districts.

[56]The Wall Street Journal reports that in "dozens of districts" officials are either dragging their heels or flatly refusing to carry out integration orders. "Scores more still are using freedom-of-choice plans" which don't eliminate the dual school system. (September 24, 1969.)

a more straightforward approach to enforcing the law. But civil rights groups believe there is little reason to assume that administration attitudes and ambivalence encouraged any district to implement its plan.

Several known instances of local delay were directly related to government policies.

In the summer of 1969, one Tennessee district requesting a postponement of its desegregation plan stated in its letter to OCR that the " . . . uncertainty of the new administration . . . is very confusing in regards to desegregation requirements." The district also complained that neighboring districts under court order were proceeding at a slower pace which caused " . . . our school patrons to suspect our school board of going overboard."

Federal school officials report that in June, several school boards in Louisiana were close to agreement with OCR on desegregation plans. But the administration's July 3 statement, " . . . with its half-promises of more time, froze the school boards in their tracks."[57]

After delaying school desegregation for years, the school board in Austin, Texas, reached an agreement on a plan in late spring of 1969. On June 24, however, the board notified HEW that reports indicated an impending "major

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[57] The Washington Post, July 27, 1969.

change" in the guidelines and that the board would "stand pat" until the change was announced and then "reappraise its plans." HEW officials were thus prevented from using the Austin model which they " . . . had hoped would pave the way for a desegregation breakthrough in Texas, starting with San Antonio and Lubbock."[58]

In South Carolina, the policy announcement "produced rank confusion for school administrators." Local pressure to preserve segregated systems was intensified after prominent southern newspapers proclaimed "School Deadlines Dropped" and "Nixon Keeps His Word." Until the Nixon administration escalated the political aspects of school desegregation, an aide to the South Carolina state superintendent noted great progress. "Attitudes are changing much more rapidly than we had anticipated three years ago, or even two years ago."[59]

One day's events in Columbia, South Carolina, affords another example of how the current administration has helped to create circumstances which impede the desegregation process. On June 30 -- three days before the Finch-Mitchell statement -- OCR personnel traveled to Columbia to meet with a school board that had withdrawn earlier

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[58]The Washington Post, July 27, 1969. Austin was cited by OCR for noncompliance on July 3, 1969.

[59]Quoted in Gary Orfield, "The Politics of Resegregation," Saturday Review, September 20, 1969, p. 60.

desegregation plans. Upon arrival, the OCR group was met by Columbia school officials waving copies of a local newspaper which reported that HEW would drop all deadlines within a matter of days. The paper even printed a copy of the anticipated impending announcement. Therefore, the local officials could see no reason for going ahead with desegregation plans. The reasoning was facilitated by the attitude of the local politicians who firmly believed that the new administration would relax desegregation standards.[60]

An atmosphere of defiance was also encouraged by the administration's earlier decision to postpone from 1969 to 1970 complete desegregation in 21 South Carolina districts under court order, the administration's initial de facto support of the Whitten Amendment, and the decision of the local hearing examiner to accept the desegregation plan for Columbia over objections from OCR.[61]

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[60] Even though the Finch-Mitchell statement did not eliminate the deadlines as the Columbia paper anticipated, the statement and subsequent actions of the Secretary and Attorney General did little to dampen expectations that extensions will be granted and exceptions will be made if enough political pressure is applied.

[61] OCR appealed the decision five months ago. See above, pp. 28-29. In almost all cases involving South Carolina districts, staff representatives of that state's congressional delegation are present for negotiations between local officials and OCR personnel in Washington. The mere presence of staff from congressional offices would seem to invite political intimidation.

In Coffee County, Georgia, the county school system has about 5,800 pupils, with 30 per cent black. By May, 1969, eight of 12 schools had desegregated, and the board had adopted a plan increasing desegregation in September, 1969. In August, the board decided not to carry out the plan. When a court order required the county to go ahead with further integration, the white community organized a boycott which kept almost half the white students out of school.

Mr. Van Davis, school superintendent in Coffee County since 1962, finally decided to resign, effective January 1, 1970. He blames the Nixon administration for failing to do anything to help his county complete desegregation.

"We do not feel . . . that President Nixon is making any kind of statement at all that helps anybody on this. Now, in his campaign, he led the southern people to believe that something could be eased up on it . . . now, he says they're going to abide by the law. Well, its difficult to tell what is the law."[62]

All responsibility for local resistance to the law cannot be placed on the present administration. Local residents in many segregated districts have always fought back when HEW officials attempted to persuade them to

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[62] Quotations from the Atlanta Constitution, October 11, 1969.

obey the law. But in previous administrations, administrators could generally act with greater confidence that political power in Washington would be used to back them up when policy standards were upheld.

"There's greater confusion in the districts this year than ever before," claimed one veteran OCR official in early September. "The only thing the administration has done to assist our efforts was to write the first sentence in the July 3 statement."[63]

School boycotts occurred in Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, and Virginia, as white parents in some cities organized opposition against school desegregation. In Mobile, Alabama, 18,000 white students stayed out of classes on September 24 in a one-day protest demonstration sponsored by the "Citizens for Freedom of Choice." Former Alabama Governor George Wallace, in a widely publicized statement on September 2, 1969, had encouraged white protest throughout the state of Alabama.

Such hard-core resistance attitudes were nothing new in the South, but there was abundant evidence that many white educators were tired of such tactics. Alabama educators did not rush to support their former governor. A Birmingham News article noted that "Educators said large

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[63]That sentence reads: "This administration is unequivocally commited to the goal of finally ending racial discrimination in schools, steadily and speedily . . . ."

numbers heeding the one-time presidential candidate would mean 'unsurmountable' problems for schools.'" Avoiding direct criticism of Mr. Wallace, another educator expressed himself this way: "Time is of the essence in education, and if you lose it you don't regain it. I think parents here are concerned about getting everything settled and getting their kids an education, and they don't want any trouble at the schools."

In many districts, the 1969-70 school year brought widespread resistance to local desegregation plans, not only from the white community, but from the black community as well. In scores of districts where steps have been taken to eliminate dual school systems, white boards of education invariably choose to close all-black schools and send the black students to "white" schools rather than send white students to the "Negro" schools. In some cases, the decision to close black schools is probably the best decision in terms of "sound educational principles" because years of segregation often resulted in the construction and maintenance of inferior facilities for black children. However, in other districts, the black facilities are equal to facilities built for white students, and the black community has resisted the closing of these formerly all-black facilities.[64]

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[64]Demonstrations against closing all-black schools took place in Charlotte, North Carolina, and Florence, South Carolina, and Fulton County, Georgia.

White and black boycotts, it should be noted, had some of the same superficial likenesses. Both opposed either federal court rulings or administrative enforcement -- however, the most significant difference was that black protests in part stemmed from federal failure to adhere to the law of the land, as embodied in the Brown decision and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. White opposition, as it had been since 1954, was essentially in defiance of the law.

The problem of insuring that desegregation is a two-way street -- that is, of insuring that former all-black schools with adequate physical facilities continue to be used on an integrated basis -- has not yet been solved. OCR officials claim to have no administrative or legal authority to reject a desegregation plan that eliminates the dual system, even though black schools with good facilities may be closed. Many civil rights advocates, including the present director of OCR, believe that closing adequate all-black schools to achieve compliance with desegregation guidelines is a form of discrimination and therefore, unconstitutional. Until the courts rule that such closings are unconstitutional, however, Panetta feels OCR will have to continue to accept them as part of otherwise constitutional plans.[65]

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[65] The Atlanta Journal, September 13, 1969.

In the meantime, the power to insure that adequate black schools are kept open on a desegregated basis must come in part from an organized and alert black community. But the federal government can ensure that viewpoints from members of the black community are incorporated into the negotiations over desegregation plans. HEW officials say they are legally obligated to negotiate with the local school boards even though blacks are excluded. However, HEW officials can consult with black representatives at least on an informal basis. Every effort should be made to abolish dual school systems without destroying adequate black facilities or firing black administrators.

The increase in public school desegregation since 1964 has produced a related increase in the number of private schools. The Supreme Court's recent decision presented the prospect of real desegregation to many people for the first time, and private schools found new adherents. An attempt to make private schools work seemed inevitable regardless of how long school desegregation was delayed. One federal official at HEW observed that most people turning to private schools as an escape from integrated education would have done so even if the desegregation process were extended over ten more years.

Many southern educators were concerned that the exodus of white children to private schools would mean less support for public school systems. Founded on the basis of an anti-

democratic ideology -- an ideology fundamentally antagonistic toward ideas of human equality and brotherhood -- the new schools threatened to perpetuate racist attitudes and practices. The schools presented immediate obstacles to the success of integrated education in some districts. The future consequences are unclear. But financial and legal problems make very difficult the ability of the private schools to provide a viable, long-run alternative to public education.[66]

A. J. Duckworth, executive secretary of the Mississippi Teachers' Association, has suggested that some districts will abolish public schools " . . . because of what some political bosses are saying . . . "

"They will try the private school plan, this will fail, and in three years, they will come back to the public school system . . . sound reasoning and economics will bring them back."

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[66] A comprehensive special report on "Segregation Academies" was published in the Southern Regional Council's monthly digest of southern affairs, South Today, October, 1969. The report estimated that 300,000 students are attending segregated private schools in the 11-state South.

PART IV

THE ROLE OF THE JUDICIARY

Weaknesses in Court-Ordered Desegregation

The July 3 statement affirmed that the administration would place greater emphasis on Justice Department litigation to enforce school desegregation. Historically, this approach has produced less desegregation than the Title VI administrative procedures. In the first 10 years after the Brown decision, progress towards desegregation was negligible. By 1963, court-ordered desegregation had placed only 1.17 per cent of the black pupils in the 11 southern states in school with whites. In the 1968-69 school year, 20 per cent of black students were in desegregated schools. In court-ordered districts, the figure was 11.5 per cent; in districts under Title VI enforcement, 25.6 per cent.[67] Alabama, which has been under a statewide court order since 1967, had only 7.4 per cent of her students in desegregated schools in 1968, the lowest percentage in the South except Mississippi with 7.1 per cent.

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[67] Data are from a report released by the Office of the Secretary, U. S. Department of HEW, January 16, 1969. The faster pace of desegregation in districts under HEW's Guidelines compared with districts under court orders is also reported in "Federal Enforcement," pp. 35-36.

In the past, several disadvantages have resulted from relying solely on the courts to effect desegregation. Some federal judges in the South opposed to desegregation have succeeded in using the judicial process to delay rather than to speed desegregation. A most recent example of this practice involved school districts under federal court order in the western district of Louisiana. In these cases, the presiding judge refused to accept HEW's Title IV prepared plans which generally required total desegregation in 1969-70. Apparently appraised by the administration that delays in school desegregation would be acceptable, federal Judge Ben Dawkins accepted many plans prepared by local districts promising desegregation in 1970-71 and later.[68] Writing prior to the Supreme Court's historic decision, Gary Orfield observed, "Facing lower court intransigency and lacking the support of the national administration, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals has given up on the effort to enforce 1969 deadlines.[69]

Another disadvantage of judicial proceedings has been

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[68]The Washington Post, July 29, 1969, reports that Harry S. Dent, Special Assistant to the President, furnished the information by telephone. Some HEW officials involved in preparation of the plans have indicated that Justice Department representatives had informed the judge that the Department would accept post-1969 terminal dates even before HEW submitted its original plans. See also "Federal Enforcement," p. 42.

[69]Orfield, op. cit., p. 78.

that school districts under court orders continue to receive federal funds even though the districts often take few meaningful steps to eliminate the dual school system. Thus, incentive to make changes is drastically reduced.[70]

A policy recently initiated by the Justice Department provides one further reason for skepticism over the effectiveness of the judicial effort. Under the present administration, compliance personnel in the Office for Civil Rights have been prohibited from reviewing plans prepared by Title IV EEOP experts for court order districts. In other words, those federal officials whose primary responsibility is to set and enforce the standards for desegregating districts have been excluded from the process of reviewing the plans prepared by the Title IV officials.

According to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, a factor limiting the effectiveness of Justice Department enforcement of desegregation plans has been inadequate manpower.[71] On September 29, Jerris Leonard said "nothing would change" if the court ordered immediate desegregation. Leonard asserted that the court could not enforce its own court order and that the Department lacked the "bodies and the people" to enforce that kind of legal decision.[72]

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[70] See "Federal Enforcement," p. 38.

[71] Ibid., p. 47.

[72] The New York Times, October 30, 1969.

On October 24, Leonard backed down from his previous pronouncement, explaining that he had been "extremely tired" at the September news conference. He said he was now prepared to do whatever the court ordered in the Mississippi cases. On the day after the decision, unofficial sources at the Justice Department said that enough attorneys were available to implement the decision.[73] Senator Edward Kennedy stated that he would try to add more money to a pending appropriations bill to insure that adequate manpower was available.[74] Civil rights advocates have suggested that the Justice Department could supplement its resources by relying much more heavily on HEW personnel to help monitor court order plans.

Justice Department Inaction

The extent to which the Supreme Court's decision will mitigate the disadvantages of the judicial process partly depends on the administration's response. Although Attorney General Mitchell pledged to use "every available resource" to implement the court's mandate, initial actions indicated that his department was not seriously interested

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[73] The Birmingham News, October 30, 1969.

[74] Attorney General Mitchell had earlier testified that he was "prepared to accept congressional cutbacks on administration requests for new personnel." Orfield, op. cit., p. 78.

in immediate desegregation.

On November 5, the department filed with the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals its suggested order for desegregation of the 30 Mississippi districts. The order requested even more time for the local districts to formulate their own desegregation plans and suggested no timetable for completing desegregation, leaving this responsibility to the court and attorneys for the children. The position of the government contrasted sharply with the desegregation timetable filed by the Legal Defense Fund requesting desegregation within eight days.[75]

Assistant Attorney General Jerris Leonard announced early in November that the Justice Department would not initiate suits in any of the more than 100 southern districts which, before October 29, had submitted "acceptable" voluntary plans to HEW promising complete desegregation in September, 1970.[76] This position makes more difficult any upgrading of the plans which HEW might wish to undertake.

Even more discouraging to those people wanting vigorous implementation of the court's decision is the fact that the Justice Department refuses to act even in

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[75]In carrying out the higher court's mandate by its order to desegregate completely all but three of the schools by December 31, the Circuit Court of Appeals did not accept the Justice Department's official position on school desegregation.

[76]The Washington Post, November 10, 1969.

districts already involved in litigation. The failure of Justice to enforce the court's decision in these cases was challenged by legal action coordinated by the Washington (D. C.) Research Project. On November 26, 1969, black parents from 16 school districts in seven southern states filed a suit against Attorney General John Mitchell, alleging that Mitchell, Jerris Leonard, and other Justice Department officials had violated their obligations under the United States Constitution and the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The 16 districts involved are part of 108 districts in the South where the Justice Department had instituted desegregation suits in federal courts prior to October, 1969. Some of these districts still lack court-approved desegregation plans while others have approved terminal 1970 or 1971 plans.[77] Private litigants have had difficulty in maintaining legal action to speed desegregation because the Justice Department is the original and only plaintiff. Part of the black parents' allegation is that the Justice Department has "conspired with, and are aiding and abetting, state officials in violating" the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendment rights of

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[77] Included in the court-approved terminal plans would be districts like those in South Carolina which, through political intervention last spring (discussed on pp. 14-15) succeeded in postponing total desegregation from September, 1969, to September, 1970. Motions to speed desegregation would seem to be especially appropriate in those cases.

of the black school children involved.

Civil rights lawyers view the failure of the Justice Department to file immediate desegregation motions in any of the 108 districts as a deliberate act to impede enforcement of the Supreme Court's mandate. One of the lawyers, Richard Sobol, cited the political disadvantages for President Nixon's "southern strategy" as a primary reason for the inaction. Sobol accused Mitchell of searching out the political implications of enforcing the law in lieu of law enforcement. He added, "I don't think the administration wants anything to happen."[78]

On November 17 and 18, 1969, the 14 active judges of the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals sat en banc in Houston to hear 13 desegregation cases which had been in federal courts for several months. Differences between the Justice Department and the Legal Defense Fund continued to be evident as their respective lawyers presented arguments. For example, the position of the Justice Department on the timing of desegregation still gave the court the responsibility for setting desegregation deadlines in each case. The LDF lawyers pressed for the end of segregated schools by February, 1970.

On December 1, the appeals court handed down its order which approved two-step desegregation plans in all 13 cases.

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[78]The Atlanta Journal, November 26, 1969.

The first step required desegregation of faculties and staff, transportation services, athletics, and other extra-curricular activities by February 1, 1970. But the second step, student desegregation, was postponed until the fall of 1970.[79]

Civil rights advocates expressed surprise and disappointment at the court's refusal to order any immediate increase in student desegregation. In applying the Supreme Court's decision to the 30 Mississippi districts, the appeals court on November 7 had ordered total student desegregation in 27 of the cases and partial student desegregation in three cases by December 31. In the 13 en banc cases, the Fifth Circuit cited the "absence of merger plans" for all of the districts as one reason for delaying the movement of students.[80] However, in many of the cases, plans for total desegregation were on record. Lawyers for the Legal Defense Fund had argued vigorously for the early implementation of these plans.

Within days after the Fifth Circuit's decision, Legal Defense Fund lawyers indicated that they immediately would file with the Supreme Court an application for review of the lower court's order. A spokesman for the Fund said that the Alexander decision permits no delay in student desegregation

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[79]The New York Times, December 2, 1969.

[80]The New York Times, December 2, 1969.

beyond the time required for working out the mechanics of transferring the students. He also stated that it was illogical for the lower court to delay student desegregation for nine months while simultaneously ordering immediate desegregation in all other areas.

The Legal Defense Fund's aggressive implementation of the Supreme Court's mandate on the timing of desegregation led government sources to suggest that the Fund will become the "real Justice Department." As one of the Fund's lawyers put it: "We're all alone in this thing." Jack Greenberg has indicated that since the court has accepted the principle that " . . . integration should exist during litigation, we are going to press for such relief in all pending school cases."

PART V

CONCLUSION

> "Under explicit holdings of this court, the obligation of every school district is to terminate dual school systems at once and to operate now and hereafter only unitary schools."
>
> --The U. S. Supreme Court in Alexander v. Holmes, October 29, 1969.

The most important factor contributing to the growing resistance to desegregation had been the absence of leadership on the part of administration officials. The President, never articulating clearly his own views at the policy level, had let the words of men such as Senator Thurmond stand in the South as the position of his administration.[81]

In the days immediately following the Supreme Court's historic decision, the administration's leadership continued to be weak. Responding to the decision 18 hours after it had been rendered, the President issued a statement which was cautious, emphasizing that "practical and human problems" are involved "in eliminating school desegregation." He indicated that he intended to " . . . use the leadership resources of the executive branch . . . to assist in every possible way . . ." the resolution of the problems. A few

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[81] See the Atlanta Constitution editorial, September 3, 1969.

hours later, the White House press secretary said flatly that the administration would carry out the court's mandate.

At his press conference on September 26, the President had described as "extreme" a position similar to the one later upheld by the court with respect to the timing of desegregation.[82] His response to the court's decision was an improvement over his previous statement. "But," as the New York Times commented, "effective leadership requires something more positive than the reiteration of the difficulty of past problems . . . ."[83]

The positive steps announced by HEW concerning districts which have reneged or have failed to submit acceptable desegregation plans represent a potentially effective response to the decision. But even these actions fail to take full advantage of the decision because the department refuses to revise any of the 1970 voluntary plans in the light of the new judicial standards calling for immediate desegregation. The department also has not made structural and administrative changes to eliminate delays in the Title VI enforcement procedures.

In court order districts where it previously supported

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[82] The President had said, "It seems to me that there are two extreme groups . . . those who want instant integration and those who want segregation forever . . . we need to have a middle course between those two extremes . . . ." The New York Times, September 27, 1969.

[83] Ibid., October 31, 1969.

1970 or post-1970 terminal plans, the Justice Department refuses to take legal action requesting the courts to require a faster rate of desegregation. Given the Justice Department's failure, the Legal Defense Fund and other private litigants have assumed the primary burden for initiating litigation in accord with the new legal policies.

Finally, the President himself has not spoken out in support of the new steps which are being taken to implement the court's decision. Without the political and material support essential for effective implementation, the recently announced administrative policies may become simply good intentions.

Administrations in Washington have never provided the political support or taken the political risks required to complete school desegregation in the South. But never before has the executive branch had such a decisive and straightforward mandate to eliminate dual school systems. It will be a modern American tragedy if this call for justice in public education goes largely unheeded by the nation's top political leaders.

In the immediate aftermath of the Supreme Court's ruling, southern civil rights forces were viewing the decision with a kind of cautious optimism, born of long and sad experience with the ways of southern resistance. One field worker who has been involved in school desegregation for many years noted

that it was ironical that one had even to ask what the decision meant for the South. "In any other kind of case, where the Supreme Court makes a ruling, the presumption is that it will be enforced. We didn't see that kind of enforcement with Brown. We haven't seen it in fifteen years since then." For the truth was that the segregationist South had come to think during the preceding ten months that the administration was genuinely going to succeed in preserving for a long time some semblance of "separate but equal schools."

It seemed likely that the administration would give the appearance of trying, somehow, still to please everyone, even those who have encouraged violation of the law. The Justice Department seemed determined to act as a "conciliator" with white officials in the Deep South rather than take advantage of an unprecedented opportunity to spearhead civil rights enforcement.

But one thing was certain -- the Supreme Court had dealt a moral and legal blow to that aspect of the administration's so-called "southern strategy" which cynically appealed to the most reactionary of southern and national attitudes and practices. The court seemed to be telling us that after 15 years, the country deserves more than the continuation of a sophisticated game of partisan politics on school desegregation.

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SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA
AND
JACKSON STATE UNIVERSITY

Southern Episodes In A National Tragedy

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA
AND
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Southern Episodes In A National Tragedy

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
June, 1970

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INTRODUCTION

The violence at Augusta, Ga. and at Jackson State College inevitably invite comparison to the tragedy at Kent State University. The national atmosphere of violent impatience with dissent, fed by inflammatory rhetoric of high officials, most surely played a role both in Augusta and in Jackson.

But the incidents should also be seen in their southern contexts. William Winn, Atlanta journalist and free-lance writer, writes here in some depth of the events and psychology in the past of Augusta which help explain violence there and hopefully suggest ways for other southern cities to avoid it. The Augusta study uses and is informed by in-depth, tape-recorded interviews with black Augustans conducted by D. L. Inman, editor of the Thomasville, (Ga.), News. Ed Williams, a Mississippi journalist and freelance writer, describes in more topical form the Jackson State violence as one more chapter in the generally familiar history of racial discord in Jackson, Mississippi. Together, these two reports present a composite of contemporary southern problems and the ongoing tragedy in places where efforts

to meet the problems have been few and futile.

The fact is -- and Augusta is perhaps more illustrative of the point -- there are likely scores of southern towns and cities that have yet to respond in any measurably positive way to the just demands of their dispossessed citizens. There are, moreover, localities in the South that have never yet felt any real pressure to respond and perhaps many others that do not even feel that there are any demands in need of attention. Augusta stands as a monument to such blind optimism.

The events at Jackson State, from all available reports, seem more directly tied to the national mood. And yet there are pecularily southern factors which should not be ignored, a lifetime of fear, suspicion and distrust between southern Negroes and white law enforcement officers with origins deep in a dark tangle of violent racist reaction. But put the two together, a growing national mood of repression and the South's raw racism, and the events at Jackson State not only become credible but seem almost inevitable.

It is this very danger that has caused apprehension among concerned southerners, black and white, at the national administration's blandishments toward the most destructive forces at large in the South today.

The current national crisis regarding lawful and unlawful dissent and terrible police overreaction is an old story to the South. The Southern Regional Council has repeatedly directed itself to the essentials of the problem in reports and official statements during the past decade. These have again and again tried to alert the nation to dangers from both under-protection by police of constitutional rights, and over-reaction by police to disorder and violence.

In 1960, regarding white violence against non-violent protest in the South, the publication, "Racial Violence and Law Enforcement," stated:

> Law enforcement is. . .an essential factor in the progress of race relations. In the continuing racial crises of the South, the police have two basic responsibilities: to enforce the laws with absolute impartiality; and, secondly, to maintain a climate of public order in which constitutional liberties can be freely exercised, by white men or Negroes, by integrationists, or segregationists.

In August, 1967, after northern ghetto riots, a policy statement by the membership of the Southern Regional Council, "On the National Crisis," stated:

> There should be no confusion of rioting with either the tradition of non-violent Negro protest demonstrations or with the honorable philosophical principles of civil disobedience. Unlawful violence by a mob has none of the moral defense or force of these traditions, and such violence must be quelled, just as white mob violence against constitutional peaceful protest has to be. But in both instances, we must be alert to the

> dangers of excessive, unconstitutional use of police force; we must look with apprehension on any tendency to be satisfied merely with the momentary ending of the symptom of violence without following through with treatment of the social and economic malfunctionings that are the underlying cause of such violence.

In February, 1968, after state police fired rifles into a crowd of demonstrating black students at South Carolina State College, killing three, a report, "Events At Orangeburg," stated:

> "Get-tough" policies, wherever put into effect, carry into highly volatile situations new elements of danger. Order must be maintained, but the duty of society and of police is that it be so with a minimum of force. At least suggested -- in Orangeburg and evident in other situations that have arisen in the South and other parts of the nation -- is the frightening spectacle of an over-escalation of police and military force . . ., a pouring of large numbers of heavily armed men into tense situations, increasing the emotionalism involved, increasing a dependence on force to suppress people rather than honestly dealing with the social problems at the source, and a conditioning of the American public already far along to an acceptance of violence and death in the resolution of problems.

In May, 1970, after National Guardsmen fired into a crowd of students at Kent State University, killing four (and only a few days before city police fired on people at Augusta, Ga., in a Negro riot situation, killing six, and state police fired on black students at Jackson State College in Jackson, Miss., killing two), a statement by Dr. Raymond Wheeler, President, and Paul Anthony, Executive Director, of the Southern Regional Council, stated:

> The grave warning implicit in the Orangeburg situation of two years ago was not heeded. Since then, the situation has escalated. Officials at all levels have increasingly relied indiscriminately on force in the face of conflict, and have all too often over-reacted to protest with over-armed police and soldiers. The potential for disaster in such situations continues. Until such solutions are abandoned, until they are repudiated as public policy from the Presidency on down, no segment of society, no person is safe. And traditional American freedoms are periled.

These statements trace a tragic thread of history during a crucial decade of American history. They speak the same message, but with increasing urgency, a reflection of the escalation of animosity and official violence. Too often, force was used in the South of the early 1960's to put down the rightful expression of grievances in non-violent demonstrations. Too often, force far disproportionate to need was used in the North to quell rioting which expressed illegally entirely legitimate grievances of the people of black ghettos. In neither instance did the society and its government deal effectively with the grievances.

Now we see the South's first major Negro riot occurring in Augusta. Now we see instance after instance of the reliance on might and force against yet another expression of legitimate grievances, students protesting against war and the general drift of American policy. In the southern versions -- at Jackson State, as earlier at

Orangeburg -- the over-use of force had elements of the old uses of it -- racial oppression.

These two most recent southern instances of the over-use of force and failure to redress just grievances have points in common with each other and are applicable to such tragedies across the nation, past and future.

1. They occurred in an atmosphere of hostility encouraged by inflammatory statements of leaders, statements which exacerbate tensions between groups and which seem to approve the over-use of police and military force. Governors of states, congressmen and even the President of the United States and his Vice President have been criticized for such utterances. Even after terrible tragedy, seemingly needless killing, such abdication of responsibility continued:

President Nixon, after the Kent killings:

> This should remind us all once again that when dissent turns to violence it invites tragedy. It is my hope that this tragic and unfortunate incident will strengthen the determination of all the nation's campuses, administrators, faculty and students. . .to stand firmly for the right of peaceful dissent and just as strongly against the resort to violence as a means of such expression.

Governor Lester Maddox, after the Augusta killings:

> If they shoot at our guardsmen and firemen, they had better be prepared to meet their Maker. We have the trucks, personnel and guns to do the job. I'm in constant contact with the people down there and I'll go there and do whatever is necessary.

Governor John Bell Williams, after the Mississippi State killings:

> As your governor, I will tell you here and now that the majesty of the law will be upheld so long as I am governor and every means available to the State of Mississippi will be employed to make certain that all people of Mississippi will be able to live in their homes free from the fear of having their homes burned by some Molotov cocktail or their businesses destroyed.

The peaceful people who are the majority of America have a right to expect at least restraint from leaders. Real leadership would find the vision to guide our people to peaceful solutions to problems.

2. Both instances reflected, once more, not only new, intolerable pressures, but long-neglected problems. In the South, despite some recent progress, this means failure to cope fully with racial injustice and poverty. No rational citizen condones violence, whether on the campus or in the ghetto. But -- as from the beginning -- the demands of civilization are that police use only necessary force to restore order, and that government and society redress just grievances.

3. Deaths and injuries in both instances resulted from gunfire -- and gunfire from heavy-calibre ammunition. The nation needs to demand and somehow effectively enforce a prohibition on police and the National Guard from resort to gunfire where less lethal methods would prevail. Never

should there be tolerated random firing without given orders, without warnings, without attempts at conventional, non-violent methods of crowd control. Beyond this, we need to demand that if the police and military go armed into situations of civil protest and even minor violence, they carry non-lethal ammunition -- like small-calibre buckshot.

4. In both instances, questions have been raised about police attitudes toward black people and the general principle of the right of protest, and about how effectively trained for so-called riot control the police were. The nation needs to address itself to the questions of police attitudes, and police training. Models of far more effective, far less violent, non-lethal methods of riot control are available in civilized countries all over the world.

5. Both incidents leave unanswered critical questions about what happened, and why. Even if subsequent investigations by conventional agencies -- like grand juries or even the United States Justice Department -- find answers to all the questions, it is doubtful in each locale whether they would be fully accepted by contending parties or the general public. Distrust, bitter memories of one such tragedy presage greater ones for the

future. Perhaps the nation needs to consider whether it is possible in these times to find an apparatus, an investigative body -- something more than a temporary "blue ribbon" committee as proposed by the present administration -- which would be beyond reproach and rational doubt. Representation on it of the classes of citizens who consider themselves victims of police oppression would seem mandatory.

6. In Augusta, the city obviously failed its responsibilities to law-abiding black citizens who until the May night of violence had relied in vain on non-violent methods and leaders. In Mississippi, in the aftermath of the Jackson State tragedy, moderate men who have staunchly advocated non-violence in the face of repeated private and police violence over the years now question the principle. So-called extremists on both sides have gained in both locales. Responsible observers cannot say merely that this is to be expected, or that more violence is inevitable. As from the beginning, they must demand adequate answers to the underlying causes of violent protest. . .they must demand some answer other than brute force and overkill. In Jackson, the suggestion has been made that a third force of black leaders, other than police henceforth be empowered to cope with situations of tense

or violent protest. America can do better than demand that of its citizens.

7. More than anything else, these two incidents of police violence in the South compel America to demand law and order from its leaders and its law enforcement agencies.

Pat Watters
Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Southern Regional Council

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA

By

William Winn

with

D. L. Inman

AUGUSTA

Augusta, Georgia, is hot in May. Temperatures soar into the 90's by the middle of the month, and summer comes to the town's 100,000-odd residents long before most other Americans consider it safe to put away their sweaters and overcoats. The pavement on Broad Street, the town's main business street, is too hot to walk on barefooted at noon almost any May day, and the oppressive, wet, heat shimmers on the black top roads around town and on the dirt byways that lace the city's dilapidated Negro section, known locally as "the territory." The air is so humid that when one takes a lungful of air, the sensation is often less that of breathing than of drinking; and when the wind is wrong, the polluted, slimy-green waters of the Savannah River vaporize in the streets and the city has the stench of decay.

Augusta once had a certain reputation for quaintness, preserving a modicum of colonial charm amid the usual hodgepodge of Victorian storefronts and glassy, rigid, modern office buildings. No more. Broad Street glitters with flashing neon signs and the almost equally bright hair of the peroxide blondes, permanent temptations to the servicemen at nearby Fort Gordon who flood the city at night to

sample the charms of the Go-Go dancers and the music and the booze at any of a dozen juke joint watering holes.

As in all but the largest cities in the South, the town and the surrounding countryside are really inseparable. The ugliness of the city is offset by the bucolic, primordial beauty of farmland and pine forests that lie just beyond the city limit signs and that, in both fact and spirit, make Richmond County and Augusta one environmental unit. The difference between the city and the country is not so much visual as olfactory and auditory: the sweet, cloying smell of the honeysuckle in the countryside defines the city limits better than the signs, (which could be pushed back a half mile from any point toward the town's interior without much loss of mayoral sovereignty and with a noticeable increase in accuracy), and the grinding noises of the urban center evaporate quickly in the rising summer air once you escape suburbia outbound.

By the second week of May, 1970, temperatures were in the 90's, and the thin, tall Confederate monument on Broad Street cast a solid, ebony shadow by 10 o'clock in the morning. Any white man with a shred of sanity and $150 in his bank account quit the city as soon as possible after making a gesture at working, retreating to the cool and

manicured confines of North Augusta, securely entrenched behind the crabgrass curtain. Poorer blacks worked precisely as long as they had to and then walked over a few blocks to their homes on Gwinnett Street or caught a bus out the Old Savannah Road to one of the shacks of the type white men build at their favorite fishing spots or erect as emergency shelters in time of war. In Augusta black families live in those shacks year around. One such family is that of Charles Oatman, 16, lately deceased at the hands of as yet undetermined individuals, a retarded, somewhat frail boy whose demise touched off a major racial disorder Monday night, May 11, leaving six dead -- all Negroes and all shot in the back -- at least 80 injured, about 50 businesses burned, and more than 200 arrested.

Many seasoned observers were calling it the first genuine race riot in the history of the South, and although that assertion is certainly open to question, the Augusta "riot" should go down as one of the most unnecessary, senseless, mindless examples of violence to be found anywhere.

Whites are quick to call any racial disorder a "riot." The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders pointed out in its initial report that there have been few genuine

examples of racial rioting in the U. S. For one thing, Negroes have rarely actually gone into white neighborhoods and attacked people there. Most of the violence in American racial disorders has been confined to Negro sections and ghettos, and the burning and looting in those areas has customarily been carried out against symbols of white oppression, i.e., businesses, white-owned buildings, and the like. Augusta was no exception.

BACKGROUND FOR VIOLENCE

There is no doubt that both black and white leaders knew -- or certainly they should have known -- of the potential for serious racial trouble in Augusta. Immediately preceeding the riot, some Negro officials well inside the protective cocoon of the city's middle class made repeated attempts to tell Augusta's civic leadership that the city was amuck with racial tensions.

"I tried to tell them what was happening," said one of the most experienced and competent Negro leaders, a man so much bedeviled by the establishment that he refuses identification. "There were plenty of signs that this thing was brewing. Just weeks before, a small incident at one of the local schools attracted a crowd of demonstrators. I

didn't just come right out and say we were going to have a race riot. I couldn't do that or the whites would have identified me with all the causes other Negroes were espousing. But I repeatedly told city officials that there were more signs of discontent among black people here -- particularly the young -- than I could remember. It didn't do any good."

It hasn't done any good for a long time. Racism in Augusta is as much a part of the local ambiance as the oppressive heat and the wisteria and azaleas and the honeysuckled country air. Racism has seeped into the very pores of the city. It is reflected from the faces of the tired, low income, poor whites, already stalked by a deep, inbred fear of the black man and terrorized near senseless by the hard reality of the riot itself:

"A car full of them come by my place last night. One of them says to me, 'You don't like me, white man?' That's what he said, 'You don't like me, white man?' I said, 'Hell no, I don't like any of you sons-a-bitches.' He said, 'Then we're just going to stomp your flowers.' And I said, 'Go ahead, they'll be the last goddamn flowers you stomp.'"

Racism is a part of the baggage every white man carries with him when he makes a trip across town through the Negro neighborhoods; it is in his mind when he considers a Negro for employment, for job training, for promotion, for education, for housing; it governs his attitudes on a multiple of questions, civic and personal: on where to locate his business, on how to assess property taxes, how to enforce housing codes, who to invite to cocktails, around whom it is socially acceptable to say 'nigger,' where his children should go to school, what time his daughter should come in from dates, where he should buy a house, go swimming, take a walk, get a maid, which program he should watch on television -- and in hundreds of other ways of which he is no longer conscious, no longer even able to articulate to himself and which he will heatedly deny if questioned openly.

The black community is as systematically discriminated against in Augusta as in any city in America. Yet local whites expressed amazement and dismay at the riot. A frequently heard statement in Augusta before the riot was, "We don't have any race problems here." Taxi drivers, barbers, bartenders, civic officials, all were incredulous

that the city should be struck by racial turmoil. "I just never would have believed it could happen here," said one cab driver, "but I'll tell you what, I don't think it's over."

"That's just the problem," says Charles Barreras, director of the local poverty program. "Few whites here believe we have a problem at all. It's ridiculous, but it's true. Most of the whites live in the suburbs and in North Augusta. They come into the city to work, and then get in their cars and go back home. In a sense, they're right: there isn't any racial problem where they live. But there sure is here in the city, and if someone doesn't get through to the whites that this whole complex -- Richmond County, the suburbs, the ghettos -- is one place, one unit in which we all have to live, then I don't know what is going to happen.

"Look, 42 per cent of the city is black, yet 67 per cent of the poor are black. One-third of the people in Richmond County are poor, and we lead the nation in school dropouts. You name it, we got it."

Mr. Barreras said he was amazed that the city hadn't been struck by a race riot earlier. "Anything could have

touched it off. I hate to talk about racism, but it exists. It's here, alright. The way our urban center is set up there is just no room for growth. The whites come into the city to work and then forget about it and go home. We are making our own ghetto. A community is supposed to be a living organism. Look, why didn't the Negroes riot against the county jail? That's where the Oatman boy was murdered. Why didn't they just strike against the county? I'll tell you why: because the problem is the city."

Paramount among those problems, according to Barreras:

--- Education: Richmond County (which includes the city schools) not only leads the nation in school dropouts, it is an educational wasteland for Negroes in general. The 1960 census showed that out of 65,000 adults in Richmond County 25 years of age or older, 38,000 had less than a high school education. Of the approximately 13,000 with high school diplomas, around 12,000 were white. Richmond County was one of the slowest systems in the country to integrate its schools. Blacks still complain bitterly about the problem today.

--- Unemployment and underemployment: the unemployment

problem in Augusta is not as bad as in some cities in the South, but, according to Barreras, the unemployment rate is rising. A far worse problem is underemployment.

"It is very difficult for whites here to accept the notion that a person without a high school education can often do a job as well as someone with a diploma. Having a high school education is no guarantee that a person can do better than someone without a diploma. Yet, a high school education is usually the minimum standard required for a job. We got between 40,000 and 50,000 Negroes here, and how many over 25 got high school educations? About a thousand."

--- Housing: few people in Augusta would deny that inadequate, sub-standard housing is a major problem. Barreras says it is one of the worst housing situations anywhere.

"Fully 80 per cent of the rented housing in this city is in violation of the housing code. Our public housing is in fairly good shape, though the city just received $4.7 million for additional

public housing. It's the rented property that's the problem."

--- Poverty: about one-third of the total Richmond County-Augusta population of more than 140,000 is below the poverty level income, and poverty is the major problem, period. For example, in the 9th census tract, an area closely circumscribing the center of the May riot, 68 per cent of the families were listed as poor or low-income in the 1960 census. The 14th and 15th census tracts, areas immediately adjacent to the 9th and like the 9th nearly all-Negro residential areas, showed a 67 per cent and a 68 per cent incidence of poverty, respectively, in 1960.

If anything, Barreras thinks the situation has gotten worse in these areas in the last decade.

The incidence of poverty holds true for the entire area of the riots and directly corresponds with the location of Negro housing. The 6th and 7th census tracts, adjacent to and north of the 9th, showed an incidence of poverty of 61 per cent and 65 per cent, respectively, in 1960. These statistics, again, refer to families, not

individuals.

In other words then, if you took a crayon and colored in the areas of Augusta where there is the lowest income, lowest level of educational achievement, highest incidence of unemployment and underemployment, and highest density of Negro residents, you would almost perfectly outline the area of chaos on the night of May 11, 1970.

Augusta whites, or many of them anyway, have resisted the implementation of racial justice ever since the Supreme Court decision of 1954. The Association for the Restoration of States Rights was organized in the city in 1954 in response to the court decision, and Roy V. Harris, a local lawyer and publisher of the scurrilous Augusta Courier, shortly emerged as one of the nation's most hysterical segregationists and rabble rousers. Despite a militantly hostile atmosphere, local blacks began attempts to integrate city bus service in 1960 when eleven students from Paine College were arrested and jailed for violation of an ordinance forbidding integration of city transit vehicles. The Negroes sued the city and, two years later, obtained relief when a federal court struck down state laws on segregation of buses. 1960 also saw the first of the student sit-ins at

lunch counters, and violence flared when peaceful students were attacked by whites. In 1962, Negroes began to step up their demands for equality, given additional incentive by the knowledge that Augusta was said at the time to be the only major city in Georgia with virtually no integration. Pressure from the Negro community in Augusta forced the white establishment to meet the black leaders and work out an agreement whereby the downtown lunch counters were integrated. That year, whites and blacks clashed in fist fights, and the city teetered on the brink of a major disorder. A Negro youth was stabbed, and a white youth was shot to death as he drove his car through a black neighborhood. Many whites in Augusta have not forgotten that time, and there is little doubt that the violence of 1962 served to calcify the already hardened racist fears of the whites. In 1963, 14 city parks were integrated, and local stores and plants began to put blacks in jobs above the menial level. A year later, downtown theatres were integrated, and the Richmond County School System also began token integration.

In 1968, Rev. C. S. Hamilton, pastor of the Tabernacle Baptist Church, the largest Negro congregation in the city,

said that race relations had improved in the preceeding five years, but he added: "That doesn't mean we have solved our problems. As a matter of fact, people here are somewhat indifferent to the racial situation. When we work, you could say we work more on the symptoms than the causes."

And in 1968, Negroes listed the same grievances they first articulated in 1954, then again in 1962, and 1963. The complaints have not changed, and you could take a list of grievances from any of the years listed here and they would coincide perfectly with those voiced by the Negro community in May, 1970: white racism, unemployment, under-employment, wretched housing, lack of adequate recreational facilities, discrimination in education, inadequate public services, and so on. Whatever gains the black Augustan has made in the last decade came by the hardest route, wrested from the hands of a white population whose one distinguishing attitude toward racial justice has been monumental indifference.

That the white residents of Augusta should exhibit the latter characteristic is not really suprising. The city is steeped in the mythology of the Old South. It started as a fort and a little fur trading center in the early

eighteenth century, and soon became an important tobacco market for transplanted Virginians living up river at Petersburg. It is, quite literally, the locale of Tobacco Road, Erskine Caldwell having used Augusta and environs for his famous novel. Prior to the Civil War, it was the largest cotton market in Middle Georgia, capitalizing on its location on the Savannah River and benefitting from the growth of Savannah downstream where cotton was shipped abroad. After the war, it became a large cotton manufacturing center, which it still is. The city is located on the eastern edge of the Georgia Piedmont, prime cotton country, and slavery was early a traditional form of labor. The white inhabitants, of course, are ever recalling the whiff of the plantation days and the summers of wisteria and, like most Southerners, they consider themselves reft of a better life, and look on the past and the Lost Cause with fervid nostalgia. In this century, the city has benefitted from the development of a local kaoline industry, and the location of two massive federal installations, Fort Gordon and the Savannah River AEC plant, nearby. Although a handful of blacks have benefitted from the AEC plant and the military reservation, most have not, and the city's business and

industrial development has proceeded steadily without a coeval rise in the Negro-Augustan's standard of living.

Blacks have watched the city grow and prosper in mounting isolation and frustration. They have slowly been sealed off, both spiritually and physically, from the life of the city. Now they reside in urban ghettos which bear a striking resemblance to those found in America's northern cities. The Negro is no more a part of the white community's consciousness in Augusta now than he was 100 years ago. Although neither the city itself nor the city and the county combined are really populated enough to be called a metropolis, Augusta exhibits most of the ills that afflict the nation's largest cities, including a decaying urban center, white migration to the suburbs, segregation of minority groups, and a dreadful lack of communication between civic officials and the low income, primarily Negro residents.

CRISIS IN THE MAKING

A string of incidents prior to the May 11 riot should have alerted the town's civic officials to potential violence.

On December 22, 1969, Grady Abrams, a Negro city councilman, was roughly detained by county police on

allegations of having passed bad checks. News of his seizure provoked an immediate response from some Negroes, and a delegation went to the county jail to investigate. A simmering feud has long existed between the county police of Sheriff E. R. Atkins (nicknamed "Foots" by Augusta blacks) and the city's Negroes. Abrams was released and no charges were brought against him. He is sueing the police for $150,000 and they have filed a countersuit.

On December 23rd, still stewing over the Abrams affair, nine Augusta Negroes and one white, all Army veterans, formed an organization known as the Committee of 10 (later enlarged to the Committee of 10 Plus 200). Their chairman is John Young, an insurance consultant. Bob Oliver, a member of the original committee, said the group was formed to protect the city's blacks and to work for implementation of a meaningful program of progress toward racial equality. Although most Negroes dislike talking about it, there is conclusive evidence that a large portion of the black residents of Augusta, particularly the young, were dissatisfied with the efforts of the city's traditional Negro leadership and wanted a change. On the day they formed, the committee went to the municipal building to clear up the

charges in the Abrams affair. Oliver says they were rebuffed, and, at one point, actually surrounded by sheriff's deputies carrying shotguns, one machine gun, and a grease gun.

"We considered the situation so hopeless," says Oliver, "that we sent telegrams to President Nixon and to the Attorney General, John Mitchell. We asked Mitchell for an investigation of the sheriff's department. We got no answer." (After the riot, in a note of irony, the Justice Department announced it was sending a team of investigators to look into the jail operation of the sheriff's department -- six months and seven deaths after the committee's appeal in December.)

In April, 1970, many Augustans were aware of rumors of trouble to come during the playing of the Masters golf tournament, and although those rumors did not materialize, they were widespread enough to have caused alarm among local officials, and more than customary concern among tournament officials. Most of the rumors involved Gary Player, the great golfer from South Africa. He was given police protection, and steps were taken to protect the property of the Augusta National course where the event is held.

Shortly after the Masters, on April 23, the trial of

a Negro woman, Barbara Gilliam, 29, brought tempers in Augusta's Negro community to the boiling point. Miss Gilliam was convicted of possession of narcotics in the Superior Court of Richmond County, and sentenced to five years and a fine of $2,000.

"I thought it was going to pop then," says John Ruffin, a local Negro attorney. "She was a very popular girl, and most people in our community thought the sentence was far too stiff. In fact, a lot of black folks doubted her guilt, and they were troubled that there were no blacks on the final jury. (Negroes were stricken from the empaneling by the prosecutor)."

Immediately on the heels of the Gilliam trial came an incident at Houghton Elementary School, an integrated institution with a fifty per cent black student body. An eleven year old black student was sent home to his mother on April 22 for bad conduct. He had been in trouble before, and the school's white principal, J. Guyton Thompson, had made repeated efforts to secure more supervision from the boy's mother, but to no avail. This time, the boy was taken home in the custody of a juvenile officer, and it was understood that he was to be expelled for the duration

of the school year. On April 27, the boy's mother and three men came to see Thompson to determine if the boy could be reinstated. The principal refused to admit the boy, although he offered the mother the choice of withdrawing her son and enrolling him elsewhere without having the expulsion note on the record. On Tuesday, April 28, high school students, and students from Paine and Augusta College began to picket the school. They carried signs saying: "If you want to end institutionalized racism call Roy E. Rollins (superintendent of Richmond County schools). Eleven year old boy falsely accused of rape at Houghton Elementary School." Although Thompson made repeated attempts to talk with the demonstrators and explain what had happened, they shouted him down with curses and insults. Black leaders, aware of the youth's past conduct later agreed, that the dismissal on April 22 was justified. Nevertheless, the school was the scene of a nasty situation which could have turned into violence quickly. Ultimately, the young man was reinstated under the sponsorship of Grady Abrams. Responsible black leaders, especially WRDW newsman and disc jockey Ralph Stone, ascertained the true facts in the case and helped cool down the Negro community. Ironically, Thompson, the man being

accused of racism by the demonstrators, has done as much to help Augusta Negroes as any white man, and he directs the local Head Start program. Thompson's numerous friends in the black community offered their support, but it took some time before tempers cooled down.

"It was another indication," says Negro school principal I. E. Washington, "of the mood of the black community before the riot."

Some members of the Committee of 10 refer to the more militant Negroes in Augusta as "the dissidents." Although they refuse to identify elements of this group, one committee member flatly rejected the notion that the city was rank with Black Panthers before the riot.

"That's just not so," said Oliver. "If there are any Panthers here, you sure don't see them. The riot was an entire community speaking -- not a few people."

Lt. Thomas Olds, a Negro on the city's police force, also discounts the theory that numerous militants or Black Panthers were the cause of the violence. Olds said that "only one man in this town. . .even claims membership" in the Panthers.

Yet another incident that raised Negro anger occurred

May 4 when Mayor Millard Beckum summarily adjourned a meeting of the city council after Negroes began to press their grievances vocally on the council. Beckum left the room, but returned later with three other members of the council. According to many blacks, the Negro community was "affronted" by the mayor's action and by the failure of the entire city council to return to hear their complaints.

MONDAY, MAY 11

The violence occured exactly one week later on Monday, May 11, and it directly followed a tragic incident at the county jail -- already the focal point of intense hatred and fear on the part of many Augusta Negroes. At 8:08 p. m. on Saturday, May 9th, Charles Oatman, 16, a retarded Negro youth (his I.Q. was just below 60) who was charged with murdering his five year old niece and who had been in jail since March 30th, was taken DOA to the hospital. The police first said that he had fallen out of his bunk in the cell, but persons who viewed his body, including his father, the undertaker, and Richmond County Coroner's physician Dr. Irvin Phinizy knew that was not the case. Oatman's body bore the markings of torture, healed scars that looked to be the result of repeated cigarette burnings. And he had died from

a blow on the head. The coronor's report included the following description of the remains by Dr. Phinizy:

"Examination of the body revealed that he was quite thin and the general impression was that he was frail. There were multiple injuries to the cutaneous surfaces consisting of contusions, abrasions, scratches and minor lacerations. These lacerations included 1/2 inch laceration of the right occipital area that extended down to the skull, but from which there had been no recent bleeding. There were also roughly circular lesions that were healing burns that could have been caused by a cigarette pressed against the skin. These latter injuries involved the feet and the hands. There was minor contusion of both orbits. All skin lesions were of varying age. Some had completely healed and had apparently been inflicted several weeks before death. Others were more recent. . ."

Dr. Phinizy's report concluded that Oatman had died of "pulmonary edema, bilateral severe; and subdural hemorrhage, moderate, due to numerous severe beatings."

Obviously, the boy had been systematically tortured and then beaten to death. The news spread like wildfire. Oatman was well liked by his peers, and A. R. Johnson

Junior High School principal I. E. Washington described him as "not a trouble maker. He was liked." The undertaker who prepared the body for burial, and at least one other person who saw the body shortly after the boy was brought to the hospital, said that in addition to burn scars on the hands and feet there were about a dozen small holes in the boy's face, holes that could have been made by a fork.

"Nobody believed that he had fallen off his bunk and been killed like the police claimed," said one Negro resident. "It looked like he had been killed by the guards at the jail."

When the police later changed their story and charged two of Oatman's four cellmates with murder, blacks still refused to believe the boy had been killed without the guard's knowledge. The running feud between the county sheriff's department and the Negro residents in Augusta resulted in a total lack of communication and trust. Blacks had repeatedly complained about conditions in the county jail, particularly the practice of incarcerating juveniles there with hardened criminals.

Many people in Augusta quickly realized that the situation had become explosive. Black city councilman Grady

Abrams attempted to call Georgia Governor Lester Maddox on Sunday, May 10, to explain the situation, but he could not get through to the governor. On Monday morning, Maddox did return Abrams' call.

"He told me to keep things cool, and that he would send one of his representatives," said Abrams.

Later, it was revealed that Major Barney Ragsdale of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation then called Sheriff Atkins and offered what ever assistance was necessary to handle any disturbance, but he was told by the sheriff that no additional police were necessary.

Oatman's death occurred on Saturday, and by Sunday almost every black in the city was aware of the circumstances. The Negro community was in a depressed and angry mood, and when black leaders went to the city-county municipal building in mid-afternoon on Monday, May 11, a large crowd of Negroes, including many young people and students, followed. In a meeting with county commission head Matthew Mulherin, Negro leaders explained their complaints about the jail, and secured a promise that juveniles would no longer be detained there. They also took steps to clear up confusion among local government agencies as to who had the responsibiltiy

to act in certain areas. Several blacks later described it as a productive meeting, but when they went back outside to explain the results to the crowd, they found people in an angry mood.

"They weren't in any mood to listen to us," said Abrams. Several persons tried to restore order when young blacks tore down the Georgia State flag and burned it, but to no avail. The Reverend A. D. Sims, head of the local SCLC chapter, urged the crowd to meet for a rally at the corner of 9th and Gwinnett. The crowd then surged across the street, tearing down and burning an American flag, and headed for the downtown area of Broad Street, turning over garbage cans and shouting. The riot was on. The crowd, which numbered more than 500 at one time, created havoc on Broad, marching through a department store and turning over display counters. When the marchers reached 9th and Gwinnett, more Negroes gathered and the violence gradually escalated. The crowd began to throw rocks at passing motorists, and some Negroes began to charge passing automobiles, pulling drivers out and beating them. There were numerous incidents of Negroes saving whites from the mob, and some blacks hid white and Chinese in their homes until the crowd's violent mood

dissipated. More than fifty fires were set that afternoon and evening, and Tuesday morning, six black men were killed by police and scores of both black and whites injured. About 1 a. m. Tuesday morning, the governor sent in 1200 National Guardsmen and 150 state patrolmen. "They're going in with live ammunition." he said, "We're not going to tolerate anarchy in this state."

The inflamed, stuttering rhetoric of the governor did nothing to dampen the tempers of Augusta's exhausted and furious blacks. Maddox told the guardsmen and troopers "not to try to plead with any sniper to halt, but raze any building they're in to its very foundation if necessary to get them out." As the extent of the rioting became known, the governor waxed hysterical: "We're not going to tolerate this anarchy," he said. "The blood of those five (dead) is on the hands of the President, Congress, the Supreme Court justices, and religious and education leaders who have refused to be the Americans and Christians they ought to be, who don't have the guts and courage to stand up." Maddox decided the riot was the work of Black Panthers and the "communist's conspiracy" who wanted to "bring down the country." He added that anyone shooting at troopers or

guardsmen "had better be prepared to meet their Maker."

The governor's histrionics were to be expected. Both whites and blacks in Georgia have become more or less accustomed to his florid invective and stumbling grandiloquence, and he is a candidate for Lt. Governorship this year. There are reports that his popularity increased as a result of his inflamatory remarks. Maddox was obviously shaken by tales of snipers firing on policemen and firemen in Augusta. Many firemen seemed to feel they were being fired upon and abandoned their hoses in the Negro section, but a week after the riot not a single, concrete instance of sniper fire had been authenticated, and Augusta Fire Chief James G. Fitzgerald has since said reports of sniper fire were "exaggerated." No policemen, firemen, state patrolmen, or National Guardsmen were struck by gunfire. Negroes in Augusta are convinced that if blacks did any shooting, it was random pistol shots fired in the air, not at the whites. Yet Augusta newspapers, state newspapers, and the press in general carried accounts of the riots that made it sound as if there was a full scale war going on. Col. James E. Slayton, commander of the National Guard units in Augusta, went so far as to say that it was "sophisticated, guerilla

warfare," and Augusta civic and police officials said publicly that the sniping, looting, and burning were "well planned," a remark apparently based on the fact that most of the burning was confined to businesses owned by Chinese merchants or whites.

The six dead were determined, by Richmond County medical examiner Dr. Irvin Phinizy, to have been shot in the back. Phinizy was disputed by Dr. Joe Caldwell, an attending physician who had viewed several of the dead men Monday night. A state autopsy confirmed Phinizy's findings: the dead were all shot in the back with double-ought buckshot of the type used by Augusta police. Attempts to determine how the six died were made more difficult by the Augusta Police Department's refusal to release any but one of the official reports of the shootings. Such information is public record in Georgia, but Augusta police pleaded for more time, saying they were overworked "and just haven't had time to get to the reports yet." This was Friday, four days after the killings. Reporters from out of town newspapers fanned out through the Negro neighborhoods to find eyewitnesses to the shootings. Most of the people interviewed were black; few whites other then Augusta policemen were witness to any of

the deaths. From newspapers, wire reports, and personal interviews, the six apparently died in the following fashion:

Charles Mack Murphy, 39, struck seven times in the back by double-ought buckshot. Murphy was returning to his mother's home after leaving his job at a furniture store. The riots had already disrupted bus service to his neighborhood, so he walked. When he reached Pate's Liquor store on Milledgeville Road, a large crowd had gathered and some looting was taking place. Pate's is only a few blocks from Murphy's temporary residence with his mother. It is not clear whether he was actually taking part in the looting, but he died in a hail of bullets fired by police arriving on the scene. The rest of the crowd fled into the darkness. Murphy was the father of four children and he had recently returned to Augusta from Florida. His mother, Mrs. Carl Mack Murphy, said later that it "seems like he came home just to die." There is no evidence that Murphy had taken part in any of the earlier disturbances nor that he was even active in civil rights demonstrations of any kind.

William Wright, Jr., 18, struck five times in the

the back and three times elsewhere on the body by double-ought buckshot. He and a group of friends were "digging the action" at a filling station on the corner of Twigg and Florence. Negroes had almost demolished the station, and many were filling their cars with gas from the pumps. Wright's best friend, John Collier, 17, said he saw a police car coming and shouted for his companions to run. All did except for Wright. He hesitated and then began to walk toward the rear of the station. Collier said two police got out of the car. "They didn't say anything. One of them pumped the gun three times. . .quick. He shot William in the back. When it hit him, it kind of pushed him up in the air and his cap came off. He hit the ground with his arms straight up in the air. The other cop shot at me and one of my friends, Charles Black. I jumped over a fence and heard bullets hit it. I hollored at William to come on, but he was dead."

Wright was a dropout from Lucy Laney High School. He liked basketball, and he was very much interested in his girlfriend. He had been arrested once for driving a stolen car without a license, but the case was dismissed. Friends say he was not looting at the time. He was not known as a

civil rights activist. He was about seven blocks from his home at 213 Fargo Street when he was killed.

Mack Wilson, Jr., 45, a resident of Augusta for 20 years, was struck once in the back by double-ought buckshot. Wilson was reportedly shot while looting on 12th Street late at night. A friend who would only identify himself as "Shorty" said he had driven Wilson to the bar. He said Wilson was inside when a policeman came up and threw a spotlight into the building. He said the policeman called, "Come on out old man," and then fired two shots into the store. Wilson was found dead in Tin Cup Lane, a small, dirt road behind the bar much later. There is no evidence that Wilson had a weapon. He was a veteran of World War II, and an employe of the City of Augusta. He had no reputation as a civil rights advocate.

John Stokes, 19, struck nine times in the back by double-ought buckshot. Stokes was shot while looting Davis grocery store on the corner of Walker and Third streets. A witness told one reporter that about 20 young people were inside the store when the police came up. Everybody made it away but Stokes. One of the policemen was quoted as saying, "Get up nigger, you ain't dead yet." Stokes was

unarmed. Stokes, like Wright, was a high school dropout.

John Bennings, 28, struck once in the back and once on the arm by double-ought buckshot. He had been to a party that broke up late in the night, and when he went outside, friends said he discovered someone had stolen his car. Bennings and companion, Harry Johnson, 19, then went in search of the vehicle which, according to Johnson, they found at the corner of 15th and Tutt streets. Police were in the area, and they refused to believe that the car belonged to Bennings or that it had been stolen. Officers on the scene placed him under arrest, and while they were out of the patrol car arranging to have the other vehicle towed away, Bennings jumped and ran. A witness said police fired once, then waited until Bennings ran under a lamp post and fired again. The second shot killed him. Bennett lived at 2410 Fitten Street. He had been an unsuccessful student at A. R. Johnson Junior High School where he had gotten into minor trouble with schoolmates. Lately, he had been working as a caddy and odd-job man. Like Stokes and Wright, he was a school dropout.

Sammy L. McCullough, 20, struck twice in the back by shells of unidentified caliber. Dr. Larry Howard of the

State Crime Laboratory says there is no reason to assume the wounds were not caused by double-ought buckshot. Though no bullets were recovered, the bullet wounds were the same size as the wounds in the other victims, he said. In this case, however, McCullough was definitely shot twice. The other men could have been hit only once by a blast from a 12 gauge shotgun shell which contains nine pellets in each load of double-ought buckshot. McCullough was shot approximately three blocks from his home at 413 Gilbert Manor. His companion at the time of the shooting, Russell Cunningham, 20, a lifelong buddy, said he and McCullough had been watching a fire in a supermarket across Wrightsboro Road. Many people were around when the police arrived. Cunningham said he was walking toward his car, McCullough following, when he heard shots. He said he turned to find his friend falling. McCullough was a high school graduate.

The six dead -- none of whom were armed or menaced police -- give no accurate picture of the extent of the shooting that took place the night of May 11. More than 20 people, including the six, suffered gunshot wounds, many serious ones. Other persons were injured by mobs or debris. In all, perhaps 80 persons suffered injuries serious enough to

require medical attention, and many more suffered superficial wounds. In addition, some Negroes may have actually been hit by police fire and were afraid to turn themselves in to the hospital for treatment.

AFTERMATH TO VIOLENCE

The "riot" ended almost as quickly as it had begun. By the morning of Tuesday, May 11, police and National Guardsmen had the situation well in hand. There were sporadic incidents during the next few days, but the fury and energy of the crowd was spent. Parts of the town were in rubble. More than 50 businesses, many of them liquor stores or business operated by Chinese residents, were in ruins.

"It looked like Vietnam," said one Negro.

In a sense, it was a war. Negro leadership in the city, now including many of the more outspoken young blacks from the Committee of 10, met with city and county officials to attempt to gain some relief for the problems that plague the Negro community in the city. The press called the agreement a "Six Point Program." The Negro demands included:

---formation of a Human Relations Committee to work out racial problems;

---immediate hiring of more blacks in high level jobs

in the city and county government;

---overhaul of the county penal system;

---step up efforts to attract more industry into the black neighborhoods;

---regular meetings of blacks and local officials to work on problems between the races, a feature combined into the activities of the Human Relations Committee which, incidently, the Negroes want to have the power of subpeona.

Most blacks in Augusta seemed to think the program was reasonable, but outsiders were shocked to find that the city didn't already have a human relations committee. Negroes in the meanwhile were adopting a cautious "wait and see" attitude, although many doubted that the white community would deliver. The violence, however, may well have shocked the city's frightened whites sufficiently for them to see the need for immediate and forthright action.

The wounds in the city's Negro community are deep. They will not be eradicated by a mere agreement on paper or the privilege, as one black city councilman put it, "of eating breakfast with the whites." It will require much more than breakfast, much more than agreements and handshakes and statements of goodwill. It will require action,

positive action that involves the entire white and black community of the city.

In Augusta, as elsewhere in America, white men engage in oppression half-consciously, almost as if unaware of what they are doing. Present any competent white businessman with similar data of a financial venture as that which has been gathered on racism in Augusta and he will react promptly and efficiently to correct matters. Yet this same white man, when confronted by overwhelming evidence of racial injustice, balks. He assumes that the data are wrong. It is as if he can only see the reality of the Negro plight through blind, blasted, cataracted eyes. In many ways, the white man has become the victim of his own duplicity, his own proclivity to racial rhetoric and doubletalk. He does not believe in what he himself says in relation to the Negro, and he has become so accustomed to operating on half-truths and lies in racial matters that perhaps he has lost the ability to tell or even see the truth. How else can one explain the unwillingness or the inability of Augusta whites to see that temperatures in the city's Negro community were rising steadily prior to the night of May 11? How else can the white civic officials' inaction be understood? Far from

being a sudden confrontation, the Augusta riots were the results of centuries of racial injustice and a gathering, slowly building, gradually escalating series of encounters with an indifferent and disinterested white establishment, manifested in a string of incidents that went back to December of 1969 and marched, in steady, obvious procession through almost each succeeding month up to May 11. Georgia Bureau of Investigation officials said they knew trouble was brewing in Augusta long before the riot took place, yet nothing was done to relieve the situation. The assertion that there was nothing which could have been done because of a handful of local militants is absurd. Steps could have been taken both to relieve the tension in the black community and to move toward establishing an incipient trust between the two races in Augusta. Communication between blacks and whites in the city was so bad that the series of incidents almost resulted in violence a half dozen times between January and May. Regardless of the activity of a few militants (and even police concede that there are few of those in Augusta), if conditions weren't genuinely bad the people would not likely have gone along with and taken part in the violence. (Police estimates of militant activists

or "Black Panther types" in Augusta vary, but most seem to think that the city has about 80 violence-prone blacks. GBI agents say they noted an increase in "Black Panther like activity" for several weeks prior to the night of May 11. Wilbert Allen, most often identified as the city's one true militant, was arrested by Augusta police during the disturbances and charged with inciting to riot. He is free on $25,000 bail.) Negroes leaders in Augusta tend to discount the theory that the young people in the riot were motivated primarily by militant philosophy.

Regardless of the causes of the disturbance, elected officials and all residents of Augusta could go a long way toward making their city a better place for both whites and blacks if they would only take an active part in implementing the Six Point Program and seeing that all persons in social and economic distress in the community get a chance to better their conditions.

Specifically, immediate steps should be taken to:

---relieve overcrowded and unsanitary conditions in housing. This is a number one priority problem in the city. (Most Augusta blacks live in shacks most whites would be afraid to strike a match in.) The

city and the county need to firmly enforce a strict Housing Code, and ferret out absentee slumlords who are getting rich off the misery of other men;

---provide for more and better municipal services, garbage, sewers, and the like, to all Negro residential areas;

---hire blacks for other than menial jobs, and give them a fair opportunity for advancement in those jobs;

---support the program of the local Office of Equal Opportunity and see that all Negro children are afforded an educational opportunity equal to that of the white children;

---cease cultural discrimination against blacks in education, employment, and political affairs, and provide for a permanent organization of communication between members of the Negro and white races in the city;

---begin a thorough study of police activity during the riot, including specifically the fatal shootings of the six Negro men, and examining in detail the normal processes of legal justice as applied to the

local black community.

Particularly needing correction is the practice of placing juveniles in the county jail. One of Charles Oatman's companions in the county jail was a 13-year-old Negro boy who was released the day before the murder. He has since told of severe beatings at the jail, and of threats, and a game in which the other inmates force another to stand up against a wall and smash his head with shoes and belts. This child was detained in jail not because he had committed a crime, but only because he was a witness to one. Two cellmates of Oatman have also subsequently told of a bizarre game of cards played in the cell in which the loser was beaten and tortured. They said that Oatman, because of his low intelligence, almost always lost.

On the basis of available evidence, police action during the disorder was inexcusable. The shooting of the six Negroes -- none of whom were armed and none of whom were threatening police -- is a tragic and deplorable miscarriage of justice. Almost no members of the town's 130-man police force have had riot training, and far more force than necessary was used to still the disorder. In fact, the police first seemed to react too slowly to the gathering

disturbance and then, when they did react, they over-reacted, shooting many more people than the six men who were actually killed. Just as the causes and inner-workings of a violent racial disorder are involved and complex, so is the technique required to handle those disorders complex. Augusta police, if properly trained, should have been able to stop the violence long before it escalated from the shouting, rock throwing stage to burning and looting.

Officials in the city have hinted that they have evidence of an organized clique of "dissidents" who stock-piled firebombs weeks in advance, waiting for an excuse to use them against whites. A week after the disorder, these assertions were still rumors and police had yet to produce any evidence of organization. Most eyewitnesses tend to discount the theories of militant activity. Older Negroes also dismiss the common opinion that young blacks were angry over the progress of the Vietnam War and were, in fact, reacting to the Cambodian invasion.

"Black folks in Augusta don't have time to worry about the war," said Grady Abrams. "We got a situation right here that demands all of our attention. We got to survive. I don't want to see my children grow up and have to put up

with all this jive."

Nevertheless, young people did play a prominent role in the night of violence. In Augusta, as elsewhere, young black students are dissaffected with the nation's Vietnam War policy, and shocked by the Kent State tragedy. Paine College, the traditional center of civil rights activism in the city, was closed a few days after the riots, and city police gave an audible sigh of relief. The schools white president, Dr. E. Clayton Calhoun, the last white president of a Negro college in America, announced his resignation a few weeks before the disturbance. The intense feeling of polarization of the races is as prevalent in Augusta, particularly among the young, as anywhere in the United States. Governor Maddox, two days after the violence in Augusta, seemed to purposely widen this breach when he told a group of Georgia law enforcement officers that he was "sick of cowards. I'm sick of fence-straddlers. We're in a war, and a war at home."

Obviously, many Augusta Negroes agree with him.

* * *

Undoubtedly, most Americans, white or black, will look upon the violence in Augusta as the first race riot of

the year. Although the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders warns against lumping racial disorders in one category of civil strife, the chaos in Augusta did bear haunting similarities to the major disturbances of the summer of 1967.* It was as if the people involved were following a script or acting out roles in a seasonal ritual. There was the series of "incidents," piled on top of centuries of oppression and rejection, then the big "incident." The Incident was followed by the gradually escalating, all-too-familiar pattern of violence, from marching and shouting to rock throwing, beatings, overturning of cars, burning, looting, and finally, the overreaction of the police and the shootings. Then the white "leaders" and the black "leaders" got together and worked out the "Six Point Program." (Why is there always a Six Point Program?) The setting was familiar too: the dilapidated, paintless little shacks, the Negroes standing on the street corner or sitting idly on their porches, watching the silent National Guardsmen strolling up and down the street. Although it was the first time in more than half a century that Georgia has had a major racial disorder, the people all seemed to know their

* See appendix

parts perfectly. Nothing was out of order. Like most Americans, the residents of Augusta have become sort of lay experts on riots.

"It's from the TV," said one reporter covering Augusta. "They've seen it all on television and they know what they are supposed to do. It sounds crazy, but I think that's what's happening."

"No, that's not it," said a television reporter. "We've just covered so many of these things until the people look like they know how to act. Actually, they're doing it naturally. This ain't a play. This is real. We're the one who have become so cynical that it doesn't seem real."

JACKSON STATE COLLEGE

By

Ed Williams

JACKSON STATE

The deaths of two young black men at Jackson State College May 15, following other slayings at Kent State and in Augusta, Ga., seem part of a national surge of violence which is taking the lives of America's disaffected, the anti-war students and the blacks. From a distance, at least, that pattern seems clear. But explanation totally in terms of malevolent forces and national moods is not sufficient.

In Jackson, as still throughout much of the South, old grievances, old wounds that are the heritage of a century must be taken into account in any evaluation of police and black student conflict. At Jackson State almost precisely three years earlier students had clashed with police in an incident that broke out when Jackson police came on campus in pursuit of a student who was alleged to have been speeding. Students at the time had seen the police intrusion as illustrative of the fact that the Jackson police did not respect the sovereignty of the campus security force. The violence of May, 1970, however, was not traceable to one single event.

In the late night hours of Wednesday, May 13, 1970, young blacks, some of them probably Jackson State students and some street-corner toughs, began pelting cars on Lynch Street with rocks and bottles. Jackson police blocked access to a long segment of Lynch, a broad east-west thoroughfare in south Jackson which bisects the campus of Jackson State, a predominantly black (it has a smattering of whites) college of 4,500 in a black business and residential area.

Around midnight, the situation worsened. State highway patrolmen moved onto the campus. A bonfire burned on Lynch, and lawmen reported barrages of rocks and bottles. Officials later reported an abortive foray by blacks with the ROTC building as the apparent target. But the campus grew quiet in the early morning hours.

What started the trouble? Although the student government had organized a war protest a few days earlier, the disorder Wednesday night did not stem from a demonstration. It just erupted, without an immediate discernible cause. "It's a lot of things," said, one student standing at a police roadblock. "The war, Cambodia, the draft, the governor, Mississippi. It's not just any one thing."

About 10:30 the next night, the rock and bottle throwing began anew. Police, aided by state highway patrolmen and National Guardsman called to duty as a back-up force by Gov. John Bell Williams, again blocked Lynch and other streets leading onto campus. Shortly before midnight, someone set fire to a dump truck parked for the night beside a sewage work site on Lynch. A city fire-truck was summoned.

Jerry DeLaughter, Jackson correspondent for the Memphis, Tenn., Commercial-Appeal, was at a roadblock one block north of Lynch when the firetruck pulled onto campus. DeLaughter said he saw a rapid series of flashes and heard reports which sounded like gunfire, coming from the darkness nearby; but no one was hit, and apparently no gunshots -- if they were gunshots -- struck the fire truck.

Highway patrolmen and Jackson police also arrived on campus about midnight, travelling on Lynch. A contingent of about 75 highway patrolmen, armed and garbed in riot gear, moved from the burning truck east on Lynch to a spot near the front of Alexander Hall, a women's dormitory whose three wings form a trapezoid on the north side of the street with Lynch as the long base.

A crowd of young blacks -- students and non-students, men and women -- had gathered in the inner yard of Alexander and near the entrance at the southwest end of the dormitory. Both men and women were inside. The patrolmen stopped, witnesses say, and faced Alexander.

Then without warning the scene exploded. Gunfire erupted, first in a sputter then quickly in a deafening roar lasting a full thirty seconds. Students fled, stumbled and fell over one another, seeking cover.

Then the guns were silent.

Two blacks were found dead after the firing stopped: 21-year-old Phillip L. Gibbs, a JSC junior, married, father of an 11-month-old son; and 17-year-old James Earl Green, a local high school senior, whose sister said he had just received a tentative offer of a track scholarship to UCLA. Gibbs was found in the yard at Alexander, near the southwest entrance. Green was found across Lynch, near the cafeteria.

Bert Case and Jack Hobbs, newsmen for Jackson television station WJTV, were within yards of the highway patrolmen when the shooting erupted. Hobbs recalls hearing what he thought was a bullet from the direction of Alexander "whiz by" him and ricochet off the concrete behind him. A

bottle crashed to the pavement about the same time. Then the barrage began.

Case and Hobbs filmed and sound-taped the events of the tragic minutes. The tape records and the sound of shouting from the students and of the bottle crashing to the pavement. In addition, it has two sharp popping sounds, (which some speculate may have been the firing of the bullet Hobbs recalls) then the heavier sounds of police gunfire. No order to begin firing is heard on the tape although a "cease firing" order is heard.

Fifteen hours later, Jackson Mayor Russell Davis said newsmen, state and local police reported gunfire on campus and from Alexander dormitory before the lawmen opened fire. "The reports state that at the same time as the sniper fire occurred a highway patrolman was knocked down by a brick or rock. . . and several other officers had been hit by bricks prior to the time the firing began," Davis said. "The reports state that there was no command to fire given by the officers in charge."

Governor Williams, in a thirty-minute statewide television address a week after the deaths, said "There is evidence of sniper activity immediately preceding the outburst

and the officers were subjected to numerous barrages of missiles hurled by members of the mob on campus. Several officers were struck by flying missiles.

"There is evidence that an officer was struck, that he was felled and momentarily stunned by a flying object. Almost simultaneous with the reported sniper fire, this officer dropped and then the officers returned the fire." The Governor called the highway patrolmen "professional officers all -- highly experienced. These men are not hot-heads and they are not given to losing their heads under stress."

M. B. Pierce, chief of detectives for the Jackson police department, said the officers who fired were "returning fire from snipers. I can't say whether one specific incident prompted them to fire, but prior to that time they had been receiving fire. There was certainly a tremendous amount of sniper fire." The highway patrol has refused to comment publicly on the incident.

Other eyewitnesses dispute the accounts of "a tremendous amount of sniper fire." Four newsmen who entered the campus with the lawmen say they recall hearing what could have been sniper fire on two occassions: First, when

the firetruck entered; and second, in front of Alexander seconds before the police volley.

"I was down here in front of the dorm, "a black coed said the morning after the deaths. "We saw the cops coming and said, 'Aw, we'll just stay here. . . they ain't gonna do nothing but shoot some tear gas." But there was no tear gas, and there was no attempt to disperse the crowd -- all witnesses agree on those points. And the dozens of student eyewitnesses emphatically deny charges of sniper fire.

Farris Adams, a 26-year old-former JSC student who was on campus the night of the shooting, said shortly before midnight an unidentified black man came by Stewart Hall, a men's dorm, and told residents that Charles Evers and his wife had been gunned down in Natchez. That rumor set off an emotional reaction which led to setting fire to the dump truck, Adams said.

Gregory Antoine, a 19-year-old JSC sophomore, said he had taken a bull horn from a campus security policeman to try to encourage students to stay in the dorms and off the street. He followed patrolmen, walking along the south side of Lynch. When they turned to face Alexander, he was

behind them. "Next thing I knew the sky lit up," he recalled. After the shooting, "First thing they did was pick up the shells laying on the ground." He thinks both highway patrolmen and city police were firing.

All witnesses agree that none of the estimated 500 National Guardsmen called to the campus participated in the shooting. Recollections of whether city police fired differ, but all witnesses agree most of the firing was done by the highway patrolmen.

Despite the official reports of substantial sniper fire, there have been no reports of any lawman wounded by gunfire, or of any equipment or vehicle used by police or the National Guard being hit by sniper fire. Information concerning the bullets which killed the two men has not been made public.

The southwest end of Alexander, which houses an enclosed stairwell, is no more than fifty feet from mid-Lynch Street. All five floors of that end are riddled with bullet holes, apparently from rifles or large shotgun pellets. I counted 150 separate holes in the walls, windows, and aluminum panels beneath the double windows. The heavy glass double doors on the ground floor were

shattered. One panel of the double window on the second floor was shot almost completely out, as were both windows on the fourth floor and one on the fifth. All windows on that end of the dormitory, and all the panels under them, were riddled with bullet holes.

INVESTIGATIONS AND REACTIONS

No one has suggested that either of the men killed or any of the dozen blacks wounded had anything to do with the reported sniping.

Mayor Davis appointed a biracial committee -- two black lawyers, three white lawyers -- to investigate. Before the Mayor announced the composition of the committee, Alex Waites, state NAACP field secretary, told newsmen that a committee on which whites outnumbered blacks would be unacceptable to the black community. But Reuben Anderson, one of the blacks on the committee, said he accepted the appointment because he doubted that the Mayor would offer a more balanced alignment and thought the committee could do some good.

The Mayor said he had no way to give the committee subpoena power, but he said he would instruct city employes to cooperate in the investigation, and urge state

police to do the same.

However, City Commissioner Edward Cates dispatched a memorandum to city employes saying the biracial committee "is illegal and has no legal powers whatsoever. This is to further advise you that no one is required or can be made to appear before the same to testify, and failure to do so cannot result in any punitive action against you."

Twenty city policemen balked at testifying before the committee until the Mayor assured them it wouldn't be the vehicle for any legal action. "Nobody is going to tell them anything," one officer said. "We have nothing to hide, but if they want us to talk, they'll have to bring us before a grand jury." Davis assured them the committee would not supercede the grand jury. The Mayor asked the committee to report its findings in ten days.

Probes by the city, the FBI and the Justice Department's civil rights division were announced within hours of the deaths. Attorney General John Mitchell had already scheduled a speech on Tuesday to the traditionally all-white Delta Council, a 17-county economic development group which meets annually at Delta State College in Cleveland, 150 miles northwest of here. He came to

Jackson the day before his speech to confer with Mayor Davis and Dr. John Peoples, president of Jackson State. They talked for two hours, but spoke nothing but platitudes to newsmen afterward, and refused to answer any questions. That night, Mitchell met briefly with Gov. John Bell Williams following a dinner for Delta Council directors in Indianola.

Tuesday at Cleveland, Mitchell told the Delta planter audience, "This is a nation determined to live within the law." Neither violent demonstrations nor unrestrained reactions are part of that law." He said the deaths at Jackson State and Kent State are under "urgent investigation." Meanwhile, 75 blacks led by state NAACP President Aaron Henry marched in protest on the campus. Mitchell didn't see them,

Governor John Bell Williams responded to the deaths with a traditional "violence begets nothing but grief" statement. Mayor Davis, haggard and visibly shaken, said "This is the darkest day of my life. . . Events of recent weeks in our nation, including this one this morning, should point out that whenever people resort to the streets for whatever cause and armed men are sent into the area to restore order, disaster such as we have suffered is likely to explode. . . ."

Rep. Robert Clark, the only black in the state legislature, protested "the killing and indiscriminate firing upon black students. . . .It appears to me that the hail of gunfire directed against women could under no conceivable circumstances have been justifiable or lawful. I doubt the propriety of sending armed officials into the area in the first place."

State NAACP Field Secretary Alex Waites said, "We cannot find justification for shooting fleeing students regardless of provocation."

THE SILENCE OF THE HIGHWAY PATROL

The highway patrol has refused to make any public statement. That's not suprising. Two months ago, a highway patrolman took a drunk to the emergency room of University Hospital here. He ordered a black orderly to go to the car and bring the man in. The orderly, busy with other tasks, said he would have to check with his supervisor. That angered the patrolman, and he smashed the orderly in the face, knocking him over a patient in a wheelchair. Two white interns rushed up, and the patrolman pulled his gun, waved it at the interns, then arrested them. The dean of the University Medical

Center came to the emergency room, and highway patrol officials arrived soon afterward.

Arrest charges were dropped, and a brief highway patrol investigation ensued. The result: the patrolman was transferred from Jackson to Natchez; no fine, no suspension.

Newsmen who had talked to eyewitnesses at the hospital pressed the patrol for a statement. Finally it came: "We are aware of an incident and we have taken what we think are appropriate disciplinary measures to correct any improprieties that may have occured." That was all.

The Mississippi-Louisiana Associated Press Association, meeting the weekend following the Jackson State deaths, protested the patrol's traditional sealed-lips policy. The association said "the people's right to know . . . is being seriously impaired" in events in which the patrol is involved. The association urged the Governor to "recognize the present insufficiencies in the proper relations between the patrol and the press...."

The official silence of the highway patrol leaves public assessment of their role to unquestioning patrol

backers and shocked patrol critics. The real story of the stresses a lawman comes under when he is in the midst of a hostile crowd, pelted periodically with rocks and bottles, possibly the target of unseen snipers, may be told in official reports; the patrol's determined silence keeps it from being told here.

But the veil of silence did slip at least once, unofficially. A long-haired teenage boy was selling copies of Kudzu, the Jackson underground newspaper, near the Governor's Mansion. The front page was a picture of the bullet-riddled dormitory, under the headline "Jackson State Massacre."

A patrolman stared at the paper. "What would you have done?" demanded the patrolman bitterly. "What would you have done if they'd hit you with rocks and shot at you?"

Civil rights leaders have long criticized the patrol's conduct in civil rights matters. A suit filed this month in federal court here, for example, charges four patrolmen and others with cursing, beating and threatening the lives of blacks involved in boycotts in Rankin and Simpson Counties. Fayette Mayor Charles Evers, former NAACP field

secretary, has singled out one patrol official for special criticism: Lloyd Jones, a big (6-3, 250-pound), 41-year-old veteran of 14 years on the patrol. Jones is the inspector in charge of the eight-county First highway patrol district, which includes Simpson and Rankin Counties and the city of Jackson.

"He was there last night, and he was there when Ben Brown was shot down," Evers told a black gathering the night after the deaths. Ben Brown was a 22-year-old black civil rights worker who was slain by police bullets on Lynch Street during disorders three years ago. Evers called for a black delegation to go to the Governor and demand Jones' suspension.

Ten days before the deaths at Jackson State, attorneys for the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law took a deposition from Jones in connection with the Rankin County suit. Some of his comments take on added significance in the aftermath of Jackson State. James Robertson of the Lawyers Committee asked the questions, and Jones replied:

Question--Does riot gear always involve a shotgun or a rifle?

Answer--Yes, sir.

Q--One or the other?

A--Yes, sir.

Q--Is that standard patrol procedure?

A--Yes, sir.

Q--Can you think of a situation involving a public disturbance or a potential public disturbance in which you would not arm your men, or that you would disarm your men?

A--No, sir. The weapons are for the men's protection. For my men's protection. I have been hit with bricks and bottles and everything else in the last seven or eight years.

Q--How did you stop that -- with a shotgun?

A--Yes, sir.

Q--You did stop that with a shotgun?

A--Yes, sir.

Q--Because of the threat of a shotgun? Is that what?

A--Sometimes that would stop them and sometimes we fired over their heads.

Q--That was the way guns were used here in Jackson in 1967? The Ben Brown killing?

A--Yes, sir.

In the deposition, Jones also testified that all the approximately 375 state patrolmen are white and that the

patrol has no formal procedure for investigating charges of officer misconduct or for disciplining officers.

A week after the deaths, Charles Evers said black leaders had lodged no formal complaint against Jones, nor had they officially sought his suspension. "We're gathering evidence," Evers said.

IN THE AFTERMATH

At the invitation of Evers and other black leaders, numerous national political leaders visited the Jackson State College to view the bullet-scarred dormitory and talk to students. Among the visitors: Senators Edward Brooke, Walter Mondale and Birch Bayh, Congressmen Don Edwards and William Clay, NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins, Washington lawyer Joseph Rauh, Jr., and Bob Bates, a member of Sen. Edward Kennedy's staff.

The funeral of James Green at the Masonic Temple on Lynch Street a week after his death attracted numerous other celebrities, all flown here on a jet chartered by Sen. Edward Muskie. Among the passengers were Senators Charles Percy, Daniel Inouye, Ralph Yarbrough, Thomas Eagleton, Phillip Hart, Harold Hughes, and Claiborne Pell; Congressmen John Anderson, Jeffery Cohelan, John Conyers, Jr., Charles Diggs, Jr., Robert Eckhart, Abner Mikva, William Moorhead, Adam Clayton

Powell, Henry Reuss, and William Steiger; others included W. Averill Harriman, Urban League Director Whitney Young, former Boston Celtic basketball star Sam Jones, and pro football players Lonnie Sanders and James Snowden.

Rep. G. V. Montgomery of Mississippi, angered by the influx of politicians, blasted "outside interference from politicians who would do well to put their own house in order first" and called their trip "an attempt to make political hay out of the tragic events. . . ." Montgomery did not attend the funeral or visit the campus.

Governor Williams responded in the same vein. "We've been invaded by swarms of senators and congressmen and self-appointed experts and self-appointed judges of the people of Mississippi; and all of these have found our people guilty before they even left Washington, and then they found them guilty publicly here in front of a highly cooperative and hopelessly biased national press. . . . The hyprocrisy of this publicity stunt. . . might well have perpetrated a cruel hoax upon the bereaved families and friends of the victims," Williams said. The Governor did not attend the funeral or visit the campus.

State Rep. Charles Mitchell of Jackson took a similar view: "Sen. Muskie and a group of political vultures are flying in from their roost in Washington, D. C.," Mitchell said. "They come as scavengers to glean every political advantage from this problem...." Mitchell did not attend the funeral or visit the campus.

Charles Evers said he had invited the visitors, and "regardless of what state officials say, they are welcome."

Sen. Muskie said he came "at the suggestion of Mayor Evers. He felt it was important to indicate there is much concern about violence on campuses in all parts of the country."

There is much concern in Jackson, too, and it takes many forms. Governor Williams called up more than a thousand National Guardsmen for stand-by duty in Jackson, and he alerted a reported 10,000 others for possible call-up.

State highway patrolmen, most of them veterans of the Jackson State incident, kept a round-the-clock vigil at the Governor's Mansion, and city police worked long shifts.

Young black pickets marched in front of white-owned stores, carrying signs telling black shoppers to stay away in support of a city-wide boycott.

A rash of firebombings broke out, eight in the week following the deaths. The targets were white-owned businesses in predominantly black areas.

Millsaps College, a predominantly white, church-sponsored institution here, permanently disarmed its campus security force after one staff member reported hearing a patrolman say he would use his gun if students gave him any trouble. Two patrolmen quit, but others stayed on duty, wearing empty holsters.

The state college board dismissed classes at Jackson State for the remainder of the semester, cancelling graduation and alumni day activities.

The state National Guard Association postponed a convention which would have brought to Jackson more than 900 officers from throughout the state.

Rumors of turmoil and violence in the public schools spread throughout the city, prompting officials to open a rumor center which parents could call to get facts about tales of trouble. Mayor Davis dismissed public schools here May 21 and 22, the day before and the day of Green's funeral.

Reaction to the deaths in Jackson's black community

seems to be coalescing around two groups, the traditional black leadership and the students. Today, the groups are working together. Tomorrow, they may not be.

Charles Evers and Alex Waites are prominent among the leadership of blacks who are firmly committed to non-violence. Evers has cooled Jackson before when black feelings approached fever point. Evers, whose brother was slain by sniper fire in Jackson during the initial civil rights struggle of the early 1960s, believes in racial integration and the accumulation of black power through economics and politics.

"The streets in Jackson ain't safe for no black man, or no white man who believes in justice and equality," Evers told 1,500 blacks who gathered Sunday, May 17, in the blood-stained yard of Alexander. But he urged students not to take to the streets. "The Man understands two kinds of power," he had said earlier, "economic power and voting power."

But to a growing number of young blacks, it's obvious that The Man understands and uses a third kind of power when the first two fail: violence. Many young blacks are losing faith in the idea of peaceful change through

the ballot, the boycott and the courts.

For young black students like John Donald and Degecha X, the events of the past week have caused a critical examination of the course black activism has taken and is to take in Mississippi.

John Donald, a Navy veteran from Jackson, is a law student at the University of Mississippi. He was suspended from school earlier in the semester for taking part in a black demonstration which interrupted a campus musical, but he was reinstated pending a federal court review of the suspension. His brother Cleveland enrolled at Ole Miss soon after James Meredith.

"I woke up at four o'clock in the morning, thinking about all this," Donald told a friend on Lynch Street the Sunday following the killings. "I've had to rethink my whole life. If this can still happen, a law degree's not relevant, college is not relevant. It makes no difference."

Degecha X, a Jackson State student from Hattiesburg, emerged as a leader in protest demonstrations following the killings. He spoke forcefully at planning meetings, his speeches filled with references to "pigs" and "honkies." He was the apparent leader of five hundred students who

ringed the Governor's Mansion in silent protest the Monday after the killings.

He had resisted reporters' attempts at earlier interviews, and had angrily demanded that television lights be extinguished at an earlier press conference. But he talked to two reporters in a sparsely-furnished upstairs room that serves as the Kudzu office.

He spoke of the new mood emerging in the black community. "I'm sure Brother Evers realizes his philosophy has reached a point where it's crying in the night," he said. "It's a hopeless effort. . . .He is intelligent enough to know we can't continue to love and embrace an adversary that continues to inflict pain (on us)."

"The white man will have to understand we're here and can't go anywhere else. He brought us here. He has to understand he was our model. He kept us in bondage. He kept us fighting one another. This animosity he has created is now detouring from the black community. The blacks are going to have to turn their animosity toward their true adversary, and it's not going to take a bunch of outside agitators. There are young blacks here today who can act in the capacity of agitator without involve-

ment from outside. No matter how the white man preaches this crap about communist inspiration, that's a bunch of crap. The average black don't know a thing about communism."

". . .There's got to be a new youthful involvement here. The old pacifist Negro will have to take a back seat and more or less advise and observe. His type of leadership has been in harmony with plans of the white power structure. The black community has continued to step off on the wrong foot on every take-off."

". . .I'm sure the majority of the black community realizes there's not going to be any justice," he said. "Therefore, this should bring the black community closer together. . . ."

". . .The white man has controlled by fear. When the white man can no longer control by fear or intimidation, he tends to resort to more devastating methods such as the atrocity at Jackson State. The recent event was done to reinforce fear in the black community, to let young blacks know who's in charge. This strategy is going to backfire. I think he somewhat underestimated the young black man," said Degecha X.

* * *

There is an almost irresistable tendency to look for parallels between Jackson State and Kent State. Here is my view:

The real similarities and differences between the two tragedies are best seen by comparing the symbolic rôles of the antagonists on both campuses.

The highway patrol at Jackson State and the National Guard at Kent State were forces dispatched to establish order and protect property. Both were backed by, in a phrase favored by Governor Williams, "the majesty of the law." Students who did not cooperate with these forces, then, were lawbreakers, in the eyes of the lawmen.

The highway patrol and the National Guard were representatives of white establishment America, thrown into an alien, hostile environment against an enemy hiding among a large mass of innocent bystanders. The role of the lawmen: to establish order. Their method: strike at the enemy. The result: the deaths of several bystanders, none of whom is accused of anything other than being present when the shooting started.

Because they did not retreat when confronted by duly constituted authorities, the students on both campuses got

what they asked for, in the cold, quasi-legalistic view of many Americans.

Such a view ignores both law and humanity.

Few lawmen would suggest that the proper response to rocks and bottles, even to an unseen sniper, is to fire point-blank into a mass of milling students. And if, in the final analysis, law allows such a response, humanity does not. If that is our best method of dealing with angry college students, law and justice have become hollow words, for a withering volley of gunfire does not distinguish between the guilty and the innocent. The men sworn to uphold the law, then, have become as lawless as the mob they see before them.

The confrontation at Jackson State is further complicated by the problem of race. Any confrontation between a white lawman and a black man in Mississippi is necessarily a racial confrontation. One hundred and fifty years of history, with its myths and horrors, make it so.

A deposition taken by the Lawyers Committee here contains an exchange between a lawyer and a highway patrolman about the use of the term "nigger". The lawyer asks if the patrolman considers it an offensive term, and the

patrolman replies "No, sir." The patrol has no policy about use of that term, the patrolman says, and he uses it several times during the taking of the deposition.

A black man who breaks a law, or is suspected of breaking a law, is more than merely a lawbreaker to many white Mississippi lawmen; he is a "nigger" lawbreaker, and that makes a difference.

In the eyes of white Mississippi, a black man who angrily throws a rock at a highway patrolman is more dangerous than a black service station attendant who kills a black tractor driver in a Saturday night brawl. That fact makes any confrontation between angry young blacks and white Mississippi lawmen a potential tragedy.

Possible solutions? Rep. Robert Clark, the only black in the Mississippi legislature, suggested a third force; when blacks seem on the verge of violence, other blacks should step in. "We don't want any more armed white men on black campuses," said Clark. "They've proved they don't know what to do. We do."

APPENDIX

Excerpts from the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

Based upon information derived from our surveys, we offer the following generalizations.

1. No civil disorder was "typical" in all respects. Viewed in a national framework, the disorders of 1967 varied greatly in terms of violence and damage: while a relatively small number were major under our criteria and a somewhat larger number were serious, most of the disorders would have recieved little or no national attention as "riots" had the nation not been sensitized by the more serious outbreaks.

2. While the civil disorders of 1967 were racial in character, they were not interracial. The 1967 disorders, as well as earlier disorders of the recent period, involved action within Negro neighborhoods against symbols of white American society--authority and property--rather than against white persons.

3. Despite extremist rhetoric, there was no attempt to subvert the social order of the United States. Instead, most of those who attacked white authority and property

seemed to be demanding fuller participation in the social order and the material benefits enjoyed by the vast majority of American citizens.

4. Disorder did not typically erupt without preexisting causes, as a result of a single "triggering" or "precipitating" incident. Instead, it developed out of an increasingly disturbed social atmosphere, in which typically a series of tension-heightening incidents over a period of weeks or months became linked in the minds of many in the Negro community with a shared network of underlying grievances.

5. There was, typically, a complex relationship between the series of incidents and the underlying grievances. For example, grievances about allegedly abusive police practices, unemployment and underemployment, housing and other conditions in the ghetto, were often aggravated in the minds of many Negroes by incidents involving the police, or the inaction of municipal authorities on Negro complaints about police action, unemployment, inadequate housing or other conditions. When grievance-related incidents recurred and rising tensions were not satisfactorily resolved, a cumulative process took place in which prior incidents were readily recalled and grievances reinforced. At some point in the mounting tension, a further incident--in itself often

routine or even trivial--became the breaking point, and tension spilled into violence.

6. Many grievances in the Negro community result from the discrimination, prejudice and powerlessness which Negroes often experience. They also result from the severely disadvantaged social and economic conditions of many Negroes as compared with those of whites in the same city and, more particularly, in the predominantly white suburbs.

7. Characteristically, the typical rioter was not a hoodlum, habitual criminal, or riffraff; nor was he a recent migrant, a member of an uneducated underclass, or a person lacking broad social and political concerns. Instead, he was a teen-ager or young adult, a lifelong resident of the city in which he rioted, a high-school drop-out--but somewhat better educated than his Negro neighbor--and almost invariably underemployed or employed in a menial job. He was proud of his race, extremely hostile to both whites and middle-class Negroes and, though informed about politics, highly distrustful of the political system and of political leaders.

8. Numerous Negro counter-rioters walked the streets urging rioters to "cool it." The typical counter-rioter resembled in many respects the majority of Negroes, who

neither rioted nor took action against the rioters, that is, the non-involved. But certain differences are crucial: the counter-rioter was better educated and had higher income than either the rioter or the noninvolved.

9. Negotiations between Negroes and white officials occurred during virtually all the disorders surveyed. The negotiations often involved young, militant Negroes as well as older, established leaders. Despite a setting of chaos and disorder, negotiations in many cases involved discussion of underlying grievances as well as the handling of the disorder by control authorities.

10. The chain we have identified--discrimination, prejudice, disadvantaged conditions, intense and pervasive grievances, a series of tension-heightening incidents, all culminating in the eruption of disorder at the hands of youthful, politically-aware activists--must be understood as describing the central trend in the disorders, not as an explanation of all aspects of the riots or of all rioters. Some rioters, for example, may have shared neither the conditions nor the grievances of their Negro neighbors; some may have coolly and deliberately exploited the chaos created by others; some may have been drawn into the melee merely because they identified with, or wished to emulate,

others. Nor do we intend to suggest that the majority of the rioters, who shared the adverse conditions and grievances, necessarily articulated in their own minds the connection between that background and their actions.

11. The background of disorder in the riot cities was typically characterized by severely disadvantaged conditions for Negroes, especially as compared with those for whites; a local government often unresponsive to these conditions; federal programs which had not yet reached a significantly large proportion of those in need; and the resulting reservoir of pervasive and deep grievance and frustration in the ghetto.

12. In the immediate aftermath of disorder, the status quo of daily life before the disorder generally was quickly restored. Yet, despite some notable public and private efforts, little basic change took place in the conditions underlying the disorder. In some cases, the result was increased distrust between blacks and whites, diminished interracial communication, and growth of Negro and white extremist groups.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

VOICES FROM THE SOUTH

Black students talk about their experiences in desegregated schools.

By Betsy Fancher

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
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Mrs. Betsy Fancher is an Atlanta free-lance writer and assistant editor of SOUTH TODAY, monthly publication of the Southern Regional Council's Leadership Education Project. Her report was prepared under the editorial direction of SRC's Research and Information Department.

INTRODUCTION

In 1968 the Southern Regional Council in concluding a Special Report "Lawlessness and Disorder: Fourteen Years of Failure in Southern School Desegregation," made this observation:

> As the summer of 1968 unfolded and a new school year approached, many Negroes, reflecting in varying degrees a concept of "black awareness," had come to feel that school desegregation is no longer a relevant issue. "Why don't whites ever transfer to our schools? Why should we be the ones to do all the sacrificing?" Some voice the attitude, too, that if "quality education" can be achieved in an all-Negro school, then why should Negro children suffer the pain, the estrangement, the cruelty they subject themselves to in desegregating a "previously all-white school." "Separate but equal" never achieved when it was the law of the land, becomes now a sour goal of the disappointed, the disillusioned and the betrayed.

Two years later what was then a sounding of discontent heard in a few isolated localities has become a major concern to black and white leaders across the South who are committed to ending the South's dual school system.

To get some feel of what black students in the region are thinking the Southern Regional Council in July sent Mrs. Betsy Fancher to four communities in which school desegregation has been at times traumatic. We do not

assert that the conversations which she records represent the definitive view of all Negro students in the South. They are in many ways contradictory. Some are extreme, some rhetorical, some moderate and conciliatory. Underlying all is a degree of disillusion with school integration on terms which the students see as having shattered not only their identity as black people, but as human beings. Separatist views, lack of faith in the democratic process are often articulated. Such comments it should be noted come most often from those whose experiences in desegregated situations have been the most bitter. What seems most evident from all their comments is that black youth in the South will no longer play a passive role in decisions affecting their lives and futures. As the 1970 school year approached this was a fact of life that all involved in the process of school desegregation needed to understand: Sixteen years of social upheaval, of an evolving body of law designed to end dual schools, dual societies have brought school integration to the point of being a reality, a personal one-to-one reality, involving conflicts with origins deep in old and false preconceptions, involving give

and take, true human relations. The traumas of the experience are real on both sides. It would take toughness of spirit and mind, wisdom and patience for leaders, black and white, to search for solutions to the problems that the students here raise.

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

In a student center on Mobile's teeming, neon blurred Davis Street, a young black high school student stood under a blazing African mural and scoffed at the whole idea of integration. "They treat us like dogs," he said of his predominantly white high school. "Integration won't work. It hasn't and it won't. You ought to hear my principal call me nigger."

In Greenville, South Carolina, another black high school student, describing his experiences in a desegregated situation, puts it differently: "Integration of students is a good thing, if it can work. It just has to work."

Between the bitter negativism of the first comment and the cautious optimism of the latter may lie the attitudes of most black high school students in the South of 1970. Their attitudes seem crucial as this year's school term begins, when according to the Justice Department some 97 per cent of the South's black students will be attending schools with whites. (The figure is disputed by civil rights advocates and it doubtless is vastly inflated, but all signs do indicate significant percentage increases.)

The 1970 school year is expected to be traumatic. Last year federal action effectively slowed down school desegregation in many localities, putting off crucial integration decisions until September 1970. Paul Rilling, former Southeastern regional civil rights director of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, recently described last year's school desegregation procedures this way:

> In the process of capitulation to segregationist pressures a year ago, the administration put everything possible off -- until September, 1970. In asking the courts for delays last year, the Justice Department attorneys state that total desegregation should take place -- in September, 1970. The plans accepted from Southern districts a year ago gave unnecessary delays and provided minimum progress for last year, but without exception they provide for complete desegregation -- in September, 1970. Not one plan has been accepted yet which permits a delay beyond September, 1970.*

An estimated 400,000 white children have fled to new private segregation academies, accompanied by thousands of white public school teachers and in some cases public school equipment. According to testimony by Reese Cleghorn, director of the Southern Regional Council's Leadership Education Project, before Senator Walter Mondale's Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, the number of

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* South Today, June 1970.

private schools more than doubled between 1954 and 1967 in deep South states. Some 168 new private schools are known to have been established between 1964 and 1967 in Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina, he testified. Their most important supporters: The Citizens Councils of America and the South Carolina Independent School Association, he told the Committee. Testifying before the same committee Miss Winifred Green, director of the Southeastern Public Education Program of the American Friends Service Committee, pointed out that since September, 1969 the number of all-white private schools has increased from 35 to 100 in Mississippi. And Jackson, which recently defeated a 7 million dollar bond issue, has seven new private schools due to open in September of 1970.

The committee heard reports that books, microscopes, desks, and even whole school buildings were disappearing from Southern schools only to reappear in new, all-white segregation academies. One North Carolina district even turned over public school buildings to new private schools for $1 a year.

White school boards still control desegregated schools;

The result: wide scale firing of black teachers. In one Mississippi school (Starkville), Rims Barber of the Delta Ministry reported as many as 55 per cent of the black teachers fired, and percentages ranging from 23 to 40 per cent were fired in nine other Mississippi schools.

Officials of the National Educational Association testified before the committee that 5,000 black principals and teachers in Southern schools have been either dismissed or demoted because of desegregation, and often replaced by less qualified whites.

Miss Green painted a bleak picture of the problems faced by many black students in newly integrated schools. "In some districts, classes are segregated. Testing and tracking are used to segregate within the school. There are moves to force out black high school students by the use of stricter rules. These students should be described as push outs and not drop outs," she said.

In Dekalb High School in Kemper County, Mississippi, some 108 blacks, all tenth graders, attend all-black classes in a wing of the red brick school building separate from the 190 whites, testified Miss Green. "The blacks ride to and from school in buses driven by blacks, eat lunch

only with blacks and do their homework in an all-black study hall. Black teachers teach only black children. White teachers teach whites."

Five black students testifying before the same committee described the "internal segregation" they had encountered at integrated schools, practices which included separate classrooms, separate lunch and gym periods and separate bells so that blacks and whites do not use the hall at the same time. Buses pick up blacks at 5:30 a. m. in one Louisiana parish so that white students can ride separately. Tyrone Thomas, of Mobile, Ala., told the committee that in his integrated high school black football players carry the ball to "about the 99 yard line," where a white player is substituted to score the touchdown. The students also testified that some Southern schools refused to admit Negro members to all-white student councils, that Afro hair cuts and dress were banned, and that black students were excluded from many school activities.

Observing the student's new militancy, their growing contempt for "white rules" and "white standards," Mrs. Ruby Martin, a former director of the Office of Civil Rights who brought them to Washington said: "It is clear to me

that we can expect problems this fall in integrated schools unlike any we have ever experienced."

Were these students just a bitter, vocal minority? Or did they represent a new wave of militancy, a militancy born out of the painful disillusionment of black students with the great experiment of integration? To find the answer to this and other urgent questions posed by integration, the Southern Regional Council interviewed students in four Southern communities about their school experiences. The communities were widely diverse. Mobile is a teeming port city which voted heavily for George Wallace and whose school integration has been stymied since 1963 by a court case (Davis vs. Board of School Commissioners of Mobile County), a case which has been appealed to the fifth circuit nine times while the city maintained a dual system and students who elected to use free choice were designated "non conformist" and were not officially enrolled in school nor officially given grades. Charlotte, N. C. is a burgeoning, sophisticated city where the hotly debated Charlotte-Mecklenburg County school desegregation case, which could allow for total integration and busing was being watched by the entire nation this summer as the decisive case in the future of school

integration. Greenville is a quiet, pretty little city justly proud of having peacefully achieved an 80--20 ratio in its schools last February. Historic Beaufort, with its columned manses and bleak slums is preparing to integrate its schools in September under an HEW approved plan which is violently opposed by the local blacks. To date Beaufort's schools have operated on a Freedom of Choice basis but only a half dozen white students have elected to go to black schools.

These communities have one thing in common. Each one is the scene of an emotion charged drama of school integration, a drama which involves school board members, principals, teachers and students, a drama which presages the historic conflicts which this fall could bring.

BEAUFORT, SOUTH CAROLINA: "THE PAIN IS STILL THERE."

This summer, the visitor to moss-shrouded Beaufort and its surrounding islands feels as did abolitionist Austa French when she first approached the area by sea in the early days of the Civil War. "There steals over you the feeling that you are passing under a great cloud of accumulated wrongs, in which you seem mysteriously implicated, the vague feeling that you have done something awful somewhere in the dim past. . .Slavery is written upon the shore, the trees, the sky, the air. . .the enormous black hawks with their screams seem to be its very spirit. No wonder they 'caw, caw' over this land -- mean vultures, waiting for blood."

The vultures still caw over Port Royal Sound and though slavery was abolished over a century ago, the Beaufort blacks still suffer a deep sense of oppression. Right now it is focused on the issue of school integration, on the fact that grades ten through twelve of two all black high schools, St. Helena and Robert Smalls will be bused this fall to predominantly white Beaufort High School which will be holding double sessions until another high school can be built in the area. School Superintendent Walter Trammel

explains that the busing plan was adopted because Beaufort High had the best facilities. He neglected to add that it is the only accredited high school in the area, that Robert Smalls is flanked by a public dumping area and that conditions at St. Helena are so bad that two Vista workers have been sent in to work with the students.

Nevertheless, the black students love their schools and are adamant about being bused to Beaufort High. "They are very angry," says Andrew Marrisett, a field worker for the American Friends Service Committee, stationed near Beaufort at Frogmore. "They want to know why aren't the white kids being bused from Beaufort High to St. Helena's and Robert Smalls. They have a special feeling for their schools. Robert Smalls was a slave who stole a gunboat and went to the aid of Union Forces during the siege of Hilton Head Island. He later served in the South Carolina legislature and the U. S. Congress and he is one of black Beaufort's heros. They are proud of the name of their school and they don't want to see it changed. They don't want to leave their friends in the lower grades. I do think they'll try a boycott to protest double sessions. I would support the boycott, in fact I'd lead it. But I do see an inkling of

violence. All I can tell you now is we're waiting for September."

John Gadsden, of Penn Community Center, is frankly cynical about the plan. "I still don't believe when September comes there'll be 'massive' integration. We've had South Carolina decisions before. We've had troops before. I don't believe we'll see the total elimination of the dual school system."

"But we are moving a lot of bodies around," says Frieda Mitchell, one of two black members of the Beaufort school board. She does not believe the boycott will develop. "Most people don't like the idea of keeping kids out of school," she says. As for the busing: "They're being bused because they're black," she says flatly. As the mother of a daughter who went to Beaufort High as one of the first freedom of choice students, she believes she "fared better than most. There was a constant influx of military people and the parents were more broadminded. There was only one incident of violence, when a white boy hit a black with a broken bottle. Things were not bad, but Karen went back to a black school. She said she couldn't participate as much, her grades went down and

there was the problem of identity, of a black kid trying to blend in with whites."

But let Karen describe her experience:

> I was spat on, hit with an ink well, with spit balls. I got to the point where I didn't consider some of those I went to school with human. You could see some blacks pretending they had great rapport, but I never saw that, I never saw true communication between human beings. The other students were like machines being controlled by a master switch. They were like puppets on a string, products of their environment, hostile. There was one teacher, one English teacher who was truthful and honest, one human being in my four years. That whole school was strange. In history, for instance, the way they talked about the whole Civil War scene and the role of black people. And whenever you brought up Viet Nam or the Black Panthers, anything relevant, they'd say let's not get too involved. I'm not interested in black schools or white schools, I want a better education, an education relevant to students in the 20th century. I copped out. I used to make lousy grades, but they never discussed anything I wanted to discuss, anything controversial and contemporary. I was completely alienated for four years.

At Beaufort High she got in trouble only once -- for failing to pledge allegience to the flag. "That's as big a crime as saying you're going to assassinate the president. . . .'with liberty and justice for all.' Can you see me saying that. 'With liberty and justice for all.' Me being black and American and in the South. Nobody needs to lie. There should be nobody you fear enough to lie to. 'One nation under God.' That's a joke in itself. They can

shoot me down whenever they like but God won't see that."

Karen briefly tried a private school in New England after leaving Beaufort High -- "it was just as unreal, being another token black person" -- and then came back to Robert Smalls. "It was more real, more relevant to me and my community. I was alienated at Beaufort High because I was black and I was there. But at Robert Smalls I could relate to masses of black people. I valued this more than I valued integration."

She had lost all faith in integration when she was asked to go to Washington to testify before the Mondale Committee. "By then I had passed the point of frustration. I had been so humiliated. I thought I was in a nightmare. I thought there's no sense in talking to anybody. It's not going to help. These liberals think integration is going to break down social and legislative barriers. It barely breaks down legal barriers. And then this Commissioner Allen, you know this U. S. Commissioner on Civil Rights, we talked to him, told him some of this, about how the coaches would send a white kid in at the 99 yard line to take the ball away from the black kid, about how black kids were kept out in the rain, how one was permanently expelled.

And the next day he gets fired."

The firing confirmed Karen's conviction that integration is in fact a hoax, that "segregation is a conspiracy between the Federal and local governments. The Federal government puts all the money and the tools in the hands of local school boards who oppose integration." Karen Hawkins stopped smoking in Washington. "My heart started getting heavy," she says, "I had a pain deep in my chest. I thought it was cigarettes and I gave them up, but the pain is still there."

How do other black students feel about entering predominantly white Beaufort High? Miss Arthur Mae Cohen, has completed her junior year at St. Helena school where she was secretary of the student council and a member of a student government committee organized by the Beaufort County School Superintendent to work out plans for desegregation of the school district this fall.

"They should have zoned us. Instead we have massive busing and double sessions," she says bitterly. "But a majority of whites live in the area of Robert Smalls (a black school); that's why we weren't zoned. It's always black people who are bused to white schools. The white

administrators think their kids are too good to go to black schools. The white man feels the black man is not good enough to be where he is. That's the truth of it. The kids on Fripp Island are bused past our schools to private schools. They think we're not sanitary. White people get married in white dresses and go to funerals in black dresses. They think white is pure and black isn't. That's how the white man feels."

Miss Cohen believes Robert Smalls and St. Helena should have been upgraded and that students should remain there. She admits St. Helena's needed new lab equipment, new desks, and a refurbished cafeteria, but it was her school and she loved it. She especially liked the Afro-American Club which was a black history study group. She is going reluctantly to Beaufort High.

MOBILE, ALABAMA: OF DISILLUSION AND A MEASURE OF FAITH

In Mobile, where NOW, a militant black organization and STAND a white supremicist group, have both made heated pronouncements on integration, racial tension has erupted in a series of unexplained bombings and shootings this summer. School desegregation has had a long and tortured history in the port city. Black students have protested the fact that when they elected to use free choice, they were designated "non-comformist" and neither officially enrolled in school nor officially given grades. Black students have been "suspended, intimidated, harassed and jailed," according to Miss Green's testimony before the Mondale Committee. "This situation and surrounding circumstances -- students jailed, threats on the lives of the leaders of the movement, complete unresponsiveness of a school board to the desires of the black community -- makes one understand why the black community might enthusiastically endorse any alternative to this continued method of desegregation," she told the committee.

Mobile students have seen integration blocked nine times, most dramatically in 1968 when, on the eve of massive

desegregation, some 10,000 members of the newly formed STAND opposed a mandate of the Fifth Circuit court and won yet another year under freedom-of-choice. In August, 1969 the judge in the Southern District of Alabama granted a delay in the implementation of an HEW school desegregation plan that left approximately 5,500 blacks in all-black schools. Mobile now has a new plan that almost doubles the number of black students left in all-black schools.

It has been received with angry cynicism by a group of black parents who have formed a separatist organization, STEP (Steps Toward Educational Progress) initiated by Roy Innis, director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) to push for two racially determined school districts, the black district under black control. Innis, who earlier had discussed the plan with four Southern governors, has met several times with high ranking officials of the Justice Department one of whom is reported to have suggested Mobile as a test city for his "separate but equal" proposal.

The young people have also formed an activist organization, the United Student Action Movement of Mobile. Their Davis St. center, stocked with African literature and emblazoned with African murals, serves as a "center for

the advancement of Black awareness," a center for tutoring, recreation, organizing and legal aid. Says their prospectus:

> Every time we have taken any action we have been harassed, intimidated, suspended from school, and jailed. Everyday we see our Black brothers and sisters getting their heads beat by cops, store owners, etc. We are sick of it, and must have full time legal help to defend ourselves and to try to put a stop to the endless brutalization of the Black man in Mobile. Legal aid is essential for the organization of an effective center.

The group has led boycotts and demonstrations to protest segregation, inadequate school facilities, the lack of black history courses, and the use of the word "nigger" by teachers. They have confronted the school board with their suggestions, forced it to readmit a black student who was suspended because of his beard, organized Vietnam Moratorium programs and held dances to raise funds for white teachers who supported their boycotts.

What are their feelings about integration? What are their attitudes toward whites? How do they view the democratic process and the viability of working through the system? What can we anticipate when school opens? How do they feel about the quality of education they are receiving? Do they favor black control of black schools? If so do they see this as different from the old "separate but equal" doctrine?

Are they totally negative about the possibility of black-white cooperation?

These questions were put to a group of Mobile high school students, members of the United Student Action Movement, all of them, by the Southern Regional Council this July. The students queried included Tyrone Thomas and Herbert Patterson of Vigor High School, Gary Smith, of Toulminville High, Dora Finley, who will enter Springhill College this fall, Vincent Washington, of Blount High School, Anita Showers, of the University of South Alabama and Joycelyn Finley of Bishop Toolen High School.

The long years of court battles, sporadic violence and racial tension have taken their toll. But listen to them discuss it.

---Integration? It's no good.

---It don't mean a thing to me.

---Well, this is the way I see it -- we know integration (I should say desegregation -- the court always uses that word) desegregation has been going on for a long time now. That's why black folks have thirteen shades of color. But integration is playing out, it's played out. In Mobile integration just won't work because

when we go to a white school they treat us like some dog. We never get to be the officers of the class so we'd rather just stay in our own schools.

---I think its an impossibility at this time. How can you have integration when the white man is on the top of the pole? He controls everthing, he's the head of everything and he owns the power structure and we're at the bottom of the pole. We aren't equal in the white man's eyesight. He sees us as inferior and a lot of black people see themselves as inferior so I see a need for black people to have their own school districts and when the white man sees we can control our own money and our own power maybe then we can come together.

---I don't believe it's the time yet. Black folks will have to get themselves together and share their ideas and white folks have to get themselves together -- when we have all white and all black schools and have shared all our ideas, that's when we can both come together.

So far integration has meant only humiliation, oppression and a loss of identity to these black students. They can't conceive of it working until black people control "their

own money and their own schools and their own school districts."

---Right now the white man feels the black man can't control his own money, his own resources in the community. If we have the chance to show the power structure that we can control our own schools, our own money while they control theirs then we can come together. But you have to be true to yourself.

---I say let's start separatism. As it is now, it's the white man who controls the dollar.

---Black folks don't even control the little money that's coming into our schools now and its never been separate but equal because the white man always controls the money. Now if the black man can control the money and can control what should be put into that black school, black students would be aware of their identity. As it is today we're not even aware of our identity. The only way we can be aware is by all the black folks being together and teaching each other their identity. If we're in an integrated school, the white man hires the teachers.

---We know we have some brilliant black teachers

in Mobile today. But when they got the so called integration thing together they took them out to the white schools to let them teach them. They never did what you call integrate. They only integrated the teachers.

The students contended that black students could never prove themselves in integrated classrooms because they could never win the vote for student council, cheer leader and other offices. The black student who did win an office, they said, was invariably the one with the straightest hair. But all-black Central High was raided for football players who are now scoring touchdowns for two predominantly white schools. On the whole, they believe white schools rob students of their identity and make them feel inferior. They express it this way:

---Okay, the teacher looks at him in the morning, one little black kid, and to make him feel good he says "good morning" to him and says nothing to the little white folks and that's turning the white folks against him and at the same time it's making him feel inferior. He be walking down the hall and they look at him and he is dressed one way and they are dressed another

way and he has to go back and dress like them. He can't wear his afro in a white school. There are rules at Mercy and other schools that black people cannot wear Afros, cannot wear beards and dashikis. Your hair has to be not over so many inches, you can't wear dashikis unless its tucked in you pants.

---You can't take a black student out of a black school where he has been all of his life and throw him in a white school for one semester and expect him to pass. You can't do that, you've got to give him a chance to adapt to the white man's way. Anyway you'll turn him white, white, white. Teachers are turning children white because they have to adapt to the white man's way, not our way. But if we controlled our money them we wouldn't have to adapt to the white man. It all stems from money and I'm sorry it does.

How do they feel about the quality of education they are now getting?

---I don't think we are getting an education, period. Because if we had been getting an education, we wouldn't have prejudiced teachers. Over in Murphy, teachers are prejudiced. In the black school, I got a "B", but

then over in the white school, I got a "E" in Algebra and I was flunking. This has happened to a lot of the Mobile students when they switch over from a black to a white school. Their grades were good at the black school, but when they got over to the white, their grades were lowered. If they got an "A" in the black school and an "E" or "D" in the white school they were flunked. Going by the white man's way, that should have averaged out to a "C" or "D" at the most. But these students got flat "E"s which means they have to go to summer school. If you go to a black school half of your life and they send you over to this white school, you got to adapt to this and this is not right.

They sneered at the pattern of integration in Mobile. Freedom of choice had been a farce, they said. To them it meant simply this:

---It was something the judge came up with to avoid integration. What they meant was that black schools are already so bad, so low down and raggedy no white folks are going to come to them. Okay, and then they knew that black folks weren't going to walk another

five miles to go to a white school. What they are doing now is closing down Central High and they're sending the better black students to white high schools and those from the real ghettos to the bad schools. You see what they're saying is since we got to do it then we just send the better black students.

The students favor Roy Innis' two district separatist plan. They spoke bitterly of the present school board and the fact that one of its former members was a leader in the unltraconservative STAND group that fought desegregation. But what's going to prevent old line conservative black leaders from controlling the board of the black school district?

---Because young folks will be the ones to do the voting.

---If we feel they are mistreating us like the white man was mistreating us then we just walk out of the school, you see. We walk out until they put somebody up there to do it right. At Dunbar fifteen of us walked out in April and started throwing bricks and the next day 700 students walked out. The only ones who didn't walk out were still controlled by the white

man, they were still living in the slums and ghettos and ditches.

The students were asked if they would favor a completely integrated school system under a completely integrated school board. The answer was, no.

---It still would not work, because white people would still have money and would still feel superior. If there were 250 here and 250 there, it still would not work. Because people are still not ready. Just like the white people say. White and black are not ready.

But what they mean by "ready" does not have the presumption of racial inferiority that whites give the term.

---This is when we can get along by ourselves. When will this happen? When they find out they need us. I can tell you when they like to found it out, when the buses went on strike, when the white folks' dishes were beginning to pile up. They got to realize that we can come together. But right now whites are not going to give us a fair share. If black schools get one million dollars, whites will get two million. And the million the black folks get will be controlled by

the whites.

Do they have any faith at all in the democratic process? Here's how they view it:

---You mean that all men were created equal? I don't believe this because when Thomas Jefferson wrote it he did not intend it for the black man because black men were rated not as men but as maybe one quarter human or equal to a horse or a cow. Historically, it was not intended for the black man.

---Here is what the system offers: using the constitutional rights, going to court, getting bogged down. That is just what we were doing and getting nothing. As long as you have a racist judge and a racist lawyer and a racist President along with his cousin, George Wallace working through the system is like working through hell. The only way we can survive, and the only way we can have our own system is to make white people listen through violence.

---I'll put it this way. We can hand the white man rough stuff. Black folk will be slaughtered in the streets. I know the white man will not sell you bullets to kill him in the streets. All right, what I am

saying is that the revolution, the bloody revolution will not win. But it will bring freedom to the black people of the United States. I say if we die, let us die for something. I don't care. A lot of other people don't care if they die or not, we are not getting anywhere nohow. So if we die, so what? A lot of them don't care if they die. So after the revolution, then maybe people can get together, then we will see. When people are pressed and everthing else, people get tired of this and the only way out is to burn all of the buildings down. Since the white man has all of the money and owns the buildings, he will have to build something better. It's got to come out of his pocket and that's a revolution.

What are they expecting when school opens this fall? The answer comes in a chorus. CHAOS.

The next day Tyrone Thomas showed a reporter from the Southern Regional Council a black school (its lab and shop facilities were woefully inadequate) and his own alma mater, Vigor High School. Summer school was in session and the rambling, well equipped buildings were bustling with students. Tyrone tried to see the principal, Mr. Styles, and was told

he was busy. Minutes later Mr. Styles appeared, flailing the air with both fists, ordering Tyrone off the school grounds, threatening to have him arrested, promising him a two year sentence. The youth who intends to study for the ministry, left without a word.

"Why are you coming back here next fall," he was asked. His reply seemed at once to belie the cyncism he had earlier expressed and to affirm a faith that perhaps he himself did not realize he still had.

"I'm coming because it may do some good."

CHARLOTTE, N. C. -- INTEGRATION IS WORTH THE TRAUMA

In Charlotte this July, Federal Judge James D. McMillan was considering four plans for elementary school desegregation -- The Finger plan, submitted by court consultant Dr. John A. Finger of Rhode Island College which called for wide scale busing of students to achieve almost total desegregation; an HEW plan which proposed clustering of schools to achieve a measure of integration; a plan submitted by the majority of the school board which would employ gerrymandering to integrate junior and senior high schools and would leave 17 all-white elementary schools and ten all-black elementary schools; and a minority school board plan which would allow for more integration.

(Secondary schools are due to open in the fall under an earlier order that requires busing some pupils to desegregate the city's last all-black high schools and increase the number of Negro pupils in predominantly white schools.)

In ruling on the case in early August, Judge McMillan gave the school board the option of implementing portions of the Finger plan, the HEW plan and the minority school board plan. The most important element he said was to bring about desegregation of the schools. His ruling was being appealed by the school board to the U. S. Supreme

Court. The high court's ruling in the Charlotte-Mecklenberg case is expected to define the meaning of a unitary system.

Earlier the Finger plan, which had gained wide support among civil rights advocates, was under attack from the all-white Concerned Parents Association which mailed pamphlets to 60,000 parents of school children urging them to flood school board chairman William E. Poe with telegrams in opposition to the plan. The organization vowed it would lead a boycott of public schools if desegregation requires assigning children to schools on the basis of race or busing them out of their neighborhoods. Their stand has provoked a bitter reaction among Charlotte's black youngsters. "The concerned KKK of America" the black students call the organization. "Yes, they're concerned for their children stepping up and sitting on a bus with a black kid," scoffed one Charlotte teenager.

In a pleasant living room in a black neighborhood this summer three students met to discuss it.' They were Cornelia Graham, Bobby Graham and Judy Hunter, all recent graduates of integrated Harding High School. With them was a former teacher, Miss Shirley Moore.

---You don't need violence to get what you want. I won't scratch my kids for nothing.

---Whites have a lot to learn from association

with us. It's better if they learn early. The blacks need it too. I know too many blacks who say they hate all white people. Integration is good.

Do they equate integration with equal opportunity?

---Yes, if it can be black and white together in the same facilities.

But couldn't they get the same opportunity from good black schools?

---The school board isn't going to put money into black schools.

---Integration is worth the trauma. You know you are achieving, you're getting somewhere, you see some light, some hope. You can prove to the white man that the black man can comprehend. No man knows prejudice like a black man. He don't know how it is to sit in back of the bus or not be able to walk in this store.

How do they feel about the Finger plan?

---I'm against busing elementary kids across town. The white concerned parent is concerned for his kid and we're concerned for all.

---There's no school in this system where my child will have any importance, any power. If there's got to be integration I'd like to see

> the white people suffer, let'em all feel the pinch and the pain.
>
> ---Busing is old to us. We've always been bused. We've been bused past white schools to black. You can learn something on the bus.

Integration has closed some black schools for which they feel a deep loyalty. Among them is Second Ward, which was closed last year after an integration suit, a move bitterly opposed by the students. Judy would have been Valedictorian there this year. She wonders wistfully what has happened to the Second Ward trophy case, to all the symbols of black achievement in the school. She herself, transferred to predominantly white Harding, felt "like a vegetable, like something just thrown in." And next year she is going to a black college, "to be with my own kind again." And yet they agreed with Cornelia when she said:

> ---I believe integration has to work. If the parents and adults would stay out of it and let the kids work it out. It's the only way to advance. How are we going to change? Through education in the white man's way. The power lies in his hands. We have no power but the few jobs they throw blacks. I want the best and the best is not in black schools.

Why don't they live an entirely black life?

---We've tried militancy and black power. We've been living a black life. The only thing we have as a whole is religion. The black man worships the white man's god. We don't have the power, the equipment, the training. If only the power structure would see people as people. But we are masses. Masses of color. It'll take a tragedy to change things, a terrible tragedy.

---How do you get power? Violence. You're so afraid we're going to overpower you that you won't give us any learning. You took us into captivity, you gave us names. You set us free. No, you didn't set us free. We set ourselves free. It started with the black man and it'll end with the black man.

---It'll end with a terrible tragedy.

Miss Shirley Moore, a former teacher in an all-black school in Charlotte found her students so paralyzed by the prevailing climate that she finally retired from teaching to work at an employment agency. She speaks out of years of bitter frustration:

"My students had lost all desire to learn. They'd just say, "why bother?" They felt, "what's the point?" A lot of them were getting militant. We lost our best

minds to militancy. The majority were failing. They'd been defeated before they could start. You've got so much in you to give, you want to help your race grow intellectually. How could I get these children to understand that if you have anything whitey can use he'll buy it? This is the white man's world. The Indian was too slow to learn this. If they'd learned they would have survived. I can't stand to watch our young people shouting riot, black militancy and violence. I don't want anything because I'm black. Being black isn't excuse enough or reason enough. It got so bad I started taking tranquilizers. I lost my drive, my initiative, even the sense of my own knowledge. That's when I got out.

GREENVILLE, S. C.: A "MODEL" CITY, BUT "WE NEED SO MANY THINGS."

On February 17 of this year, Greenville, S. C. achieved total integration--"with style and grace" the Chamber of Commerce boasted--less than a month after the Fourth U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that the district must create a unitary school system immediately. One element of the community's acceptance of integration undoubtably was the fact that the district has an 80 white to 20 per cent black ratio. Another was the positive, aggressive leadership of Governor Robert E. McNair and Mayor R. Cooper White according to Dr. Ernest Harrill, a Furman University professor who chaired a citizens committee helping with the transition. "They created a climate of stability," he said. Also, according to Chamber of Commerce vice president, Gerald Bartles, the black community provided strong leadership. "They didn't like the school board plan but they stood up for support of the public schools."

There was dissent. Negroes in the Greenville area complained that they were bearing the whole burden for desegregation, that some Negro schools were being closed and that needed repairs were done only when whites were transferred into the schools. And a number of white

parents groups were formed, one of which urged a county wide school boycott. But on the whole the Chamber of Commerce had a right to boast. The white students at Greenville's Wade Hampton High, who erected banners welcoming the 300 blacks who joined them under court order, became a national symbol of racial harmony. How do those students feel today? Fifteen of them came together one July day at Christ Church School where they are enrolled in a tutorial program, sponsored by the Greenville Education Committee aimed at motivating disadvantaged blacks. Its effectiveness can be measured by its alumnae who include, among dozens of successful college students, writer Joan Frances Bennett, Barnard student and author of a poignant autobiography, "Members of the Class Will Keep Daily Journals." The students interviewed included Linda Massey, Janice Dillard, Brian Porter, Lynette Moore, Cheretta Sayles, Pamela McSelvey, Raul Thomas, Elaine Cannon, Morris Garett, Janice Harrison, Heyward Holloway, and David Pendarvis. They are enthusiastic about the unstructured and innovative program at Christ Church School but they are deeply critical of the public school system, of testing and guidance methods, of the system of social promotion, of the educational establishment, both black and white, and of integration as it is presently being carried out. Listen as they discuss their own recent experiences with integration:

---Integration of students is a good thing, if it can work. It just has to work. But one thing I don't think is too fair, some of the black schools weren't too well equipped. So before they made the change, they went around to the Negro schools painting them up for the white children. If the black schools were not right in the first place, then how come they built them like that? If Nickletown didn't have a sidewalk, why didn't they put a sidewalk there (in the first place) and if Sulton's playground wasn't paved, why hadn't they paved it?

---Sterling High is pretty worn out so they didn't send any white students there. If the blacks were good enough to go in the building, the whites are good enough to go in it too. If it is so bad the whites couldn't go in there, they should not have had students in there at all.

---The school board took advantage of the black community. Some of the black schools were just as well equipped and some of the white children should have been displaced like the black children were. We shouldn't have had to bear all the burden.

---It's not fair for the smallest children to go all the way across town to school. For the older kids it's not too bad.

---For the younger children it's bad. They're not use to it. The bad thing is it's only happening to the blacks.

---The black schools were in good condition but they were minus some things they had in the white schools, Bunson burners for instance in the chemistry labs. It's not that these things weren't asked for, we asked for them but we didn't get them.

---Another thing, the white schools had a whole set of different books, new math books, science books and things that are all up to date. In our school in the 6th grade we had a Social Studies book published in 1964 and when integration comes around they think that white children are going to get behind so they put in new books published in 1970. And all that time we'd had those old books and were getting behind.

---A lot of people fail in their grades because some whites come over and they be kind of bad and some try to be like them. You get hooked up with them. You know they are doing the wrong things, but yet still you follow behind them.

> If they had teachers who are really committed to really teaching children, I think these kids can learn and integration can work.
>
> ---When integration occurs, we must adapt to a change because we are in a new environment. I don't think I adapted very quickly to the changeover because when I came over to this school I had an "A" and my grade dropped to a "D". The class was noisy and loud, I was not able to adapt to this environment. I had to work on it.

At least one student thought his predominantly white school was not nearly as good as his former all black school. He complained that it is an old school, that the teachers were old and prejudiced. "I feel most of them have not been able to cope with black people," he said. Others accused their white teachers of deliberately lowering their grades. Said one: "I found that students that were making C's went down to D's and students who were making A's went down to B's. The teachers were never satisfied. They would always find fault in our papers. We could never write a perfect paper. They would always find fault in them.

Many students resented being forced to change schools. "I don't think you can do a good job if you are going to a school you don't want to go to," said one. Another disagreed. "I am not saying that I am getting a better edu-

cation now than at the school I went to first, which was a black school. I don't see any difference. Going to school is just one job and that is to get an education.

The students were deeply troubled by reports of black students carrying knives at some integrated schools and of lowered morale at Wade Hampton High School. They denied both allegations and said if there was any friction at Wade Hampton it was not between black and whites but between students and teachers--in short, it was the generation gap. They felt the older generation was not only impeding integration but the learning process itself. They expressed it this way:

> ---The older people is the problem. I think if they just let the younger people run schools it would be better. I had a letter from South Dakota University and the students there feel the same way I do. If the younger people ran the schools we could get along but as long as the older people are running it and standing in our way, it will never change our world completely, we will always feel prejudice for each other.
>
> ---If young people could run the schools there would be no prejudice and no dropouts. One reason the students are dropping out is because of the establishment, which is square. I mean the black

and white establishment.

---When I was in school after the integration I got along with everybody there and there really wasn't much difference. But the parents get all upset about integration. It's the students who have to go to school, the parents have had their education.

---I think that it will take a new generation for us to accept one another because even if the older people would stay out of it they have already taught their children prejudice. The whites have taught their children they are superior and more intelligent. The children are impressionable and I think it will take another generation to erase the prejudice.

---The reason so many black parents are upset is because they took so many black children and put them in the white schools and closed so many black schools. I believe they should have moved more white children than they did and I believe that the parents are teaching the children around the first grade that the black children are this and that and the white children are always right. I know one kindergarten class where there are only two little Negro girls and the rest whites and

those girls felt so rejected that all they did was talk to the teacher. No one would play with them because of something they had heard from their parents.

---One white teacher slapped my sister's face. She was just so uptight and frustrated with the class all cutting up that she slapped my sister's face. She sent all the white children to the office.

---Even if the parents didn't brainwash the children, the teachers would. When I went to Greenville Junior High, the speech teacher was very old and she would say, "all the niggers stand up," and that made us mad and there is still prejudice about it. If the parents would stop brainwashing the students, the teachers would still do it, so it is a big problem. This brainwashing is every where.

Yet despite all their criticism of integration, most of them agreed with the student who said:

---There's a lot to criticize about integration, but it has a lot of good points. The two races should be living together and finding out a lot about each other. The school I go to, there are a lot of black officials in school government

> and they have a lot of white support. Integration can work if people will stop and listen to something besides all this foolish nonsense. I think it would work out real good.

The criticisms of Greenville's students carries none of the bitterness or militancy which characterized the comments of Mobile's black students. Many black teachers are frankly optimistic about the success of the unified system. Among them is Joseph Vaughn who this summer was teaching at Christ Church School. He believes the change would never have come naturally. It was due to an enlightened leadership, both in the black and white communities. His analysis of Greenville's educational system today:

> ---On February 16 I went from the 6th grade at Sullivan, which was all black, to Hughes Junior High. My reception was quite good. The administration is making integration work. All the students are finally getting the benefit of equal facilities. Black students are finally being exposed to people of other races and cultures. I'm very optimistic about the overall results. Greenville has become a model. The general public is not aware of what we have accomplished. Desegregation has spotlighted the gross inequities and fallacies of our whole educational system.

As far as educating our children is concerned, we are losing the battle. Between grades one and twelve half of our children have dropped out. That's fifty per cent of our children who are not being educated. We'd rather invest in highways rather than in quality education. And the blacks have suffered more. Our facilities are inferior; we need to find ways to keep these youngsters in school. We need a series of vocational schools -- all students are not college bound. We need to eliminate the social promotion and address ourselves to the needs of these students. We've got to have something to offer them. In the competition between the streets and the schoolroom, the schoolroom is losing out. We complain about the welfare system, but we are producing this system. We need better training for teachers, better guidance counselors, we need so many things. . . .

* * *

From all the rhetoric, the threats, the criticism, and the inevitable contradictions of students from communities as diverse as Charlotte, N. C. and Mobile, Ala., certain

truths do emerge.

What is happening still -- to an observer -- did not seem to be a mass embracing of separatism. When the students did talk separatism, they did not seem to do so out of intellectualized doctrine. Few spoke in the harsh, anti-white, anti-human terms of the violence prone street militant. But many were clearly being edged toward separatist views by a combination of factors, foremost among which were their humiliating experiences in desegregated classrooms; the sense of their own government's betrayal in enforcement and finally, though not always in readily determined ways, the influence of "black consciousness" thought that has been articulated by some black leaders for some time now. What would happen in the fall -- the likelihood of some school boycotts -- was far easier to predict than what the students would be doing and thinking five to ten years hence. Their options were diminishing to their way of thinking. In a time of polarized national thought when the aspirations of black people seem less assured of realization than in the past it would take a turnabout of national values to rekindle the young people's enthusiasm for integration. It could be done, but first the South and the nation needed to

understand what they were risking by delay.

Those students who have found the rich promises of integration to be only a cruel hoax tend to lose all faith in the American system. They may not have dropped out of school but they have, in effect, dropped out of society. The new militancy is being spawned in the bitterly racist climate of cities like Mobile where integration has been aggressively resisted since it became the law of the land. In Greenville, where integration was accomplished, with considerably less tension, students may be aware of the inequities of the process but they are working within the system. Integration is no longer the big issue to them, but rather, the quality of education they are being offered. But the racist climate of many other Southern communities has stunted the growth of thousands of black children.

The educational structure itself is being threatened, not only by racism but by archaic attitudes, teaching methods and approaches to learning. But youth will have its say, and 1970 may well be the year. They may speak out violently as the new militants threaten or passively by simply dropping out of the American system. But they will speak out. To fail to listen could be a tragic, even fatal mistake.

The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E., Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - ITS ORIGIN AND AIMS

The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have been active since 1919. The Commission was founded in that year by a group of the South's leading church men and women. Through the ensuing years it built up a body of acquaintance and confidence that has been an increasing asset. It worked to encourage an interchange of ideas and mutual trust between the South's two peoples. The notion of cooperative action by persons of good will, both white and Negro, took firmer root and has continued to grow.

In time the Commission sought ways of expanding its activities to permit a broader approach to the problems of the South. This led to the formation of the Southern Regional Council, which was chartered early in 1944. The incorporators were Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University; Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution; Bishop Arthur J. Moore, of the Methodist Church; and Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation formally merged its program and assets with those of the Council.

The Southern Regional Council consists of a board of some 80 Southerners, drawn from the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 states of the region. These people are the Southern Regional Council. The Council is non-profit, nonpolitical, and nondenominational.

In 1951, the Council formally committed itself to the aim of an unsegregated society. It did so because it believed segregation to conflict with moral values, with democratic principles, and with the best interests of the country and this region. The Council has, therefore, an announced point of view. It has, furthermore, a single-minded devotion to the method of fair, open, and well-informed discussion. It believes that Southern problems cannot be satisfactorily solved unless Southerners are willing to discuss them frankly, critically, and realistically. The Council's program is planned and its publications are prepared to serve that end.

Financial support for the Council has come from many different individuals and organizations. The latter include national foundations, many church denominations, and various trade unions and business firms.

The Council's present functions may be summarized as follows: 1) it provides consultative services to private and official agencies; 2) it carries on research and publishes frequent reports of findings; 3) it publishes a monthly magazine, New South, and works with the press, radio, and television; 4) it is a clearinghouse and coordinator for other agencies concerned with Southern problems.

The Southern Regional Council seeks to be a practical organization, aiming at working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. It is an educational organization. It believes that each community in the South must find its own answers to social issues within the framework of law and conscience. It offers no blueprint, no panacea for the South's human problems. It does offer a method--that of representative citizens, white and Negro, coming together in equal dignity to find the best ways to move ahead.

* * *

Present officers of the Southern Regional Council:

President
James M. Dabbs
Planter and Author
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Vice-presidents:
Josephine Wilkins
Athens
Georgia

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Dillard University
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Marion A. Wright
Attorney and Past President, SRC
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

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Dr. Rufus E. Clement

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Harold C. Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

7-11-60

Report No. L-2
April 27, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH OF JOHN P. FISHWICK, VICE-PRESIDENT, NORFOLK AND WESTERN RAILWAY, TO ROCKINGHAM DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION, APRIL 6, 1959.

"Only industry can provide abundant and challenging job opportunities which will satisfy the ambitions of our well educated and talented young Virginians. Virginia will be immensely poorer if its brightest young men and women are lost to other states.

"And in this respect I think we must admit that Virginia has not been doing a very good job. During the period 1950 through 1957, Virginia showed a 14.3% gain in the number of employees engaged in manufacturing. This was a little better than the national average of 12.1% but well behind the 18.6% average of the 13 Southern states. But a look at the year-by-year picture shows that over two-thirds of Virginia's growth occurred during the three years of the Korean War, and only one-third during the six years, 1952 through 1957.

"Virginia's record in 1958 was particularly discouraging. The Virginia State Department of Conservation and Economic Development has announced that in 1958 sixty-two plants began operations in Virginia, the second highest for any of the past nine years. But employment by these plants was the lowest for any of the past nine years - a total employment of 1,663. This, I submit, is disappointing progress for a state which has over 3.3 million people, a favorable business climate and so many varied natural resources and attractions for industry.

"Compare, for instance, Virginia's record with that of North Carolina. North Carolina has announced that in 1958 industrial development saw over $250 million invested in 423 new and expanded facilities which created 21,758 new jobs with annual pay rolls amounting to nearly $73 million. Thus, with a population of a little over four million, or 21% more than Virginia, North Carolina's industrial development created over 13 times as many jobs last year as did Virginia's.

"The impact of industrial development can be measured on the basis of a study recently made by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce which showed that 100 new factory workers mean 296 more people, 112 more households, 51 more school children, $590,000 more personal income, $270,000 more bank deposits, 107 more automobiles, 174 more workers employed, four more retail establishments, and $360,000 more retail sales per year.

* * *

"The second point in Virginia's industrial development program should be a prompt and sound solution to the school situation based on the principle that excellent free public schools will be maintained. To the extent possible, we must accommodate our solution to the deep feelings of those who live in the areas most critically affected. But, at the same time, we must recognize that most of us hope to give our children a better education and to open the door

to greater opportunities than we have had. I think the Perrow Commission report offers the basis for such a solution. While many Virginians will not agree with all its recommendations, I hope we all recognize the truth of this sentence which stood out in its report. The Commission said:

> The culture and the economy of our state are directly geared to the educational attainments of our people."

EXCERPT FROM SPEECH OF STUART T. SAUNDERS, PRESIDENT, NORFOLK & WESTERN RAILWAY, TO THE ANNUAL MEETING OF PETERSBURG CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, JANUARY 20, 1959.

"The hard fact is that North Carolina is out-competing Virginia for new industries. North Carolina's rate of industrialization in 1958, using annual volumn of manufactured goods as the comparative index, was 15%, compared to 5% for Virginia over the preceding year.

"In an address in Raleigh just ten days ago on the occasion of the completion of another milestone in the establishment of a multimillion-dollar Research Triangle in North Carolina - which, incidentally, will be a potent asset in attracting industry to that state - Governor Hodges stated that in 1958 industrial development reached a new all-time high in North Carolina. He revealed that last year $253,074,000 was invested in 423 new and expanding plants in that state. These created, he said, 21,575 new jobs with an annual payroll of $72,633,000."

Report No. L-3
May 11, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

HOW COULD SHUT SCHOOLS AFFECT STATE ECONOMY ?

In November 1958, Atlanta Constitution Business Editor James Montgomery conducted a state-wide survey to determine what economic effects would result from closing any public schools in Georgia. 129 questionnaires were completed by administrative, engineering, and research personnel in 13 major industrial plants and the state's four largest universities. Results of the survey were published in a series of three articles, November 30 - December 2; three subsequent articles offered some conclusions and observations. Some excerpts follow:

"Three out of four people in administrative, research and engineering work in the universities and industries in Georgia would be willing to send their children to public schools integrated to some extent... 17.1 per cent of those in key industrial and university positions say they plan to leave Georgia if their children's public schools are closed. Moving away was listed as the second alternative by 21 additional parents, who said they would have to leave Georgia if their children's public schools were not reopened within three months to a year."
(November 30)

- 0 -

"The industrial and university officials...expressed unanimous agreement that closing of public schools would impair both the present economic strength and future economic development of the state.

* * *

"Several examples indicated that the existing possibility of school closings is now hampering the recruitment of qualified engineering, research and management personnel - the sort needed to assure economic progress... In addition to the fact that such people now living elsewhere are growing less inclined to move here with their children as long as continued public school operation remains uncertain, a significant proportion of those already employed in Georgia are growing restless." (December 3)

"If Georgia could legally substitute a private school plan for the present public school system, would it prevent whatever economic losses would result from the closing of public schools? Not very noticeably, considering comments on a significant proportion of the questionnaires ..." (December 4)

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"'Georgia has been dropped from a list of potential plant sites by a major electronics manufacturer,' says a business research

economist at one of the universities, 'primarily because of the threat to continued operation of public schools.'

"A scientist at the University of Georgia says this threat is 'definitely impeding the recruitment of qualified research people for vacancies that are remaining unfilled in the physical sciences here. So what good will be served by the 12-million-dollar science center we're now building at the university?'"

* * *

"The manager of a large north Georgia branch plant 'would hesitate at this time to expand or build a new plant in any of the states that have been, or could be, affected by either school closings or violence.'"

* * *

"A top administrative man of a large Atlanta area industry: 'I am personally very concerned about our ability to maintain a competitive position in this industry if this question (about public schools being closed) comes to a head. We are being turned down by the sort we need most, like the Minnesota engineer who said he must first have assurance of his children's educational future. What could we tell him?'

"The same official entertains some doubts 'about whether we could stay in business if they closed the schools here...'"

* * *

"The general manager of the only high-wage industry in a south Georgia community: 'If this problem is not properly resolved - without prejudice - the industrial future of Georgia will be adversely affected.'"

(December 2)

Report No. L-4
May 18, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND SOUTHERN INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS: STATEMENTS FROM LEADERS IN BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY.

John W. Landis, Assistant Manager, The Babcock and Wilcox Company, Lynchburg, Va. "The Babcock and Wilcox Company, as one of the new and growing organizations in the community, considers it obvious that we would have trouble securing and retaining qualified technical personnel if the public schools were closed." (April 16, 1959)

O. B. Newton, Jr., Vice-president and Sales Manager, C. B. Fleet Co., Inc., Lynchburg, Va.: "Within the past few weeks the President of one of our colleges has told me of the loss of a good faculty member - a parent of school age children - who has moved away from Virginia because of the public school situation. Prospective replacements have expressed a disinclination to move into a community where there is a possibility free public schools may not be available for their children.

"Two of our most recently acquired industries have, within the past few weeks, expressed themselves to the effect Virginia would not even have been considered as a location for a new plant had there not been the guaranteed certainty of a free public school system for the children of their employees." (Before the House Privileges and Elections Committee, General Assembly, Richmond, Va., April 17, 1959)

Ivan Allen, Jr., immediate past president, Georgia State Chamber of Commerce and Atlanta businessman: "To abandon public education is to secede from the economic life of the nation." (Atlanta Journal, December 10, 1958)

William P. Engel, former chairman of the Birmingham, Alabama Chamber of Commerce Committee of 100, said that the principal reason expanding industry is by-passing Alabama is publicity resulting from racial problems in Birmingham and Montgomery. "We must face up to our own deficiencies. The hoodlumism here has hit headlines throughout the nation. As a result, we have lost one major plant in Birmingham and several smaller installation." (Birmingham Post-Herald, February 6, 1957)

Cooper Green, vice-president in charge of industrial development for the Alabama Power Company, said he has no doubt that responsible industry is reluctant to locate in Alabama while there is the prospect of trouble from racial difficulties. "No industry wants to move into a troubled area." (Birmingham Post-Herald, February 6, 1957)

Paul Schweitzer, president, Layne-Atlantic Company and chairman, Norfolk School Board: "How can you get an industry

to import high priced men into a community which has no schools for their children to attend?" (New South, November, 1958)

Ellis Arnall, former governor of Georgia; former executive, Society of Industrial Motion Picture Producers, Industrial Film Producers Export Corporation, charged that Georgia's present political leaders are "committed to the largest lookout...the largest wave of unemployment" in the history of any state by thinking of closing the schools. (Atlanta Journal, April 15, 1959)

Frank W. Cantrell, manager, Arkansas State Chamber of Commerce, said there was no doubt that bad publicity over the school situation had slowed down Arkansas' industrial program. (Atlanta Constitution, October 24, 1958)

Little Rock, Arkansas Chamber of Commerce endorsed by a vote of 819 to 245 the reopening of public high schools under a system of controlled integration, in a mail poll conducted by Chamber officials. (Arkansas Gazette, March 3, 1959)

Dr. Charles H. Carpenter, Industrial Engineering Consultant to the Arkansas Development Commission, declared that Governor Orval Faubus' actions in the desegregation controversy had cost Arkansas thousands of jobs. He said the situation "means the loss of large, substantial industries which might otherwise have come to Arkansas." (Arkansas Gazette, October 3, 1957)

Clifford M. Clarke, Jr., executive vice-president, Associated Industries of Georgia: "There can be no industry without good schools." (Atlanta Constitution, December 2, 1958)

Martin R. Gainsbrough, Chief Economist, National Industrial Conference Board, said problems raised by the public school integration issue in the Southern states are having a definitely adverse effect on industrial plant location decisions. "I know this," he said, "because I sit in on meetings of various companies where these matters are discussed...I have heard them eliminate from further consideration areas which have this school problem, because of the friction involved in them and the difficulty of getting top personnel to move to such places with their children." Gainsbrough said big company discussions of school problems as a consideration in plant locations are off the record, for the businessmen fear economic repercussions if the proceedings were made public. (Atlanta Constitution, February 27, 1959)

Dr. F. Douglas Lawrason, provost for medical affairs, University of Arkansas: "The University Medical Center, being within the community of Little Rock, could not help but be affected by the public school problem there. I think it would be only fair to say that because of this complicating social

change, the Medical Center has had its faculty recruitment program brought to a virtual standstill. So many of the persons we approach and invite to join the faculty are diverted by the events that have been taking place in the community." (Arkansas Gazette, January 16, 1959)

Opie L. Shelton, executive vice-president, Baton Rouge Chamber of Commerce: "Boycotts, economic reprisals, the possibility of abandoning our public schools, incidents of violence, irresponsible statements - these are new factors which will now be given consideration by industry and business when they consider a Southern location." (New South, May 1956)

Everett Tucker, Jr., industrial director of Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, said Little Rock's integration dispute "is going to set our industrial program back considerably...Now - and for the unpredictable future - whenever the subject comes to mind of an industry planning a Southern plant, it will immediately think of Little Rock as a 'hotbed' of segregation..." (Arkansas Gazette, September 7, 1957)

Report No. L-5
June 12, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E., Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

"There is no doubt that the education climate and the business climate are interdependent. To this I can attest by my own experience, for I was personally responsible for the selection of Virginia as the location of one of General Electric's new plants."

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE ECONOMY OF VIRGINIA

Excerpts from a talk by Dr. Louis T. Rader, General Manager, Special Control Dept., General Electric Co., Waynesboro, Virginia, March 15, 1959 at Thomas Jefferson High School Auditorium, Richmond, Virginia.

I would like to make it known at the beginning that the views I will present today are my own--not those, for example, of the General Electric Company or the Virginia Manufacturers Association. I am speaking as a member of the Advisory Board of the Virginia Committee for Public Schools.

I was glad to accept the opportunity to talk to you today because I feel strong personal concern about the school situation. I was also glad to accept the opportunity because I am convinced that businessmen, like myself, should stand up and be heard... In my opinion, the manager of a modern business organization has ever-widening responsibilities to his community, his state, and his nation. This includes responsibility in educational affairs, as business, education, and the community come to a greater realization of their mutual concerns...

Let's first look at the size of public education in Virginia. Truly, it is a mammoth undertaking, and its importance to the economic life of the Commonwealth is obvious when we note that the present book value of school property in Virginia is $576 million, and the total expenditure for public education in Virginia in 1957 was nearly $200 million. In addition, public schools are a very effective institution in our economic life. The results of expenditures for public education were summarized this way by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce's extensive study of a few years ago. This study established the fact that educated people:

> "produce more goods, earn more money, buy and consume more goods, read more magazines and newspapers, are more active in civic and national affairs, enjoy a higher standard of living--and, in general, contribute more to the economy than those who are not so well educated."

This study also found that education must precede economic growth--it does not come after it.

Business Climate and Education Climate

A strong system of public education is very important among those factors

that attract new industry into a state and that keep industry already here from moving away...

The conditions which make an ideal business climate include honest and efficient government, fair taxes, law enforcement, equitable pay, good community facilities, favorable social and cultural atmosphere, and last but by no means least, outstanding schools...

I am convinced that industrial development of Virginia will not take place as rapidly as it might, unless we have an attitude that will build a strong, effective public school system. There is no doubt that the education climate and the business climate are interdependent. To this I can attest by my own experience, for I was personally responsible for the selection of Virginia as the location of one of General Electric's new plants.

Now, those who are involved in finding new plant sites compile statistics and study the economic factors such as nearness to market, availability of transportation, the type of tax structure, adequacy of utilities (like power, water, and roads) and the amount and education level of the work force. In addition, there are those aspects involving the needs of employees and their families, such as nearness to colleges and universities, availability of hospital and medical facilities, amount and kind of recent home construction, availability of churches, and the adequacy and quality of public schools.

The school situation was terribly important to us, as it is to so many industries, because educated manpower is the lifeblood of our business. Without it we cannot attract highly trained engineering and managerial talent, for such people can obtain positions anywhere in the United States. They simply will not join us unless their children can obtain as good or better education here as elsewhere. Not only that, but the individuals who are already with us might very well leave if good education opportunities do not continue to be available for them and their children.

Three major plants of General Electric have located in Virginia since 1954 because our studies led us to the conclusion that Virginia recognized its education problems and was on the march toward continued improvement...

What Industry Means to Virginia

Of course, we should ask whether Virginia really wants industry. I am confident we do. I believe we do recognize the absolute necessity of providing the type of business climate and education climate which will attract new industry and, just as important, permit industry that is already here to continue to expand in Virginia. If we still need to reassure ourselves, however, let us take a look at what industry means to Virginia. I will use General Electric as my example only because I am most familiar with it.

In Virginia there are some 6,400 General Electric share owners whose investment has helped make possible three new General Electric plants in Virginia within the last five years. ...These plants, plus General Electric sales offices and service shops in other cities, employ more than 3,700 people who earn over $21 million annually in pay and other benefits. The value of these jobs in Virginia is indicated by the fact that these 3,700 industrial jobs have increased yearly retail sales by over $13 million and have, on the average, meant five new jobs for each one brought in by General Electric. General Electric annually buys

more than $8 million worth of goods and services from over 500 Virginia suppliers. ...In addition, 9,000 independent business firms in Virginia derive all or part of their income from selling or servicing a wide range of General Electric products. Now, just multiply this one example by the hundreds of other industries in Virginia. ...

Of course, I am convinced that the most important economic influences in this great state's future are not only its natural resources, its transportation, its power supplies, and its tax structure, but more important, its children. As Virginia's children grow they must be able to compete with school graduates from other states. They must have the opportunity to get good jobs. They must be able to get into college and then, successfully compete in college . And this must be true for the children of our state regardless of family income. ...We must make sure that the children of all Virginia families have equal opportunity with children in other states to be prepared to fill these jobs.

Economic Consequences of a New School System

Let us now look at another phase of the problem--the economic consequences of a new school system. ...We must be alert to the consequences of adding an additional school system to the present system, because a new system in addition to our present system, in my opinion, cannot be operated well without incurring substantial additional costs. The real danger, of course, is slow decay and erosion of the present school system that can occur as a result of not being able to meet these additional costs. ...

Unless we face up to solving problems of this type, the public school system will be injured, and with it, the future of Virginia will be in danger. We will then be in the position of having committed economic suicide, for the school situation can be the Achilles' heel of Virginia's economy. ...If we are to improve our present public school system we need higher expenditures for education. Normal additional costs from swelling enrollments and better salaries, from the viewpoint of safeguarding the future economy of Virginia, must be expected. Industry, like all other taxpayers, must share this heavier burden--and I, for one, feel confident it will expect to. But if we decide to build still another school system--one of subsidized private schools--on top of our present one, we must likewise face up to the need for even higher expenditures if we intend to maintain quality overall.

Summary

To summarize up to now, my main points have been these:

1. A favorable business climate attracts needed industrial payrolls, but attitudes which build up unfavorable business climate could deter the coming to Virginia of manufacturing plants.

2. The education climate and the business climate are interdependent, and the weakening of our free public school system will adversely affect Virginia's economy.

3. New industry will strengthen Virginia.

4. Our greatest asset is our children, and a good public school system is essential to their future, from every point of view.

5. There already exists a need for additional expenditures in our present school system. ..If we add another school system on top of the present system, even greater expenditures will be necessary. ...Perhaps in view of the recent flood of criticisms, too many of us have taken for granted what we now have in our public school system.

A list of the facilities and services provided is a long one--and which of these things would any of us take away from our children? The training and the care and well-being of our children while in school require something far beyond that quoted in this morning's Washington Post, when a political leader from Georgia was reported to have said, "Put the child in a chickenhouse, if it's comfortable and with a good teacher, he'll get an education." Schools for our children in modern-day living require proper heating, light and ventilation; fireproof buildings or fire escapes; science laboratories; libraries; physical education facilities; first aid; and many other things. ...A strong requirement here is a state-wide department which performs such services as recommendations regarding the number of children in a class, minimum standards for teachers, continual evaluation and modification of curricula, and special programs such as distributive education. However, there is a real economic problem as to whether all of these things will be provided by a system of private schools without taking some of the same things away from the present system of public schools.

There is likewise the real danger to the education of so many of our children if we duplicate school systems and thereby reduce the size of the student body to uneconomical levels. ...

Conclusion

In conclusion, I am convinced that solving these problems will require moderation. Such moderation needs to come from all sides. ...Our public schools must be preserved--but they could be destroyed by extremists. ...Compassionate reason must supplant unbending emotion, for we can go forward together only through the exercise of moderation. ...

Report No. L-6
July 3, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE "DAVIS REPORT" AND THE TRUTH ABOUT THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SITUATION IN WASHINGTON, D. C.*

In June, 1956, with 13 of the 25 members of the House of Representatives Committee on the District of Columbia meeting in closed session, 11 of the 13 voted to create a subcommittee "to investigate Public School Standards and Conditions, and Juvenile Delinquency in the District of Columbia." Representative James C. Davis of Georgia became chairman of the subcommittee and his name is generally given to its subsequent report.

The five other members of the subcommittee were: Representatives John Bell Williams, of Mississippi; Woodrow W. Jones, of North Carolina; Joel T. Broyhill, of Virginia; A. L. Miller, of Nebraska; and DeWitt S. Hyde of Maryland. William Gerber, an attorney of Memphis, Tennessee, was retained as chief counsel.

The committee hearings, which were conducted publicly for nine days, beginning September 17, 1956, produced 512 printed pages of testimony. The "findings" of the subcommittee, together with excerpts from the testimony of selected witnesses, the "Recommendations," and a brief minority statement, are in the 48-page official report of the investigation.

Two of the six committee members did not sign the majority report but gave their own views in the minority statement which included the following: "In a close reading of the hearings we must come to the conclusion that the technical staff presented leading questions to a selected group of witnesses. Persons with views not in accord with those of the Counsel were not given full and fair opportunity to testify." Any copy of the subcommittee report which does not include the last page on which are given the views of Representatives Miller and Hyde is not an official copy.

The subcommittee hearings took place at a time when Congress was not in session and when most of the members of the District of Columbia Committee were away from Washington. Representative Roy Wier (D. Minn.) a former

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*This report has been read and approved for accuracy by Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, District of Columbia.

member of the Minneapolis Board of Education, sent a telegram to the chairman of the District Committee, Representative John L. McMillan (D. S.C.), September 25, 1956, "strongly urging" that the subcommittee counsel, William Gerber, be suspended pending a meeting of the full committee. "Counsel Gerber's sole object," Representative Wier said, "seems to be to prove that integration has not worked and to get teacher against teacher, parent against parent, and pupil against pupil to prevent it from working in the future."

Many of the witnesses at the subcommittee hearings gave testimony of a sensational nature, and the Washington newspapers reported such testimony. But in their editorial columns all three daily newspapers discounted the objectivity and deplored the tactics of the investigation.

On September 21 a Washington Evening Star editorial stated: "The Davis investigation of integration in Washington is of course designed to delay its acceptance elsewhere. The committee will supply ammunition in that respect in the form of testimony by responsible witnesses, under guidance of a skilled interrogator who knows precisely what sort of information he wants in the record."

An editorial in the Washington Post and Times-Herald, September 23, 1956 said: "....Counsel Gerber has already compiled just the record he wants....a record showing that integration has brought difficult problems to the District schools arising out of Negro educational deficiencies. The fact that these problems stemmed from the evils of segregation and from the cultural, economic, and educational disadvantages to which Negroes have been subjected has been consistently ignored or glossed over by the subcommittee."

The Washington Daily News of September 26, 1956 carried an editorial which opened: "About all that has been brought out at the House District Committee hearings on District public school desegregation up to now is a self evident fact. A great social change has been imposed on District citizens." The editorial writer went on to say that the way out of the dilemma was not a return to segregation but was rather to separate students according to ability.

In addition to editorial comment the newspapers frequently made their own investigation of some "incident" reported by a subcommittee witness. A temporary teacher at McKinley High School testified that a white McKinley senior had received serious injuries in a fight with two McKinley Negro boys. The Washington Post sent reporter Karl Meyer to see McKinley's principal, Charles Edward Bish,

and Inspector John E. Winters of the Youth Aid Division. Both Principal Bish and Inspector Winters stated that while two Negro boys did attack a McKinley senior, they were not McKinley students at all. The two boys who came to the assistance of the senior, they said, were McKinley students -- two Negro classmates of the white victim.

Twenty-seven prominent citizens of Washington, including leading clergymen of all faiths and responsible civic leaders, met on September 23, 1956, to form "The Washington Committee of Public Schools" for the purpose of making available "dispassionate, unprejudiced, and accurate information" to offset the reports of the House hearings on the city's schools. Gerhard Van Arkel, a Washington attorney was selected chairman. Speaking for the group he said "The tone of the committee hearings indicates little or no interest in determining the full facts respecting the District schools."

At one point in the committee hearings Rep. Williams asked the then Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Carl Hansen: "Do you think, Dr. Hansen, that integration in the District of Columbia schools has been carried on smoothly and without incident?"

Dr. Hansen replied: "It would be fantastic to say 'without incident.' I think that the integration program in this city has been a miracle of social adjustment."

A few months later Dr. Hansen wrote a comprehensive report, giving a picture of the Washington school situation prior to integration, and describing the kinds of problems and the kinds of solutions that had been developing since two separate school systems had been unified. Dr. Hansen called his 70-page report, "Miracle of Social Adjustment; Desegregation in the Washington, D. C. Schools." While Dr. Hansen's report was not written as a "reply" to the Davis report, many people felt that it contained the kind of information about the complicated situation which Washington citizens were asking for when the Davis hearings were underway.

Dr. Hansen's report gave evidence that the basically good situation described in the September 24th (1954) issue of the U. S. News and World Report had not changed:

"There wasn't even a fist fight between youngsters. That's how quietly a historic change came as the nation's capital ended segregation in its public schools last week" the U. S. News and World Report read. "The capital, by

tradition is a Southern City. Its schools have always been segregated, yet when 100,000 Washington children entered mixed schools for the first time on September 13 there was no rioting, no violence, no picketing, not even a protest meeting ---politeness everywhere, downright friendliness in many cases. ---It is generally agreed that the mixing of races in Washington is working out far better than most people expected."

It is recorded in the Congressional Record that on Friday, March 8, 1957, the Honorable Clifford P. Case (R. N.J.) said of Dr. Hansen's report: "Those who are concerned with an objective, factual account of the Washington problems and how they were met will find it in the authoritative study by Dr. Carl Hansen. ---I hope that The Miracle of Social Adjustment will be read widely here and abroad."

On March 12, Representative Abram J. Multer (D. N.Y.) said "I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in Time Magazine February 25, 1957." The Time article presented was an account of Dr. Hansen's report. It began: "Last December a House subcommittee headed by Georgia's James Davis declared that integration had seriously damaged the public school system and recommended that it be stopped. Last week a more reasonable judgment came from Washington's Assistant School Superintendent Carl F. Hansen---."

Three years after the Davis report and four and a half years after the beginning of desegregation in the District of Columbia, the Richmond Times Dispatch sent staff reporter, Larry Weekley, to Washington to see how school integration was developing in 1959. "After four and a half years" reporter Weekley wrote on February 9, 1959, "the integrated public schools of the District of Columbia remain remarkably free of racial strife." In the same article he quotes Principal Arthur Storey ---whose testimony before the subcommittee hearings had been critical of school discipline in the early days of desegregation ---as saying in 1959 that the "tension has disappeared. By and large our discipline problems have decreased tremendously."

In 1956 the Washington school administration began implementing the now famous plan of grouping students according to ability, called the "Four-Track System." This system prevents backward pupils of either race from retarding the progress of the whole group and gives an opportunity for all to achieve their educational potential. In a total of 13,377 senior high school students, 3,026 are in the basic track, 5,575 in the general track, 3,804 in the college preparatory track and 892 in the honors track.

In 1953 when the achievement test scores only of white pupils were reported, the median grade equivalent in reading for the sixth grades was 7.2 -- against a national norm of 6.7.

In 1954 when sixth grade students, white and colored, were tested together for the first time the grade equivalent for reading was 4.9. With Negroes representing 60.8 per cent of the school enrollment, it was obviously their average rating which had brought the aggregate grade equivalent down.

Today Washington's combined white and Negro sixth grade public school students have progressed to a position equal to, or above, the national norm in 5 out of the 6 categories covered by the Stanford Achievement Test. The 1959 results show that Washington sixth graders have achieved a 6.7 median -- against a national norm of 6.6.

In view of the fact that the Negro pupils now represent 74 per cent of the total enrollment, it is evident from the forgoing that substantial progress has been made in the achievement rating of both white and Negro pupils since 1953.

Only one case of interracial marriage out of a total enrollment (in 1956) of 114,219, has occurred in four years among students or graduates of integrated schools. A Negro boy and a white girl, who had attended the same school, but in different grades, were subsequently married.

A report of the District of Columbia Welfare Department issued March 8, 1959, shows that, the delinquency rate among Negroes (aged 5 to 17) fell from 37.1 per 1000 in 1954 to 21.2 per 1000 in 1958. Among white children the rate remained stable at 15.3 in 1954 and 15.2 in 1958.

References:

Miracle of Social Adjustment, by Carl F. Hansen, 70-page Freedom Pamphlet may be obtained from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y. 35¢

The Truth About Desegregation in Washington's Schools, by Erwin Knoll, may be obtained from the Turnpike Press, Annandale, Virginia, 15¢ postpaid; special rates for quantity orders.

For comprehensive study of the problem, the following are also suggested:

References - continued

Series of articles on the Washington public schools by Reporter Larry Weekley, in the Richmond Times Dispatch of February 8, 9, 10 and 11, 1959.

Report on Desegregation in Washington, D. C. for the Conference of the Commission on Civil Rights, Nashville, Tennessee, March 5, 6, 1959, by Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Washington, D. C., Office of the Superintendent, Franklin Administration Building, Thirteenth and "K" Streets, N. W., Washington 5, D. C. (3 pages).

Summary of the Desegregation Experiences in the Public Schools of the District of Columbia for Notre Dame Conference, May 8, 1959, by Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Office of the Superintendent, Franklin Administration Building, Thirteenth and "K" Streets, N. W., Washington 5, D. C. (15 pages of factual material, much of it related to the effect of desegregation on academic standards.

Democracy and the District of Columbia Schools, by Ellis O. Knox, Judd and Detweiler, Inc., Washington, D. C., 1957, $3.50. Hard-back book, 131 pages, by a professor of education at Howard University. Scholarly and carefully documented study of District of Columbia schools before and in the years immediately following desegregation.

Report No. L-7
July 24, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

GOVERNOR ALMOND (VIRGINIA) ON THE IMPORTANCE OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS by Gov. J. Lindsay Almond, Jr. at the commencement exercises of the Warren County Educational Foundation, June 9, 1959.

(Note: Gov. Almond included in his address a sharp criticism of the Supreme Court and a review of his long fight to prevent public school desegregation in Virginia. It is not desired to give a misleading impression of Gov. Almond's attitude, but to invite attention to his eloquent plea for the continued operation of public schools.)

. . .

The time for hurling the firebrands of criticism, charges and countercharges and recriminations has passed. The time has arrived to take stock, not of theory and indulgence in wishful thinking, but in actual conditions and realities, and the laborious and soundest procedures within the limits of our genius to devise for the present and future welfare of Virginia.

We must not allow the welfare of our children and the future of our state to be victimized by the bitterness of disappointment, the pang of frustration, the demon of hate, and threat of political purge, appeal to base passions and prejudices, and the stirring of emotions productive of violence and disorder.

It is your sacred responsibility and mine, the responsibility of those whom you elect to positions of high trust, to face the issues squarely and honestly, and to dedicate every energy and talent to a constructive resolution consistent with honor and under the aegis of law.

No error could be more grave, no mistake more costly, no travesty more tragic, no curse more productive of woe, than to succumb to the blandishments of those who would have Virginia abandon public education and thereby consign a generation of children to the darkness of illiteracy, the pits of indolence and dependency, and the dungeons of delinquency.

The only sure prevention of any integration anywhere in Virginia is the total abolition of every public school everywhere in Virginia. If this is what they advocate,

the people of Virginia should now be told with complete clarity and frankness.

I tell you now that we cannot secede from the Union; we cannot overthrow the Federal Government, and we cannot reverse a final decree of a federal court.

I tell you now that the General Assembly cannot confer upon the Governor, any board, agency or person, any power which it does not itself possess.

I further tell you, notwithstanding the claims of some, that the General Assembly cannot under the pretense of invoking the police power take over and operate the public school system and thereby negate the final decree of a federal court. People who permit themselves to be fooled by such delusions deserve to be fooled.

. . .

In consideration of the abandonment of public schools, we should bear in mind that enrolled in the public schools of Virginia are approximately 800,000 children. There are only 112 sectarian schools, 12 of which are integrated, with a total enrollment of 26,610. There are 110 nonsectarian schools, one of which is integrated, with a total enrollment of 10,325. Private schools--both sectarian and nonsectarian--accommodate only 36,935 as compared with 800,000 in public schools. This points up the magnitude of the problem of accommodating children denied access to public schools.

. . .

The issues revolving around public education will confront the next session of the General Assembly. I have taken my stand. We must save, sustain and support the cause of public education in Virginia. I call upon all Virginians who believe in the soundness and righteousness of that position to rally to my support before it is too late. "To be forewarned is to be forearmed."

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY-GENERAL ODUM (FLORIDA) ON THE FINANCIAL COMPLICATIONS OF CLOSING PUBLIC SCHOOLS

EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS by Asst. Attorney-General Ralph E. Odum before the Independent Bankers of Florida, at Tampa, February 23, 1959.

(Note: Mr. Odum included in his address a number of opinions which the SRC would regard as plainly mistaken. Again, it is not intended to give a false impression of an official's public position, but to emphasize certain incontestable facts which his speech clarifies.)

To me it seems clear that the one sure way of insuring a public school system in Florida which might in time be operated on a compulsory attendance basis and which is owned, controlled and operated by the federal government is for Florida to abolish its public schools.

Second, I do not think it practical to abolish our public school system for financial reasons.

The liquidation of Florida public school property and its bonded indebtedness would be, in a way, one of the largest bankruptcy proceedings in history, involving well over a billion and a quarter dollars.

Mr. Lee Young, Assistant in School Finance, State Department of Education, has estimated the actual fair market value of public school property in this state to be well in excess of one billion dollars. Considering the fact that most school buildings have only a limited use for any purpose other than education without extensive remodeling, the sale of these holdings would present extraordinary problems unless it could be accomplished gradually over a period of years.

The federal courts have already ruled that public school buildings may not be leased to segregated private schools. Although the question has not been legally tested, I believe that the buildings could be sold under state law at their fair value on a time payment basis. This would, of course, contemplate that title to the property would pass and the school board accept a mortgage to secure the deferred payments. It would also contemplate that the sales were not a method of circumvention of federal court orders but were bona fide sales of school property which was no longer needed for school purposes.

In addition to the liquidation of over a billion dollars worth of property, we would also be faced with the retirement of bonded indebtedness of $232,852,899.00 which we now owe for school buildings. Our state courts would have to enforce the payment of the principal and accrued interest on these bonds, regardless of the reluctance of the taxpayer to continue paying taxes for benefits which no longer existed.

In addition to school bonds, our Florida county school boards owe Florida banks $2,413,180.00 on short term notes for money borrowed for capital outlay.

In addition to these notes, our school boards owe local banks an undetermined but considerable amount on short term loans for operating expenses. No record of these loans is

required to be kept in Tallahassee, so it would be necessary to check each county board to ascertain the amount of this type of indebtedness.

Of the 282 banks in Florida, most have invested heavily in Florida school bonds and revenue certificates.

Picking at random 15 banks of all sizes in different parts of the state, I found that all but one of them had invested in Florida school bonds. The percentage of their total investment in securities which is invested in Florida school bonds varied from 0 to 14%, or an average of 4% for all 15 banks. The total in dollars for the 15 banks amounted to $4,559,000.00. If the pattern set by these 15 banks can be projected as a guide even on the most conservative estimate our 282 Florida banks must now be holding at least 80 million dollars of Florida school securities.

A default of these bonds, although ultimately remedied by litigation, might in the interim strain the earning capacity of many of our smaller independent banks who form the financial mainstay for most Florida communities.

All this with the abrupt termination of employment of 33,029 teachers and several thousand other public school employees such as administrative assistants, bus drivers, clerks and lunch room personnel; the cancellation of school expenditures for operating expenses totalling $216,804,957. a year; plus the dislocation of 899,000 pupils with no schools to attend, might easily create an economic and social catastrophe in this state.

. . .

Report No. L-8
August 10, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RACE AND INTELLIGENCE

"The great, besetting problem of the New South," Harry Ashmore of the Arkansas Gazette once wrote, "is not in fact the accommodation of the rising aspirations of its dwindling Negro population, but the South's inability to reduce the issue to rational terms." For the help they give in substituting reason for myth, the authoritative statements given below are reproduced. They deal with the comparative intelligence of white and colored peoples.

The first and longest statement was prepared by 18 of the country's leading psychologists and anthropologists, and first released in 1956. The names of the signers are at the close of the statement.

> "In connection with the process of school desegregation and the difficulties with which it has been accompanied in certain areas, the question has again arisen as to the existence of innate differences in intelligence between Negroes and whites. The present statement is directed to that question. Those who have signed it are not on this occasion taking sides with regard to the problem of desegregation as a whole, nor with the manner or the rapidity with which it should be accomplished. They are for the moment concerned only with the facts and conclusions accepted by scientiests with regard to racial comparisons in inborn intellectual capacity.
>
> "A number of years ago, at a time when Nazi race theories were receiving much publicity, several scientific organizations placed themselves on record as opposed to the conclusion that race was a determiner of innate psychological characteristics; their position was that no such relationship had ever been scientifically demonstrated. These organizations included, among others, the American Anthropological Association (in 1939) and the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, a division of the American Psychological Association (in 1938). More recently (in 1950) a group of distinguished social scientists meeting in Unesco House in Paris issued a Statement on Race which reads in part as follows:

> Whatever classification the anthropologist makes of man, he never includes mental characteristics as part of those classifications. It is now generally recognized that intelligence tests do not in themselves enable us to differentiate safely between what is due to innate capacity and what is the result of environmental influences, training and education. Wherever it has been possible to make allowances for differences in environmental opportunities, the tests have shown essential similarity in mental characters among all human groups. In short, given similar degrees of cultural opportunity to realize their potentialities, the average achievement of the members of each ethnic group is about the same.

"Two years later an equally distinguished assembly of geneticists and physical anthropologists, also meeting in Paris, pointed out that:

> The scientific material available to us at present does not justify the conclusion that inherited genetic differences are a major factor in producing the differences between the cultures and cultural achievements of different peoples or groups. It does indicate, on the contrary, that a major factor in explaining such differences is the cultural experience which each group has undergone.

"In 1953, a Statement submitted to the United States Supreme Court by more than thirty American social scientists, included the following:

> The available scientific evidence indicates that much, perhaps all, of the observable differences among various racial and national groups may be adequately explained in terms of environmental differences...It seems clear therefore, that fears based on the assumption of innate racial differences in intelligence are not well founded.

"These statements still stand, and in our judgment represent the consensus among experts who have studied this question as objectively and as scientifically as is at present possible. We know of no new research which would reverse these conclusions.

"Those few specialists who take a different position usually do so on two major grounds. The first is that Negro-white differences in intelligence test scores persist even when the two groups are 'equated' for social and educational opportunities. To this we would point out that such 'equation' is exceedingly difficult to achieve, since the opportunities related to test performance are by no means easy to assess in quantitative terms. We do know that the intelligence quotients of Southern Negro children improve markedly after a period of years in the schools available to them in New York or Philadelphia.

"In the second place, it has been argued that the differences in I. Q. persist even when 'noncultural questions' are used. We would deny the possibility of devising a 'noncultural' test in the light of our present understanding of the problem.

"In the early days of testing, many psychologists believed that the elimination of the handicap due to language was equivalent to eliminating the influence of culture in general. One psychologist, for example, Professor Florence L. Goodenough of the University of Minnesota, devised a performance test consisting in 'Drawing a Man.' She regarded this test as 'culture-free.' Many investigators have made use of this test, and they have been able to demonstrate that, contrary to the earlier view, the results are indeed affected by many aspects of previous experience. Professor Goodenough herself has now recognized this fact, and very honestly and courageously points out her former error. Writing with Dale B. Harris on 'Studies in the psychology of children's drawings' in the Psychological Bulletin for September, 1950, she expresses the opinion that: 'the search for a culture-free test, whether of intelligence, artistic ability, personal-social characteristics, or any other measurable trait is illusory.' She goes on to state that her own earlier study 'is certainly no exception to the rule' and adds, 'The writer hereby apologizes for it.'

"No one can deny that at the present time the intellectual achievement of American Negro children, particularly those who come from segregated schools, is lower on the average than that of white children, nor that a reasonable amount of time must elapse before the gap can be closed. We would interpret the

difference in terms of the whole pattern of education opportunities associated with the social environment, and which may affect both the physical and mental development of the child. Even those few scholars, however, who prefer an explanation in terms of race indicate that there is overlapping between the two racial groups. Overlapping is usually defined technically as the percentage in one group which is superior in test scores to the median or average score obtained by the other. In every comparison with which we are familiar in this field there is some degree of overlapping. This means that some Negro children do better than some white children. It means that some Negro children do better than the average white child, in spite of all the handicaps to which the former have in the past been subjected.

"The conclusion is inescapable that any decision to use differences in the average achievement of the two racial groups as a basis for classifying in advance any individual child, Negro or white, is scientifically unjustified."

(Signed by:

Otto Klineberg, Columbia University
Theodore Newcomb, University of Michigan
Gardner Murphy, Menninger Foundation
Nevitt Sanford, Vassar College
Robin Williams, Jr., Cornell University
David Krech, University of California
Jerome Bruner, Harvard University
Allison Davis, University of Chicago
Daniel Katz, University of Michigan
Anne Anastasi, Fordham University
Stuart Cook, New York University
Marie Jahoda, New York University
Prof. Kenneth Clark, College of the City of New York
Bingham Dai, Duke University School of Medicine
Irving Lorge, Teachers' College, Columbia Univ.
Solomon Asch, Swarthmore College
David Rapaport, Austen Riggs Foundation)

Other authoritative social scientists are in almost unanimous agreement:

Miller, Kent S., "Psychological Characteristics of the Negro," in The Negro in American Society. Tallahassee: The Florida State University Press, 1958. pp. 22-23.

"...it is important to keep in clear focus the fact that groups of Negroes consistently make lower average test scores than do groups of whites. The major point is that the lowered scores do not reflect racial differences, but are related to forces [e.g., housing, schooling] more subject to change...

"...it is important that we keep in mind the fact that approximately 25 per cent of the Negroes tested make scores which are higher than those of the average white person tested, and many make very high scores. Much talent among this group is currently being wasted or lost because of social and economic restrictions."

Simpson, George E., and Yinger, J. Milton, Racial and Cultural Minorities. p. 228.

"...differences in group averages become progressively smaller as life conditions (income, residence, education, occupation, etc.) become more nearly similar, and... it seems correct at the present time to hold that native intellectual capacity is substantially equal among human groups. Thus, although members of some minority groups do exhibit lower average scores in the abilities that intelligence tests measure, these must be looked upon as personality consequences of their status and not biological causes of an inferior status."

Giles, H. Harry, The Integrated Classroom. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959. p. 138.

"So far as the results now available can show, the range of intelligence among American Negroes is about the same as among American whites. The academic proficiency of American Negroes seems to vary in accordance with opportunity and psychological factors having to do with motivation. (Northern Negroes score higher than Southern Negroes as a whole, and Northern whites and Negroes score higher than Southern whites.)"

Report No. L-8A
August 24, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

IF THE SCHOOLS ARE CLOSED...
A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan

A doubled and possibly tripled cost per pupil will be only one of the many problems faced if the South converts its public schools to a private system in order to avoid desegregation.

So say two Atlanta educators in a report prepared for the Southern Regional Council.

The pamphlet, IF THE SCHOOLS ARE CLOSED...A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PRIVATE SCHOOL PLAN, was written by Dr. Donald Ross Green, Assistant Professor of Teacher Education at Emory University; and Dr. Warren E. Gauerke, Associate Professor of Teacher Education at Emory.

The pamphlet is chiefly concerned with the proposal to close all public schools and set up a private school system by giving tuition grants to all school-age children. Provisions for such a "system" have been enacted into law by Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and Virginia and are under consideration in several other states.

Although the authors seriously question the legality of such a proposal, they discuss the practical difficulties involved if such a system withstood legal tests.

For a private school to be legal and to avoid entanglements because of "state action," the educators maintain that it must be free of all or almost all of the following elements:

(1) Compulsory attendance laws;

(2) State control of how grants are spent;

(3) State supervision of facilities, curricula, and personnel;

(4) State requirements for accreditation;

(5) Special services from the state;

(6) State assistance by means of textbooks, supplies, and equipment.

The educators point up the difference in current costs of private and public school education by comparing private and public school costs in the Atlanta area. The average yearly cost per pupil is more than twice as great in private schools ($625) as in public schools ($265).

In addition to this, the authors maintain that added increased costs to the individual parent could be expected because of:

(1) The loss of federal funds.

(2) The possibility that sectarian school children would be made eligible for grants. (In Georgia, for example, this would add 16,000 school children at a cost of $4,000,000.)

(3) Cost of raising funds to purchase buildings and equipment, and the increased costs of the construction of new buildings.

(4) The loss of tax revenue through the dislocation of industry. Business leaders are reluctant to locate in areas where there is a threat of closed schools.

(5) The loss of special services, which probably could not survive the switch to a private system. These include special education for atypical children; the textbook program and special library services; vocational education; adult education; the specially trained science supervisors; visiting teachers; the state and federal financing of graduate education in subject matter for public school teachers; the in-service teacher education program; the Teacher Recruitment Service; and the guidance, counseling, and testing programs.

(6) The deterioration of legal and supervisory control of expenditures.

(7) The loss of teachers during the change-over. Replacement with equally competent teachers "will require, in this day of rising salaries, higher pay then is currently offered."

"Unfortunately," the educators say, "the financial difficulties the tuition grant proposal creates are only the beginning of the tale."

Among the more serious practical obstacles, they list the deterioration of quality inherent in a private system over and above that caused by financial pressure. The educators say that "contrary to popular opinion, the public schools even now are doing a better job, on the average, than the private schools." They cite authoritative tests to back up this thesis.

A second obstacle would be the loss of variety in the programs offered. Private schools, the authors maintain, typically offer a single program suited to the needs of some children. Public schools programs are varied for college, vocational, and other types of students.

Then, too, private schools face a tough road in the matter of accreditation. The authors say that "the existence of state, regional, and national accrediting agencies is further demonstration of the need to control standards." Rigid requirements are set forth for accreditation, and it normally takes a year or more to obtain it even under the best of circumstances.

Another difficulty listed concerns the fixing of responsibility for school policies. Financial control of a school usually means policy control also, and safeguards now provided by law will be lost.

The professional help of state departments of education, now available to the public schools, could not be called upon to help untangle problems of school organization in the private schools, the authors point out. To do so would jeopardize the legal standing of the schools.

Even if the states closed public schools only as a temporary measure, the educators say, reopening the system would present "a host of practical concerns as well as problems more intangible in nature."

Serious deterioration of the idle school plants, economic waste due to the attrition of students during the period of "no-schools" - and consequent small numbers of pupils enrolling in school plants which were designed to house much larger enrollments -, teacher personnel problems, and the re-establishing of transportation routes are only a few of such problems cited.

(Single copies of the pamphlet are available on request from the Southern Regional Council; additional copies at 25¢ each.)

Report No. L-9
September 1, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE PRIVATE SCHOOL ANSWER TO THE DESEGREGATION CRISIS

The Virginia Experience

During the past several years much has been said of the emergence in the South of a system of private and segregated schools, which, according to some proposals, would operate alongside the public school system and, according to others, would replace the public schools. In its issue of April 6, 1959, the United States News and World Report carried in bold type the heading: A NEW SCHOOL SYSTEM IS SPRINGING UP IN THE SOUTH - A SYSTEM OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

A principal exhibit in the private school story is Virginia, where some public schools were closed for five months last Fall and Winter by state order in three cities, and where one county, Prince Edward, has now cut off local funds for public schools.

Virginia has approximately 800,000 children enrolled in 2,500 public shcools. It is interesting to note that the total enrollment in all the non-sectarian private schools in the United States is also estimated at 800,000.

James Baker and George Gill, reporters for the Richmond News-Leader, toured the state last March to see what was being done in each of the ten Congressional districts in preparation for a possible shift from public schools to segregated private schools.

a. In the twelve counties and four cities of the First District their survey indicated that some people were talking about establishing private schools but that practically nothing was being done.

b. In the Second District the reporters heard much talk and were told of many plans for continuing the Tidewater Academy, which had been established in Norfolk when the schools there were closed under the "massive resistance" laws. They learned, however, that when the public schools were opened - and desegregated - in February, many of the 2,700 pupils enrolled in that makeshift institution had returned to their public school classrooms.

James A. Martin, IV, the executive director of the Tidewater Educational Foundation, assured the News-Leader reporters that there would be a

generous response to a letter asking for donations to continue the Academy. He said that the foundation was confident that "hundreds" of white pupils would leave the desegregated schools and would seek admission to private schools in September. On May 24, Robert Baker of the Washington Post and Times-Herald reported that only $5,000 of the desired $75,000 had been pledged toward the Tidewater private school project.

c. In the Third District, which includes Richmond, the reporters found four different groups planning for private schooling in the event of desegregation. O. B. Meade, chairman of the steering committee of the Varina Educational Association in the rural section of Henrico County, told the reporters that that organization had made a survey of 361 families, with 556 school age children. Three hundred and fifty-three families indicated an interest in sending their children to private schools if desegregation should occur. The Association's plan for these children consists of: a total of $3,500 in pledges, ranging from $5.00 to $50.00; the statement of eight parents that they could qualify as teachers; and the promise of ten rooms in ten different homes.

d. In the Fourth District, where Negro pupils outnumber white by 45,300 to 37,600, the reporters found citizens in 16 of the 21 localities discussing plans for setting up private schools. Some projects were only in the preliminary planning stage, but Prince Edward County, which was one of the first in the South to be involved in school desegregation litigation, has had its private school organization in a constant state of readiness since 1955. The reporters heard there of a carefully worked out plan, whereby, when the need should arise, each white public school teacher would know her assignment to a specific room in a church or vacant building. Each white pupil had been assigned to a teacher.

More difficulty is reported with financial arrangements in Prince Edward, but a substantial sum appears to be available. The corporation reported $12,000 in cash on hand. The pledges of more than $200,000 had expired, but Blanton Hanbury, president of the Prince Edward School Foundation, expressed confidence that the pledges would be renewed in case of emergency.

The emergency arose on June 2, 1959 when the Prince Edward County Board of Supervisors voted to "not levy any taxes for the year 1959-60 for either the operation of public schools or for educational purposes." The parents of the 1,800 white students expect them to be educated by the Prince Edward foundation. There is no plan for the education of the county's 2,200 Negro students. The county has been spending $750,000 annually on its public schools.

On June 1 the Prince Edward foundation had only $11,000 cash on hand, but by August 1 roughly $248,000 had been pledged toward a goal of $295,000. The foundation expects to employ most of the county's 70 white school teachers. It is still dependent upon the use of scattered rooms in churches or lodges. It has no plan for libraries, laboratories, cafeterias, or school buses. Promoters of the private school system hope that citizens will contribute their savings from a 53% reduction in the tax rate; they, of course, cannot be required to do so.

e. A survey of the Sixth District produced little evidence of concern about desegregation in that western area of the state. A Lynchburg group is setting up a preparatory school for girls, but backers insist that it has nothing to do with segregation.

f. In the Eighth District reporters Baker and Gill found in Charlottesville, where desegregation has been ordered to begin in September, differing opinions as to the strength of the private school movement. D. Barry Marshall, the leader of the Charlottesville Educational Foundation, expressed confidence that over 700 pupils from the public schools would enroll for the private facilities which the foundation would make available and that "several" of the public school teachers would come over to the private schools. Superintendent of public schools Fendall R. Ellis, on the other hand, said that he expected most of the public school teachers to sign contracts with the school board for the 1959-60 school year. Public school officials were found to be moving ahead with plans for a normal public school operation.

The Charlottesville foundation announced plans for a large scale private school operation,

including the construction of a campus-style school, when it should have $200,000 to $300,000 in hand. However, Marshall said in March that its assets thus far were a gift of $10,000, plus "only a few thousand dollars."

In Warren County, where private classes were organized when the only high school was closed, strong financial support came in regular weekly contributions from the 1,000 members of the textile workers local union, in addition to other contributions locally and from various sources elsewhere in Virginia and the South. Being already in their second semester, the private classes continued after the public high school was re-opened, and none of the 800 white pupils returned to the desegregated public high school for the remainder of the year.

At the end of May, the Warren County Educational Foundation voted unanimously to postpone a decision as to whether to continue operating private classes another year. Robert Baker of the Washington Post reported on May 24 that Warren County white teachers had reaffirmed their belief in public education, and he said that there were other indications of community support for the return of white students to the desegregated Warren County High School in September.

g. In the Tenth District the Richmond reporters could find no serious planning for private schools, even though desegregation was underway in Arlington and Alexandria. In February one lone television store operator in Arlington had opened on the second floor of a firehouse what he called a "segregated school for children whose parents object to their attending desegregated classes at Stratford Junior High." It was shut down shortly by zoning officials. On May 23 he applied to the Arlington County Board for a use permit, but the request was denied.

During the summer of 1958 there had been another abortive attempt to establish a private school for white children in Arlington. The founder in this case was a plumber, active in the "Defenders" group. He accepted some pupil

registrations, but his dilapidated school house failed on all points when the building inspectors arrived, and a misspelled sign in the school's front yard brought laughter throughout the community and a quick end to the whole venture.

There seem to be a number of reasons why so little progress has been made in the establishment of private schools in Virginia.

1. The establishment and operation of any school is an expensive enterprise, and even in areas where sentiment strongly favors segregated schools, pledges have fallen far short of minimum needs.

   The Virginia Education Fund was established at the beginning of "massive resistance" with the idea of operating on a state-wide basis and making funds available for private schools wherever needed. A Richmond lawyer who has been the active leader of that foundation reported last June that it had succeeded in raising no more than $50,000. He said that assistance had been given to only three communities - Charlottesville, Norfolk, and Warren County - and that there was no more than $5,000 or $6,000 left in the treasury. He had no plans for further solicitation of funds.

   The state tuition grant plan has offered no adequate answer to the financial problem. The $250 maximum grants available from the the state for private schooling are thought by many people to be inadequate for operating well staffed schools. Robert W. Allen, the president of the Virginia Education Association (white), says that adequate private schooling will cost $500 per pupil.

   The U. S. News and World Report (April 6, 1959) pointed out that, although a few established private schools in Virginia - already in possession of buildings, grounds, and basic equipment - manage to operate on as little as $315 annual tuition, most of them charge much more than that. One cooperative school which aims at economy and depends on the organized labor of parents for its physical

maintenance charges $545 to $580 a year, with additional charge for transportation. In other non-profit day schools, fees run as high as $1,000 a year.

2. Citizens in a number of communities are hesitant about going forward with any private school plan which is dependent upon state tuition grants, because they fear that acceptance of such grants will jeopardize the constitutional status of private segregated schools.

3. Many citizens, accustomed to good school buildings and equipment, are not satisfied with the prospect of classes conducted in church rooms, warehouses, or lodge halls, with no science or manual arts equipment, no gymnasium and no library.

4. Many churches are stating firmly that their facilities cannot be made available for "a program of resistance to the order of any duly constituted court of law or for classes that would deny entrance to any qualified student on the basis of race."

5. An increasing number of teachers are announcing their support of public education and indicating a reluctance to surrender the salaries and other securities assured them by public school contracts.

The 1959 prospect is, to sum up, that in one county (Prince Edward) there will be a county-wide experiment in private education for whites, with no education of any sort for Negroes. In Charlottesville and Norfolk, private schools may or may not, depending on finances and administrative problems, enroll limited numbers of white children. In Warren County, a decision as to whether the private school will continue has been postponed (according to the New York Times, Aug. 26) until September 3; the school has to date registered 532 pupils, but only 327 of these have pledged to pay the full tuition of $220.

For further reading: Green and Gauerke, If the Schools Are Closed...A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan, 1959. (Single copies free from the Southern Regional Council; group rates on request.)

Report No. L-10
September 15, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

EDUCATION AND INCOME

A recent study by the Industrial Development Branch of Georgia Tech's Engineering Experiment Station gives startling evidence of the close connection between education and prosperity.

Two conclusions, based upon comprehensive research, are especially noteworthy:

- each rise of one year in a county's median level of education is associated with a per capita income increase of almost $200;

- 45% of the difference in income between one county and another is determined by educational levels.

The report, titled Analysis of Georgia Personal Income Payments, by Counties (February 1959), describes only one state. Yet similar results would probably be found anywhere.

Today in the South, there is much talk of closing schools; there is also much justified pride in recent Southern economic growth. Southern business leaders might, therefore, reflect on these sentences from the report:

> "Basically, the level of per capita income is a function of productivity....
>
> ****
>
> "The educational level of a people has a bearing on productivity in numerous ways. First, the educated worker applies his manual talents to machines more skillfully and intelligently; he maintains the machines and protects his limbs with more foresight. He looks ahead and plans for the best use of machines and materials. In the case of management, this factor is even more important. Large scale enterprise, with its intricate and efficient organization, depends upon trained, managers and business leaders. They are the result of the system of education, the system of government, and the religious attitudes of the people. The horizons in business are distant; they depend upon the freedom of the spirit and a concept of greatness of the individual and the country.
>
> ****

"Numerous studies have determined how yearly earnings of individuals increase with years of schooling....

****

"The intelligence and skills of a people, provided they have attitudes of diligence and thrift, determine the efficiency of the application of management and effort to production. ....Since educational level is the basic factor determining the ability of a people and their attitudes toward work, it is concluded that educational attainment is fundamental to the level of production and personal income payments. Consequently, from the standpoint of the future of Georgia, it is obvious that if the educational level of Georgia counties could be equalized, it would remove a great deal of the per capita income differences. This certainly could not be done overnight. Public education has been available in Georgia since shortly after 1900. In the approximately 60 years since that time, the state has progressed to about 8.0 median years of schooling. From 1940 to 1950 it rose only 0.8 of a year. Raising the education level of a whole people to a high point is a tremendous task. It takes not decades, nor a generation, but several generations, and perhaps nearer a century of uninterrupted, constant effort."

Report No. L-11
October 12, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LITTLE ROCK REPORT.....WHAT HAS HAPPENED SINCE THE SCHOOL CRISIS?

What has happened to the city? To its people? To its business? In August 1959, after Little Rock's public high schools had been closed for a full school year, after two years of turmoil in the schools, the Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools - an organization of Little Rock citizens - completed a study of the effects of the school crisis on the business and professional life of Little Rock.*

"Little Rock is a beautiful city...a city that has in recent years grown rapidly in all directions. It has a new Medical Center, a new Institute of Technology, a new University. Its Main Street has grown to be the shopping center of the entire state. Its industrial program is a model of its kind. The business and cultural climate of the city was clear and bright until a storm broke over its public school system in September, 1957." From this description, the Women's Emergency Committee goes on to describe what has happened to the city.

DID INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS KEEP UP?

.....NEW INDUSTRY SHUNNED THE CITY ENTIRELY IN 1958-59

Year	No. of New Plants Little Rock	Value	No. of New Jobs
1950	7	$ 835,000	143
1951	7	945,000	255
1952	6	295,000	163
1953	2	100,000	30
1954	3	1,350,000	150
1955	5	1,393,000	565
1956	2	325,000	70
1957	8	3,092,000	1002
September 1957, Trouble at Central High School			
1958		none	
1959		none	

* Little Rock Report - The City, Its People, Its Business. Copies are available from the Women's Emergency Committee, Box 3244, Forest Heights Station, Little Rock, Arkansas. Single copies $1.00; 2-10 copies, .75 each; over 10 copies, .50 each.

Before the school crisis new industries were moving into Little Rock. After the crisis, none came. Industrial managers said to Women's Emergency Committee interviewers that they thought that new plants have avoided Little Rock because of the school situation. The Executive Director of the Little Rock Industrial Development Company warned: "We haven't begun to feel this thing yet. After all, the plants which decided to locate here in 1957 are still being built or have just been completed."

.....AND EXPANSIONS OF EXISTING PLANTS EXPERIENCED AN ABRUPT DECLINE

Year	No. of Expansions Little Rock	Value	No. of Jobs
1950	6	$2,110,000	. . .
1951	3	475,000	. . .
1952	9	2,150,000	. . .
1953	7	820,000	. . .
1954	1	500,000	. . .
1955	8	1,250,000	194
1956	8	1,350,000	212
1957	3	913,985	70
September 1957, Trouble at Central High School			
1958	1	325,000	50
1959	1	268,000	. . .

.....LITTLE ROCK INDUSTRIALISTS MADE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS

No new industry will locate in a community of bad race relations no matter what the school situation.

If the schools continue to be closed, then no additional industry will come. People and industry will shy away from here and people will move away. Eventually every business in Little Rock will be affected.

I don't think the school situation will help bring in any other jobs.

If schools are not opened it will definitely affect the lives of all boys and girls in Little Rock. People will be moving away. Industries will by-pass Arkansas. Production will stop. The State of Arkansas will be hurt. Little Rock will become a ghost town. It is getting harder for people without an education to get jobs.

Production is below expected capacity as no new industry has located here which is this plant's major outlet - all due to the school situation.

Industrial work has slacked off so we are directly affected. If the schools remain closed industry won't be building or expanding.

The future of our work depends on the growth of municipalities... others (in the firm) have expressed concern over the school situation as the business has felt some lag recently, but they feel it is too early to consider it significant.

It hasn't affected us yet but I think it will affect everyone - business is bound to slow down. Industries won't come because of the schools - people can't afford to send their children away.

My company believes a city without public education is not a good location for a plant - it is concerned enough that they voluntarily contributed to STOP... Company feels that being a good citizen means supporting public education.

DID THE CITY GROW?

.....NEWCOMER FAMILIES TO LITTLE ROCK DECLINED*

	1956	1957	1958	1959
Little Rock	1975	2076	1807	1391
North Little Rock	630	680	690	795
Military Personnel	873	586	455	190

On the basis of the first six months of the year, it is estimated that the number of Arkansas families moving into the city will be one-third fewer than in 1957. Out-of-state newcomers, it is estimated, will be almost 50% fewer.

.....ESPECIALLY IN THE LITTLE ROCK SCHOOL DISTRICT*

	1956	1957	1958	1959
Little Rock School District	1835	1922	1628	1239
County School District, inside Little Rock	140	154	179	152

North Little Rock, in sharp contrast, experienced a steady growth in the number of newcomer families.

* From listings of newcomers maintained by the Chamber of Commerce of Little Rock and based on utility company reports. 1959 figures are based on first six months.

.....REAL ESTATE IS OFF

The owner of one of the leading real estate companies in the city stated: "We have found a great deal of resistance from newcomers to purchasing property in Little Rock until the school situation has been resolved. The sale of homes is off between 20 and 25 percent in Greater Little Rock for this year (1959) over last...Rentals are off...Two weeks ago we had 20% more vacancies than a year ago."

.....BUILDING IS OFF THIS YEAR

Employment in Little Rock's building industry is running 10% below the 1958 level. This is a greater decline than in the state at large, and a sharp contrast to the national increase in building employment. The value of building permits in the Little Rock area was down 12% from the 1958 level. A Dallas Chamber of Commerce survey found larger declines in only two of ten Southwest cities. While the number of residential building permits authorized in Little Rock was higher in 1959 than in 1958 - by more than 10% -, U. S. Department of Labor figures show that 20 of 25 Southern cities surveyed recorded larger increases in authorized building permits.

IS THE COMMUNITY PROSPEROUS?

.....INCOME GAIN HAS FALLEN BELOW THE REST OF THE STATE

Per Cent Gain in Total Personal Income
(Source: University of Arkansas Bureau of Business Research)

	1956	1957	1958
Pulaski County, (Includes Little Rock)	6.2	6.1	5.2
Arkansas	4.5	3.1	6.1

Per Cent Gain in Urban Income per Person
(Source: Blue Book of Southern Progress)

	1954-56	1956-58
Little Rock	11	15
All Arkansas Cities	6	20

.....AND EFFECTIVE BUYING INCOME DECLINED

Per Cent Change in Effective Buying Income Per Household, 1956-58 (Source: Sales Management)

Little Rock	-7%	U. S. Cities	2%
Arkansas	6%	United States	5%

The decline in Little Rock family income was sharper than in all but one of 25 other Arkansas cities surveyed by Sales Management. It was also sharper than that in all but one of the 26 leading Mid- and South-west cities surveyed.

Little Rock fell from 202nd to 268th place among metropolitan county areas ranked by Sales Management according to family buying income. Little Rock - North Little Rock slipped from 102nd to 112th place among metropolitan areas.

.....WHILE THE AVERAGE WORKER IN LITTLE ROCK LOST GROUND IN INCOME GROWTH

Average Workers Income Gain (Source: U.S. Department of Labor)

	1956-57	1958-59
Little Rock	6%	4%
Arkansas	2%	11%
United States	4%	11%

Wages increased almost three times faster in the nation and state than in the city. 21 of 24 Central U. S. cities recorded larger gains in worker incomes between May 1958 and May 1959 than did Little Rock.

HOW'S BUSINESS?

.....BUSINESS VOLUME, TOTAL CONSUMER PURCHASES, RETAIL SALES PER PERSON LAGGED

Little Rock historically has been the commercial center of Arkansas. What has happened on Main Street?

*Business volume increased less in Little Rock between 1956 and 1958

...than in the average Arkansas city
...than in the state as a whole

This was in sharp contrast to the years 1954-56 when Little Rock's business volume expanded almost double the rate of the average Arkansas city and the state as a whole.

* Source: Blue Book of Southern Progress

*Total Consumer Purchases in the Little Rock area were 10% greater in 1958 than in 1956.

This increase was less than the increase in other Arkansas cities, however, and less than the increase in the state.

In the preceding period consumer buying in the Little Rock area outstripped buying in other Arkansas cities, and increased almost twice as fast as in the state as a whole.

**Retail Sales per person failed to rise in Pulaski County between 1956 and 1958. Sales per person in the state as a whole, however, climbed by 4% during the same period.

.....AND DEPARTMENT STORE SALES ARE LAGGING BEHIND SALES IN COMPARABLE CITIES

Federal Reserve Board records show that Little Rock department store sales this year are better. In June, for example, Little Rock sales were 4% above what they were the year before. Business was up in Little Rock, but not up as much as in Memphis (up 23% over last year) or as in the entire 8th District which recorded a 7% gain over the same month last year. Reserve Board figures show, moreover, that they not only have failed to rise as fast this year as the District's, but that last year they fell almost twice as much.

The June sales figures reflect the sales picture for the first half of 1959. Little Rock sales were up almost 6% over the corresponding period last year, but sales in most other cities climbed even more. Two-thirds of the cities in the Mid-West and South recorded larger gains in sales than did Little Rock. The nearby cities of Memphis, Jackson, Dallas, Tulsa, Louisville, Houston and Oklahoma City all recorded larger gains this year than did Little Rock. Average sales in the U. S. as well as in the entire 8th District ran higher than in Little Rock during the first half of 1959.

*Source: Blue Book of Southern Progress
**Source: University of Arkansas Bureau of Business Research

WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THE PEOPLE?

.....PEOPLE WITH PROFESSIONAL TRAINING ARE LEAVING

These are the people who are leaders in community life. A disturbance in education is a disturbance in community life - and many professional people retain a mobility which provides them some choice as to the community in which they will live and in which they will raise their children. The Women's Emergency Committee Survey found:

One out of five of the professionally trained people said they were leaving Little Rock - or that they plan to leave IF the public high schools do not open this year.

A number of others said they would prefer to leave - but that they do not want to start their careers over, or they are unable to do so.

90% of the professional people who commented wanted the public high schools open.

(The economic status of professionals was impaired during the two years of chaos in public education, WEC interviewers found. Doctors reported their practices were suffering because of school situation effects on the community. Engineering firms reported adverse effect upon business. Possible curtailment of Little Rock University faculty was threatened, as a consequence of enrollment decreases resulting from closed high schools.)

.....AND JOBS ARE BEGGING

Some personnel men said in interviews:

It's very difficult to secure personnel. Have not recruited any with high school age children since this situation began. Three or four have already turned us down.

One from Ft. Smith and one from El Dorado refused to accept positions because of school situation - one managerial, one accountant.

I am already faced with the problem of securing personnel...New people will not come in. Had one very desirable registered engineer turn us down specifically because he refused to move his family into the unsettled school situation.

Engineering Firms said:

Have had two emphatic refusals from men offered jobs to come to Little Rock...and my firm has felt the effect in trying to employ new people. We recently had a definite rejection because of the school situation here.

And...Arkansas Baptist Hospital is short about 35 nurses - due in part to the school situation according to their official magazine...nurses having high school age children have moved away and fewer nurses have moved into the community.

Report No. L-12
November 16, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

"I can't understand why school boards do not take some action on their own initiative instead of waiting for Negroes to bring law suits against them. The opinion of the Supreme Court is well known, and surely the board members have read about these things happening at Little Rock and Nashville. Why do they wait until the last minute and then come up here and claim they need more time in which to adopt a policy?" -- U. S. Judge William E. Miller, Middle District, Tennessee

So much attention has been given to court battles over desegregation that it is often overlooked that most desegregation since 1954 has been initiated voluntarily. Of the 269 bi-racial school districts which have desegregated in Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee and Texas, only 11 were under court order to do so.*

The state-by-state record of districts which have voluntarily desegregated is as follows:

Arkansas

Bentonville
Charleston
Fayetteville
Fort Smith

In addition, in three other Arkansas districts the first steps toward desegregation were voluntary. This was so in Hoxie, where the school board obtained a court injunction against rioters protesting desegregation; there have been no further difficulties. In Little Rock, although desegregation was initially voluntary, subsequent deterioration of law and order landed the issue in the courts. Ozark has desegregated and resegregated off and on for two years; apparently no Negroes are in attendance this year.

*Some 500 districts of Delaware, the District of Columbia, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia desegregated voluntarily.

Florida

Dade County - In one of the two desegregated schools in the district, Orchard Villa, difficulty was experienced in that white enrollment dropped considerably, due to the transitional nature of the neighborhood's residential pattern as well as to desegregation. The other desegregated school serves children of personnel at Homestead Air Base; it is, however, county owned and operated and open to any child in the attendance area.

Kentucky

One hundred and seventeen of Kentucky's 123 bi-racial desegregated school districts have desegregated voluntarily.

North Carolina

Although there have been several suits in North Carolina challenging the pace of desegregation, all seven of the state's desegregated districts acted without court compulsion.

Charlotte
Craven County (Havelock)
Durham
Greensboro
High Point
Wayne County (Goldsboro)
Winston-Salem

Desegregated schools in Craven County and Wayne County serve children of military personnel, but are under county school board jurisdiction.

Tennessee

Three of the four desegregated districts in this state acted under court order. The fourth is Oak Ridge, where at the time of initial desegregation schools were operated by the federal government under contract with Anderson County.

Texas

All of the 125 desegregated districts of Texas acted voluntarily, and these include 26 districts in counties

of eastern Texas where the population ranges from 6% to 30% non-white. These districts are as follows:

District	County
Killeen	Bell
San Antonio, and ten other districts in	Bexar
County Independent	Calhoun
Nordheim	DeWitt
Four districts in	Gaudalupe
San Marcos	Hays
Echols	Limestone
Three districts in	Refugio
Austin	Travis
Two districts in	Victoria

Report No. L-13
December 15, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

"DID YOU FIND THAT THERE WAS MUCH DIFFERENCE IN THE ABILITY OF NEGRO CHILDREN TO RECEIVE AND PROFIT BY INSTRUCTION?"

On September 13, 1959, Omer Carmichael, Superintendent of the Louisville Public Schools, appeared on a televised panel discussion in Atlanta. The other panelists for the program, which told the Louisville public school story, were Mrs. Fran Breeden, chairman of the Board of Directors of HOPE (Help Our Public Education); Dr. Willis Sutton, former superintendent of schools in Atlanta; and Dr. Sam Webb, Emory University professor of psychology. The telecast was sponsored by the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

During the program, Mr. Carmichael was asked about the scholastic problems and results of desegregation in Louisville. His comments in reply were as follows:

* * * *

Question:

Did you find that there was much difference in the ability of Negro children to receive and profit by instruction? Was that superior in the white? Was that difficult and did it bring up any problems of discipline?

Mr. Carmichael:

Dr. Sutton, I see three or four questions in one there. You use "ability" and you use "achievement." Now let's distinguish between the two for a moment.

I'm no psychologist, no anthropologist, and I don't try to say, on my own knowledge, whether there is equality or

inequality in native ability among races of people. I can merely say that the experts tell us there are no provable differences among the races in native capacities. Now, with respect to achievement, we know there are differences in achievement, and that's what we've got to work with. So, then, we never bothered ourselves with trying to answer to anybody's satisfaction whether the Negro child is less intelligent or more intelligent than the white child. We have just worked with them wherever they were.

Now where are they? We have one of the most complete test records in Louisville. I went there in 1945 and the records were there for ten or fifteen years back, by schools and by race. We have continued the pattern and added some new tests. The average Negro child in the sixth grade in 1956 was about one-and-one-half years behind the average white child in the sixth grade. At the eighth grade, the difference was about two years, and by the time you got to the twelfth grade, it was still greater.

Now these are deplorable differences and they present problems, of course. But you have a tremendous spread in a white group of whatever grade from your low-capacity youngster to your high, or from your low achiever to your high achiever. You find in placing Negro and white children in the same classroom, when you put them grade for grade, that there is a wider spread of achievement.

Question:

Has that tended to become less and less through the years?

Mr. Carmichael:

Well, you see, we've been desegregated for three years only. I can give some pretty good documentation for the first two years because one of our very able principals, on a sabbatical leave, wrote a doctor's thesis on what happens to pupil achievement in a good-size school system in the process of school desegregation.

He broke that study down; he tested some thirty-odd thousand children in elementary schools -- because this study was, I believe, limited only to the elementary level. He took the Negro in the all-Negro schools, the Negro when he is in a minority of five per cent or less, when he is in a minority of from five to fifteen, or from fifteen to twenty-five or from twenty-five and up. And this is the sort of summary that you could give: The Negro improved. When we tested, we looked at the results the year before desegregation and then looked at them after the second year of desegregation and found that the Negro in all grades had improved - and by an amount that was statistically significant.

What happened to the white children, you ask? They, too, had improved, but by an amount not statistically significant. In other words, it was a slight improvement for the whites; a substantial improvement for the Negroes. I can't

answer with as great definiteness for the third year, because no such study has been made with the same completeness, but the impression of our teachers is that that pattern continues.

Question:

Mr. Carmichael, these children who were studied in these tests, I assume, were just in the schools where they were mixed.

Mr. Carmichael:

No, all white children, all Negro children; in other words, all thirty-odd thousand children in the elementary grades of the system.

Question:

And Negro children in all-Negro schools also showed this improvement?

Mr. Carmichael:

Negro children in the all-Negro schools also improved.

Question:

Well, how do you account for this?

Mr. Carmichael:

That's a long story.

When the question has been asked, I have said that the average Negro teacher is not as good as the average white teacher. This has disturbed our Negro teachers a great deal. I have sat down with the four hundred of them at one stage and for two hours answered questions that they asked about my public statements to that effect. They know that

I am not unkind about it. I simply am being realistic. It's true. There isn't a shred of doubt in my mind about it. There are excellent Negro teachers, and there are excellent white teachers. But if you take the average, the average Negro teacher is not as good as the average white teacher. Now, these Negro teachers, wherever they worked, said, "The Superintendent is saying we aren't as good as the white teachers, so let's show him." And they've worked as I've never seen teachers work. The result was that they've carried the Negro children, in the all-Negro schools, right up with all the other Negro children.

Question:

The fact that the white children have improved, too, goes to indicate, does it not, that they have not been hurt by this?

Mr. Carmichael:

The most frequently asked question in our public meetings was, "What will happen to the scholarship of the white children as you put Negro and white together?" Well, we think here is at least a partial answer -- we pledged that no matter how hard we made it for the Negro children, we would not lower the standards for the System as a whole.

Question:

Do you feel this standard has been maintained?

Mr. Carmichael:

Yes, sir. If anything, it has been improved.

Question:

Does this mean that you have more Negroes who have to repeat classes than previously?

Mr. Carmichael:

It has resulted in higher non-promotion of Negro children. You put seven Negro children who have been classified as sixth grade in the Negro school in a group of 24 white children who are a year and a half ahead of them, and those Negro children are up against it terrifically. Now, we actually permitted some of them to transfer back to Negro schools early in the semester when they found they couldn't keep up. We dealt kindly and patiently with them. Sometimes when the parents would come and ask for transfer, the teacher would say, "Now Mary has not caught up yet, but if you will be patient, I believe Mary will." At other times we have said, "You're right, Mary needs to go back where the competition will not be so tough."

* * * *

Single copies of the full text of the program are available on request to the Southern Regional Council. On May 3, 1959 Dr. Carl F. Hansen, superintendent of schools in Washington, D. C., was interviewed by a panel consisting of Harry Boyte, who was then executive director of HOPE; Dr. John A. Griffin, director of community education at Emory University; and Devereaux McClatchey, Atlanta attorney and former chairman of the Atlanta Board of Education. Single copies of the transcript of Dr. Hansen's program are available on request to the Southern Regional Council.

Report No. L-14
January 15, 1960

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

"We believe that a sound system of free public schools is the surest foundation and greatest hope for a free society."

A REPORT FROM VIRGINIA

In late October, 1959 the Virginia Education Association held in Richmond its annual meeting. The actions it took in regard to the desegregation controversy are described in the following news reports.*

.....from the Richmond News-Leader, October 28, 1959

In a session marked by quiet unanimity, Virginia's school superintendents went on record today backing "a sound system of free public schools." The resolution, which made no mention of private schools or even the race problem in general for that matter, was adopted unanimously without discussion by the Virginia Association of School Administrators.

The superintendents' meeting was the first on the agenda as the 75th annual convention of the Virginia Education Association got into full swing. Talks with some delegates indicate the superintendents' reluctance to debate the controversial race problem will typify this year's VEA sessions. The quietness of today's session was in sharp contrast with the superintendents' meeting a year ago when some Virginia schools were shut down under the old laws of massive resistance to integration. At that time, the superintendents beat down a resolution proposed by Norfolk Superintendent J. J. Brewbaker that would have put the school chiefs on record as being "gravely concerned" by the school closings. The six schools in Norfolk which were closed at that time were reopened last February on an integrated basis after the massive resistance laws had been knocked down by the courts.

The resolution adopted by the superintendents today said: "We believe that a sound system of free public schools is the surest foundation and greatest hope for a free society. We further believe that consistent and deliberate effort should

* The educator's meeting followed by three weeks the Virginia Congress of Parents and Teachers. At that meeting, a resolution favoring public education for all children was passed by a vote of 20 P-TA districts to four. A resolution calling for a statewide compulsory attendance law (Virginia repealed its law in 1959) was passed 18-5.

be made to improve the character and quality of education for all children and youth in the commonwealth of Virginia."

.....from the Richmond News-Leader, October 29, 1959

Serious doubts about hastily organized private schools in Virginia have been raised in a report adopted by the Virginia Education Association. The report of the VEA's educational policies commission, adopted last night by the delegates to the 75th annual VEA convention, said:

"New non-public schools can only be organized with great difficulty if they have due regard for quality education."

The report said Virginia cities must recognize that the state public school system was built with painstaking care at great cost and that it has produced impressive results.

The report added: "Non-public schools of high quality have also benefited from a long period of effective development. New non-public schools can only be organized with great difficulty if they have due regard for quality education." Private schools have been set up quickly in several Virginia areas where the public schools have been integrated, including Prince Edward county, Charlottesville, Warren county and Norfolk.

The report approved by the VEA added: "Aside from the absence of adequate physical facilities, new schools which are isolated from established systems must be prepared to seek qualified staff members, pay adequate salaries, establish relationships with good colleges, set up sound pension systems, and solve a host of other problems. High standards are difficult to obtain in schools which have no secure tradition of quality and progress. Excellent teachers hesitate to associate themselves with traditionless educational organizations.

"The physical problems to be solved are also enormous. Libraries comparable to those which are the result of years of accumulation cannot be developed overnight. The advance in science requires expensive and technically correct laboratories, and it takes time to finance the necessary acquisition of all kinds of instructional aids.

"It should be recognized that no one can with certainty predict how the courts will rule on the legality of the scholarship program. New non-public schools may be in an extremely unfavorable position if they do not have adequate financial support from sources outside the state treasury.

"Our present need is to maintain and enhance all existing educational resources of the Commonwealth. Any movement among our people which would diminish this vital asset will deprive future generations of their birthright and the nation of their badly needed services."

The 26-person commission was headed by H. I. Willett, superintendent of the Richmond public school system. At today's VEA session at the Mosque, the delegates voted to adopt a resolution commending the work of Willett's commission and endorsing the commission's "excellent report." The educational policies commission also said in its report that there should be compulsory attendance in schools even though "no parent should be required to send his child to an integrated school against his will."

* * *

In other resolutions, the huge organization of white educators:

1. Reaffirmed its belief and faith in the "public school system which emphasizes education for all children up to the limits of their capabilities as individuals."

2. Commended Governor Almond and the General Assembly for "enacting legislation to assure the continued operation of the public schools as a state-supported function." The resolution said the educators are "heartened by the courageous leadership that Governor Almond is providing both Virginia and the South in the preservation and improvement of public education."

* * *

The VEA's third general session will be held tonight at the Mosque. Stuart T. Saunders, president of Norfolk and Western Railway Co., will speak on "Public Education--Foundation for Progress."

.....from the Richmond Times-Dispatch, October 30, 1959

"...No state can turn its back on public education today without inviting cultural and economic disaster," Saunders said. Merely preserving public schools is not enough, he added. "We must also improve them because the educational level of our citizens is one of the key factors in economic growth and prosperity." Good schools attract industry, he said, and the economic strength industry brings with it means more money for better schools. Saunders praised [Governor] Almond for "guiding us to a sensible solution of the school problem. His courageous stand in favor of public education certainly deserves the strong support of all Virginians."

.....from the Washington Post & Times-Herald, October 30, 1959

Meanwhile the Negro Teachers Association went on record today urging parents and educators to instruct Negro youths to become integrated into the social and economic culture of the Nation. A resolution adopted at the annual convention of the organization said they "recognize that many of the traits ascribed to the Negro originate from his position as a member of a minority group rather than from his race. Such a situation will continue to prevail until the Negro becomes fully integrated..."

The Association also went on record as deploring the decision of Prince Edward County Supervisors to close public schools. "We urge officials of Prince Edward County to reconsider their action in the light of its harmful effect on the Virginia economy," the resolution said. They also called for the appointment of Negroes to "State and local commissions, study groups or educational policy-making bodies. We note that during these times...few if any Negroes have been appointed to the State and local commissions..."

.....Editorial, from the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, November 2, 1959

The Virginia Association of School Administrators at its Richmond meeting on Wednesday passed with what was described as "quiet unanimity" a resolution supporting "a sound system of free public schools."

This association, which is largely composed of division superintendents of schools, refused a year ago to be even "gravely concerned" over the closing of Virginia public schools under the massive resistance program then in operation. At that time 10,000 Norfolk school children had been locked out of their schools. The lock-out was part of the state's total resistance to taking one step toward compliance with federal court orders that had been issued in Virginia to carry out the Supreme Court's desegregation decision. Superintendent J. J. Brewbaker, of the Norfolk public schools, offered a resolution at the 1958 meeting that would have put the school superintendents on record as being "gravely concerned" by the closing of public schools. The resolution was defeated.

But the Virginia Education Association itself, in which the larger voice is that of the classroom teachers of Virginia public schools, in 1958 was "gravely concerned" over the closing of schools in Norfolk, Charlottesville, and Warren County that had locked a total of 13,000 children out of their schools.

"We are gravely concerned," said the teachers' resolution, which was passed in the ratio of 19 to 1, "over the closing of public schools in Virginia. We reaffirm that we will exert all possible effort toward the preservation and improvement of a system of free public schools in Virginia which we believe to be essential for the preservation of our Virginia democracy." The teachers urged Governor Almond "to call a special session of the General Assembly at an early date" to enact legislation that would open the schools and assure their continued state support. Governor Almond chided the teachers for the passage of their resolution. So did Lieutenant Governor A. E. S. Stephens. Mr. Stephens said that "every loyal teacher, every thoughtful Virginian," should adhere to massive resistance until the General Assembly decided a change was needed.

The teachers of the state, as the teachers of Norfolk had done, demonstrated the finest loyalty to their state and to the ideals of their profession. They got no help from the leaders of Virginia. The courts brought the change that was needed from massive resistance. The loyalty of Virginia's teachers remains a bright spot in an otherwise dark (and almost incredibly stupid) chapter of Virginia government.

Their loyalty is one reason why in 1959 the controversy over massive resistance no longer rages. The issue is dead. In one isolated instance -- Prince Edward County -- public education has for the time being been destroyed. But nowhere else in Virginia is it threatened. That is why the school superintendents this year could enjoy their "quiet unanimity."

Report No. L-15
February 1, 1960

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

TYPES OF DESEGREGATION PLANS

By now, a great variety of desegregation plans have been developed by the localities which have complied with the Supreme Court's decision. Some of these have been "all at once" plans; some have been gradual approaches. Some of them place responsibility for initiating desegregation on the school administration; some of them require the students and their parents to take the initiative.

Because of the importance of this subject for every community in the South, this report indicates the nature of a few plans which have attracted widespread interest. All of these come from larger cities. Small communities in the border states and in Texas have devised many different individual plans to suit their own community situations. That they have been able to do so is evidence of the great flexibility of the Supreme Court's decision. For descriptions of these small locality plans, plus full discussion of the whole question, see Wey and Corey, Action Patterns in School Desegregation.

The Louisville plan.

The city was re-districted in 1956 without regard to race, and students are assigned to the nearest school. In practice, parents are free to transfer their children from the assigned school to another, unless the desired school is full. Desegregation in Louisville was preceded by months of public discussion led by school officials and by integration of teachers's meetings. In 1959, Louisville began the integration of faculties.

The Nashville plan.

Nashville began desegregation in 1957, by assigning all first-grade pupils on the basis of geographic zones without regard to race. Each subsequent first-grade has been likewise assigned, so that as of 1959 desegregation has reached the third grade of the twelve-year staircase. A child whose race is a minority in his school or grade, or who has been assigned to a school which had previously served only the other race, may transfer on request.

The Baltimore plan.

Historically, Baltimore has had no school districts: students have been free to attend any school in the city, and no assignments are made except in instances of over-crowding. Prior to 1954, there was one other exception to free choice: race. Baltimore's desegregation plan was, then, the most simple possible. The racial designation of schools was ended, and free choice prevails. Students desiring to transfer from

one school to another must, however, get the permission of the two principals involved, in order to prevent mass movement. Teachers are assigned on the basis of demonstrated ability.

The Washington plan.

Prior to 1954, Washington had not only segregated schools, but two separate school systems united only by a common superintendent. The separate administrations were ended, the city re-districted, and students are assigned without regard to race to the nearest school. Desegregation motivated Washington to undertake an educational reform which many had believed long overdue. A so-called "four track" curriculum was adopted, and every student from the tenth grade up is assigned to one of the four curricula on the basis of ability and achievement. In 1959, a similar track system was extended to the lower grades. Teachers are assigned on the basis of demonstrated ability. (The St. Louis plan is similar, except that it began desegregation one semester earlier in the high schools than in the lower grades.)

The San Antonio plan.

In 1955, the 1st and 2nd, the 7th, and the 10th grades were desegregated. Negro students entering these grades could choose which school within their residential district to attend. The practice of free choice has been continued with each class entering the elementary, junior high, or high school level.

* * *

Individual assignment plans, described next, differ fundamentally from the above methods in that the responsibility for initiating and planning desegregation is not assumed by the school officials.

* * *

North Carolina and Virginia plans.

Desegregation has been effected in some localities of each state by the individual assignment of Negro students to formerly all-white schools; such assignments are made only of pupils who meet academic and sociological criteria of the school authorities. The initiative for desegregation is, then, not assumed by the school boards, which act only on the petition of Negro children and their parents.

Little Rock and Atlanta plans.

In Little Rock, pupil placement is combined with a top-down stair-step plan: desegregation has begun in the high schools; after a period of adjustment there, the junior highs and elementary schools will, in turn, be desegregated. The Atlanta plan, which has not yet gone into effect, combines pupil placement with the reverse of Nashville's procedure: desegregation is to begin with the 12th grade, and move down one grade a year.

Report No. L-16
February 26, 1960

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

ATLANTA and WASHINGTON

RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

By
FRANK H. STALLINGS
Associate Professor of Education
University of Louisville

Racial Differences in Academic Achievement

The problem of the differences in academic achievement between white and Negro pupils is one that is too important to leave to hearsay. Fortunately, there is a growing store of factual information that bears upon this question, and it is the purpose of this report to review the findings of two prominent school systems relative to the problem.

The first analysis concerns the Atlanta public schools and the second the Washington, D.C. system. Atlanta has made a notable attempt to get at the differences between the achievement of Negro and white pupils in a segregated system by using an outside agency to set up and carry out a comprehensive survey. The Washington school system has completed five years under an integrated set-up, and is in its sixth year under such a program; it, therefore, provides a good example of what may happen to scholastic standards with integration. The fact that in the District of Columbia schools there is an exceptionally large proportion of Negro pupils makes the findings of considerable interest.

The Atlanta Study

In August of 1955 the Atlanta Board of Education adopted a resolution in response to petitions filed for desegregation of the schools. This resolution charged the Superintendent with the responsibility of finding out differences between white and Negro pupils in achievement.

At a subsequent meeting of the Board it was decided that the Educational Testing Service of Princeton, New Jersey, should be employed to conduct a survey of the schools. The resolution emphasized that the survey should be entirely one of fact finding, and was not to be one recommending procedure for desegregation.

The testing of pupils, and the scoring and processing of the test results were to be entirely in the hands of the Educational Testing Service. This testing was accomplished during the first three weeks of January, 1956. All pupils in the 4th and 6th grades of all regular elementary schools (66 white and 31 Negro schools) were given the Stanford Achievement Test in reading and arithmetic. All pupils in the 8th grade of the regular high schools (13 white and 4 Negro schools) were given the Iowa Every-Pupil Test in arithmetic. All pupils in the 12th grades of these same schools were given the Essential High School Content Battery.

The large numbers of pupils tested gives added significance to the test results from the Atlanta survey. There were, in round numbers, 6,500 4th graders, 6,000 pupils in grades 6 and 8 and 3,000 in grade 12.

Before summarizing the results, it is necessary to say a word about testing methods.

In measuring pupil achievement, "grade scores" are used. A grade score of 4.0 is the middle score made by a national sample of pupils at the time they enter the 4th grade and, similarly, a score of 5.0 or 6.0 represents the middle score of the national sample of pupils at the time of entering grades 5 and 6 respectively. A score of 4.5 represents the middle score of the national sample at the mid-point of the 4th grade and a change of one decimal unit in the score indicates approximately a month's change in achievement.

A word of caution, however, needs to be added whenever reference is made to a grade norm. Such a norm by definition is the point below which 50% fell and above which 50% of the scores rose. Another way of saying the same thing is that on any properly standardized test, half of all the pupils in the country would fall below the grade norm and half would be above it; half of the students tested will always score, in other words, "below average." It is therefore essential that any serious analysis of differences in academic accomplishment show not only comparisons in terms of grade score, but also show the spread of these scores and the degree of overlapping of the two groups being compared. This was done with admirable precision in the Atlanta survey. The spread of scores is expressed in terms of the percentage of pupils making scores above or below a particular point in the scale. Overlapping is also expressed in a percent. This percentage describes the portion of white pupils whose scores were equaled by Negro pupils or vice versa.

Now, what did the Atlanta survey show?

First, as the report states, the most significant fact revealed is that the achievement differences *within* the white and Negro groups were greater than the differences *between* the two racial groups. This was true at all levels; it showed up most sharply in 6th grade reading where white pupils were per-

forming anywhere from four grades *below* to five grades *above* their own grade; this meant a range of *nine grades*. Similarly, substantial numbers of Negro pupils were reading anywhere from five years below to two years above their grade level, a range of seven grades. This may appear startling to anyone not familiar with the results of testing, but actually it is typical.

As Walter W. Cook reported in his article, "Individual Differences and Curriculum Practice," *Journal of Educational Psychology* (1948) 39:141:

> "When the educational achievement of a typical 6th grade class is measured, we find a range of approximately 8 years in reading comprehension, vocabulary, arithmetic reasoning, arithmetic computation, the mechanics of English and other forms of achievement."

In a school by school comparison, similar differences are shown. Looking only at the white schools, the school with the highest average achievement in reading at the 6th grade level showed a median of 8.5, while the white school with the lowest average achievement had a median score of 3.8. Among Negro schools, the highest 6th grade median was 4.4 and the lowest 2.6.

These scores will have for professional educators implications for the future development and potential of a desegregated system. Interpreting them strictly on the surface, we see four apparent facts:

—if Atlanta is more or less typical, an integrated school system would have, at the start, a wider range of student achievement than is the case in either of the segregated systems;

—the achievement levels of an integrated system would, at the start, be weighted downward as compared with the present white system;

—the spread of achievement levels in an integrated system would, at the start, be greater than in the present white system, but not much greater: in 6th grade reading, for example, a range of ten grades instead of nine as at present;

—substantial numbers of Negro students would be *above* average.

Second, there were students of superior achievement of both races, although proportionately more were found among white pupils than among Negroes. At the various grade levels, from 40% to 60% of white pupils met the standard set by the top half of the national sample, while from 2% to 10% of Negro pupils did so. But it should not be overlooked that the figures show that on most tests less than half of Atlanta's white students in 1956 were up to the national medians.

Third, the overlap between white and Negro students was considerable. On the tests at all levels, the scores of approximately 35% to 65% of the white students were matched by those of 35% to 65% of the Negro students. This would indicate that roughly half of the white and Negro students are about equal in achievement.

Fourth, a few Negro elementary schools showed higher averages than did some white schools.

Fifth, the survey re-enforced earlier studies which showed that the farther one moves up the educational ladder in a segregated system, the greater are the achievement differences of white and Negro pupils. This progressively widening difference has probably a two-fold meaning. In the first place, it has been repeatedly shown that irrespective of race the range of individual differences in achievement gets broader as one ascends through the grade levels. Second, differences in academic achievement are related to socio-economic background regardless of race, and these differences would seem to have a progressively retarding effect on achievement. Since more Negro pupils are so handicapped in terms of background, they show up less favorably than the total white group.

These findings revealed in the Atlanta survey contribute concrete evidence as to the kinds of academic problems which need to be dealt with by any school system contemplating the possibility of school desegregation.

The Washington Experience

Now let us turn our attention to a system which effected integration when faced with such problems.

Immediately after the May 17, 1954, ruling by the Supreme Court, the Washington schools entered the spotlight of national concern. With specific reference to the District of Columbia that decision flatly stated that, "Segregation in public education is not reasonably related to any proper governmental objective and thus it imposes on Negro children of the District of Columbia a burden that constitutes an arbitrary deprivation of their liberty in violation of the due process clause."

Had this ruling come at any time prior to the date of its issuance it would have posed a serious problem. But coming when it did, it found the Washington schools already engulfed in serious difficulties.

First, our nation's capital city had experienced a shift in racial population patterns which began many years prior to the segregation ruling. At the end of World War II the ratio of white pupils to Negroes in the Washington schools was 50,000 to 39,000. By 1950 the Negro pupils were in the majority and by 1958, 74% of the pupils enrolled in the schools were Negro.

Much of the enrollment increase was caused by migration of new families to the District. It might be of interest in passing to mention the origin of this influx. In a recent survey it was found that the 6,000 Negro pupils who had transferred to Washington schools in a given year came from 47 states; 45% were from the states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia.

Second, the District of Columbia school system was attempting to meet the problem of an increased total pupil load and a mounting Negro majority with out-moded administrative machinery, a serious shortage of classrooms and teachers, and a glaringly unrealistic program for maintaining overall scholastic standards.

As far back as 1946 about 7,000 Washington pupils were on half-sessions in double-shift schools. Of this number more than 5,000 were Negroes. In 1948 a survey ordered by the Senate and House District Appropriations Subcommittees revealed that 18% of the classes in white grade schools and 40% of those in Negro schools had in excess of 40 pupils.

That there was unequal financing is attested by the survey made in 1954 by the Fund for the Advancement of Education. This survey revealed that the expenditure for each white pupil was $240.27, and that for each Negro pupil was $186.71.

Perhaps the greatest handicap of all to a system facing a rapidly changing racial population pattern was the dual system of administration and supervision. Under that system there were first-assistant superintendents, one Negro and one white.

In the case of the Negro schools, the first-assistant superintendent was by law in sole charge of their administration. This line of demarcation in administration and supervision was carried all the way down. For example, there were two city-wide heads of the Department of English, one for white and one for Negro schools.

Separate testing programs were maintained for Negro and white schools, and in general each organization operated as though there were no common obligations to be discharged.

It is not surprising that as a consequence separate academic standards obtained for Negro and white pupils. For example, in 1953, prior to integration, the median grade equivalent in reading for the 6th grade in the white schools was 7.2. In 1954 when test results for all 6th graders, Negro and white, were reported together, *for the first time,* the average was substantially lower at 4.9. This did not represent a loss by the whites but merely reflected the fact that the Negro pupils, who constituted over 60% of those tested, were considerably below the whites and thus brought the median score down.

How long such a cumbersome and unrealistic plan of organization would have continued in the face of the mounting needs is a matter of conjecture. The Supreme Court's ruling was taken as the occasion for making changes that were already past due.

The Superintendent's plan to implement the Board's policy was approved by that body on June 2, 1954. It provided for extensive desegregation by the following September. A subsequent plan provided for staff reorganization to unify the school system. One assistant superintendent assumed charge of all senior high schools, another of all junior high schools, still another of all elementary schools and a fourth was placed over all vocational high schools and adult education.

The Negro and white supervisory staffs were unified under the direction of a deputy superintendent. A uniform testing program was adopted, and in 1956 there was introduced into the 10th grade the track system of ability grouping. Each year thereafter another grade was added to the track plan until the three years of senior high school had been included.*

Further changes in the instructional program designed to raise academic standards included special summer remedial reading classes, a reading clinic, and increased pupil services to the physically, emotionally, and mentally handicapped. The teaching load at the elementary level was reduced, and there was a reemphasis on thorough teaching.

This extensive revamping of the Washington schools, long advocated by the administrators of the system, came about through an aroused citizenry cooperating with the School Board and the staff in a determined effort to make sure that under integration not only would academic standards be main-

*The track system has now been extended to the junior high and elementary grades.

tained but actually raised. It was the added hope of all these people that juvenile delinquency and other social ills might be favorably affected through this extended cooperative community effort.

What are the facts as to the academic standards in the schools of the District of Columbia, now that this program has been in effect over five full years?

The year 1955-56 was the first time that white and Negro pupils were included in the same testing program. With a school population composed of more than 60% Negro pupils, the median scores were below national norms. The gauge that is significant in measuring the effectiveness of the program undertaken is the amount of improvement that has taken place since 1955-56.

From the time the first city-wide testing program became operative in 1955-56 to the time for the 1958-59 tests a gain was made in the median achievement of every subject tested at every grade level where the tests were given.

The 1958-59 tests showed the 6th grade medians to be at or above national norms in five out of six sections of the test battery.

By this same year the 3rd graders were within either three or four months of the national norm in all subjects tested, and the average rise in these subjects over the 1955-56 figures was seven months.

During this period of improvement the percentage of Negro pupils increased sharply. In grade three, for example, it rose from 66.3% in 1955-56 to 79.1% in 1958-59, and at the 6th grade level the percentage rose from 63.9 to 75.6.

Thus, academic achievement rose at the same time as the proportion of Negro students rapidly increased.

Reading is usually considered the subject where the handicap of a meager background might show up most disadvantageously and particularly is this true in reading comprehension, often referred to as "paragraph meaning."

On this phase of the test there was at the 8th grade an improvement between 1955-56 and 1958-59 of eleven months, with the median rising to only two months below the national norm. For grades 3 and 6, the improvement was eight months. Fifth graders showed a six-month gain, and 9th graders scored a gain of five months.

Word-meaning, another phase of the reading test, showed gains ranging from three months for 5th graders to six months at grade levels 3 and 6.

In arithmetic reasoning, which is mostly problem solving and calls for considerable reading competence, a gain of eleven months was made at the 9th grade level with gains of nine, eight, five, and three months in grades 6, 3, 8, and 5 respectively.

Language, another background-related subject, showed a six-month gain at the 6th grade level, and a three-month gain at the 5th grade level. These were the only levels where comparable language tests were given.

One change made in the high schools was the adoption of a multiple-track system of ability grouping. Among other objectives it was believed that this would be a means of ensuring that the more capable pupils would not be neglected. A comparison was made of scores on the Iowa Tests of Educational Development by 275 top graduates in 1958 who were not in the Four-Track Program, and 275 top honors students in 1959 who were.

Results of these tests show that the median score in Natural Sciences rose from the 80th percentile to the 86th; in Correctness of Expression, from the 91st to the 96th percentile; and in Quantitative Thinking, from the 85th to the 90th percentile. Comparable improvement was shown in the verbal section of the College Entrance Board Examinations.

These figures furnish substantial evidence that these top students have profited by the opportunities provided them. They demonstrate further that integration has not reduced the capacity of Washington schools to produce students of the highest quality.

The most encouraging trend in social improvement has been reduction in the delinquency rate of non-white children between the ages of five and seventeen. This dropped from 37.1 per thousand in 1954 to 21.2 in 1958. While it cannot be claimed that school integration brought this about, it can certainly be said that integration did not result in an increased delinquency rate among non-whites. Nor did it adversely affect the rate of white delinquency, which fell slightly from 15.3 to 15.2.

Another more direct indication of a school system's effectiveness is the drop-out rate among students after they pass the compulsory school attendance age. The greatest loss usually occurs between grades 9 and 10, the point where youngsters enter senior high school. In 1956, 18% of the white and 35% of the Negro pupils left school at this point. In 1957, the percentages had dropped to 14 for whites and 27 for Negroes.

In summarizing the evidence as to what has taken place scholastically in the Washington schools, it is safe to state that during the five years completed under an integrated program, accompanied by an extensive reorganization and a reemphasis on adequate provision for instruction, steady progress in academic standards has been made.

Conclusions

The following observations summarize the findings from the studies of the Atlanta and Washington school systems.

1. The Atlanta survey reasserted two well-known facts which are basic to all educational plans seeking to preserve and improve educational standards: that differences in individual achievement are very marked; and that differences *within* any racial group are greater than differences *between* groups.
2. Both the Atlanta study and that of the Washington schools revealed that under a segregated plan, proportionately more of the white pupils than Negro pupils met standards set by the top 50% of the national test group.
3. The Atlanta study showed that the overlap in the achievement of the white and Negro groups was very considerable; that between 35%-65% of the scores made by white pupils were matched by a corresponding percentage of the scores of Negro pupils. Overlap occurred not only with individual scores but there were some Negro schools whose median scores exceeded those of some white schools.
4. The Atlanta study showed that in a segregated system the racial differences in achievement were more pronounced in the higher grades than in the beginning grades. However, it should be remembered that in *any* kind of school set-up, it is typical that the *range* of scores increases as pupils advance from grade to grade.
5. The Washington study showed that during the five years following integration, marked progress has been made in academic achievement. From the time the first city-wide tests were given in 1955-56 to the time when the 1958-59 tests took place, a gain was made in the median score for every subject tested at every grade level where the tests were given. The tests results show pronounced gains in reading and such reading-related areas as arithmetic reasoning and language.
6. The Washington study shows that with the introduction of the Four-Track system, 275 top students under this program achieved percentile scores well ahead of a comparable group of students from the last class that was not under the Track program. This program was introduced as one means of raising standards for the top students.
7. Data collected by community agencies and by the school system itself show that integration was accompanied by a definite decrease in incidences of juvenile delinquency among the non-whites, and a reduction in drop-outs between the 9th and 10th grades for both racial groups.

Report No. L-17
March 14, 1960

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
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DESEGREGATION AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

Several states have enacted pupil placement laws that are more or less copies of the Alabama law of 1955. These laws establish a series of criteria by which the assignment of students to their schools is to be made. The obvious and usually admitted purpose is to make difficult the entrance of a Negro into a white school.

In applying at least two of the criteria, school administrators can rely on something more than fears and guess-work. They can draw on the experience of Southern and border school districts which have desegregated in recent years.

These two criteria provide that, in assigning pupils, the school boards shall consider:

- the effect of admission of the pupil upon the academic progress of other students in a particular school or facility thereof;

- the effect of admission upon prevailing academic standards at a particular school.

These criteria are found in the placement laws of Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Texas. They are in the desegregation plan of the city of Atlanta, which has the approval of federal district court. Similar language is used in the placement law of Florida.

In March, 1959, administrators of 17 desegregated school systems participated in a conference held at Nashville before the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Twelve of them spoke to the question of the effect of desegregation on academic standards and on the white students; their remarks are reproduced below. The superintendents of Greensboro (N.C.), Clinton (Tenn.), Talbot County (Md.), San Angelo (Tex.), and Pinal County (Ariz.) did not comment specifically on the subject; the general tenor of the statements of the last two, however, clearly suggests that no adverse scholastic results have accompanied desegregation.

Not one of the twelve administrators who dealt with the question reported that desegregation had harmed the academic progress of white students, or had lowered academic standards.

1. From the testimony of Dr. Ward I. Miller, Superintendent of Schools, Wilmington, Del. (pages 77, 158*):

Question: ...do you have any observations with reference to the quality of the work done by the white pupils in the same schools? Are they doing less well than they did before the Negroes moved in in large numbers?

Dr. Miller: Well, we have, as I say, over the last 4 years developed our grouping program to a point where we classify our youngsters according to performance and scholastic achievement, and those standards are set for each particular track on which the youngsters run. The accomplishment of the average white student is better than it was. The accomplishment of the above average and the advanced placement and honor classes is truly remarkable...

Question: In other words, what you are saying is that there has been no diminution of quality resulting from this integration.

Dr. Miller: We feel it is better.

Later in the conference, Dr. Miller remarked:

Dr. Carmichael, your experience with reference to the improvement in academic achievement of the pupils since integration went into effect is similar to that we experienced in Wilmington. We would like to think that this had very little relation to integration but more to the beginning of results of a definite drive to improve instruction on all levels, of teacher workshops, of improvement in method, improved supervision, improved all along the line in our instructional program.

2. From the testimony of R. B. Piper, Superintendent of Schools, Logan County, Ky. (page 184):

Question: Have you noticed any decrease in the quality of the performance of white students since the--

Mr. Piper: No, sir. Our testing program doesn't indicate anything of that type.

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* Page numbers refer to the Commission's printed transcript.

3. From the testimony of William Henry Oliver, Superintendent of Schools, Nashville, Tenn. (pages 88, 92):

> ...Our children are all in school, and are, we believe, achieving normal success in their studies...
>
> * * *
>
> ...I haven't noticed any effect one way or another on the educational success of the children, either white or colored, where they are together.

Mr. Oliver has permitted the quotation of the following, from a letter of January 8, 1960:

> Although my opinion is not based very largely on objective tests, I do not think that desegregation has affected the scholastic performance of white children in our schools, nor do I think that desegregation has required any lowering of our academic standards. This opinion is based on information secured by the various methods available to me as Superintendent.
>
> Please bear in mind that we have desegregated only the first three grades and that we have mixed with our white children at the present time only about forty-five Negro students altogether and that these are scattered among nine different schools.

4. From the written statement of Dr. John H. Fischer, the then Superintendent of Schools, Baltimore, Md. (pages 149, 150):

> We are frequently asked what effect integration has had upon academic standards. The answer is that academic standards are not changed in any school merely by the presence of a second race. The requirements for an honor's diploma or for a passing grade on an examination are not altered by integration. The tests of successful performance in courses in the skilled trades are the same whether the trade is being learned by a white boy or a colored boy. A child's standing on a nationally standardized reading test is determined not by his race but by his ability and background. Desegregation has no more effect on academic standards than it has on the yardstick by which a pupil's height is measured.
>
> What does happen, of course, is that as white and Negro children of poorer social, economic,

and cultural backgrounds enter a school the average achievement for the school as a whole has declined. But those individual children who are capable of outstanding work continue to perform at a high level...

As more and more of the families of stronger cultural background have moved to the suburbs and have been replaced in many cases by others that have known few advantages, the problems of the schools have naturally increased. This change in the schools reflects the change in the families now forming a growing fraction of our population. It is felt whether the children attend all white, all Negro, or integrated schools.

...There is no doubt at all that Negro children are receiving better educational opportunities in Baltimore now than they did under segregation. The opportunities of white children have been in no way diminished. Indeed, they have been increased, not as a result of desegregation, but by our general effort to improve our offerings for all children over the past 5 years.

5. From the testimony of Dr. Jack F. Parker, Principal of Webster Junior High School, Oklahoma City, Okla. (page 98):

Question: Do you have any observations with reference to the quality of the work being done by the Negro students that are now in white schools or on the other side, the quality of the work done by the white students in the schools where there are now Negro students as compared to before?

Dr. Parker: Yes...We have had the same experiences that have been indicated heretofore; that is, that the Negro pupils are more concentrated in the lower ability levels.

However, we feel that in our school in particular, where there has been a very great change in the student population during this 4-year period, that we adjusted rather well. We feel that we do maintain different ability groups, and we feel that the standards so far as achievement is concerned have been maintained.

6. From the testimony of the late Dr. Omer Carmichael, Superintendent of Schools, Louisville, Ky. (pages 154, 155-6, 158):

Question: ...Do you have any observations with reference to the average quality of performance of either the Negroes or the whites after they move from the separated into the desegregated schools?

Dr. Carmichael: ...Now, you asked, if I got your question, in the desegregation what, if any, changes we have observed. It happens that one of our principals on sabbatical leave last year wrote a doctor's thesis on what happens to scholarship or to achievement of pupils in a school system in the process of desegregating. His findings can be summarized in about this statement, that there was definite improvement in the 2-year period in the achievement of both races. The achievement of the Negro children increased markedly more than did the achievement of the white children. ...there was certainly improvement, and it is statistically significant for the Negro at all levels, and the white did not suffer. The white slightly improved, but not as much as the Negro.

* * *

Question: ...you speak of the improvement of achievement in the whites in those integrated schools. You do not attribute that to integration.

Dr. Carmichael: The improvement of the white is very slight. It is hardly--it is not statistically significant.

Question: Did the whites make similar improvement in their segregated school?

Dr. Carmichael: Yes.

Question: So you would not attribute this improvement to the integration.

Dr. Carmichael: I would not attribute the improvement in case of the white to it.

* * *

At a later point, Dr. Carmichael remarked: "...there was improvement in the schools that were biracial, there was improvement in the all-Negro schools, there was improvement in the all-white schools. We were concentrating on our problem, we were doing the job a little better than we had ever

done it before. It was all around improvement, but as far as we can tell, integration did not reduce it greatly, and it helped it for the Negro children who had the integrated experience, apparently."

7. From the written statement of David M. Green, Superintendent of Schools, Dover, Del. (page 166):

The scholastic standards of the Dover High School have not been lowered by the admission of Negro pupils.

8. From the testimony of Dr. Rex M. Smith, Assistant State Superintendent of Schools, West Virginia (pages 119-20):

Question: ...Do you have any comments or observations...as to whether or not there has been any reduction in the quality of the program for the white students...?

Dr. Smith: ...No; we haven't. That again goes back to the matter of keeping records in the various schools and the counties, and our records would not indicate--that is, grades of white youngsters versus grades of Negro youngsters--but in the overall program, that is, taking the records as a whole, there isn't any evidence that the record has gone down.

I would say it is a normal rise as we are hoping from year to year. I could not identify Negro versus white records. We just don't have them...

9. From the testimony of Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Washington, D. C. (pages 57,60,61):

In 1954, which was the first year of integration, all six grades made a median score of 4.9 in the paragraph meaning in the Stanford achievement test against a national norm of 6.6. This obviously is far below standard. In 1953 the white sixth grades made a median score of 7.2 on the progress reading test.

At once the charge was made that the desegregation lowered school standards. What really happened was that we began to report achievement record scores for the entire school system. The method of reporting had changed, not the facts.

* * *

Question: The integration of the Washington school system has had a good deal of publicity in the national press and the news magazines and so forth, and I think that a general impression has gained wide acceptance that there has been a substantial deterioration in the quality of the instruction in your schools. I take it you don't believe that is true.

Dr. Hansen: That is a conclusion that is founded, as I said in the first part of my presentation, upon misinterpretation of the facts. What we are showing is that we can improve overall standards, and this we have been able to do since 1954, and what we need to emphasize over and over again is that up to 1954 we were reporting achievement tests only in the white schools. For some reasons or another we neglected doing a similar type of survey testing in Negro schools.

* * *

Question: And it is your conviction that the quality of the education that you are now offering in the Washington school system to these bright youngsters at the top is at least equal to what you had prior to 1954.

Dr. Hansen: I think it is better...

10.* From the testimony of Charles L. Miller, Superintendent of Schools, Hobbs, N. Mex. (page 14):

Question: [There] is a common statement that is made, that it has the result of reducing the quality of the total program, so that the white children are disadvantaged somewhat, too. Do you have any comment on that?

Mr. Mills: I don't think the percentage in our situation has been large enough to have hurt the quality of the total program overall. I think that if it were larger, it would pull it down maybe, but in our case, no.

11. From the testimony of Claude C. Harris, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Muskogee, Okla. (page 33):

* The last three statements indicate doubts about the future effects of desegregation; none of the three, however, reports any bad effects in experience to date.

Question: You have already commented that some of the Negroes have been very good students, and I take it that there are not enough Negroes in the schools so that you feel that they would in any way adversely affect the academic standards.

Mr. Harris: To say the [majority]* is so great that they are not affected.

12. From the testimony of Dr. Hugh Bryan, Superintendent of Schools, Leavenworth, Kans. (page 24):

Question: Do you have any feeling that the desegregation that you have now in effect has hampered or lowered the standards that you are able to maintain for your white students? Has it had any harmful effect on the quality of the programs being offered?

Dr. Bryan: No; I would say that it has not; possibly for several reasons. We have a small integration. According to my figures we have 140 in a student population--well, we have 140 Negro students attending integrated schools. One hundred of those are in the high school, which leaves only 40 of them which are distributed over the junior high and 4 rather large elementary schools. The largest number in any elementary school is 12.

* The transcript reads "minority," which would seem to be a typographical error.

Report No. L-18
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NEGRO BUYING POWER

Sit-ins, picket lines, and threats of boycotts are making Southern merchants increasingly aware of their involvement in the continuing racial crisis. How formidable is Negro buying power? The Rounsaville Radio Stations, with stations in five Southern cities and in Cincinnati, have recently compiled data on Negro purchasing from a number of sources. The evidence seems clearly to support the conclusion:

> Much has been written and published in economic reports and social studies and in such publications as Time, Wall Street Journal, Fortune, etc., on the dramatic economic progress of the 17,000,000 Negroes of the United States, whose total income today exceeds the total national income of Canada, the best foreign customer the United States has. That is too vague and nebulous. Let's pin it down. In the individual markets of the country where there are significantly large Negro populations, the importance of the Negro as a consumer of all manner of merchandise is so great in the aggregate that it could very well be the difference between profit and loss for an advertiser.*

Negroes spend up to 80% of their income for consumer items -- food, drugs, personal care products, home furnishing, etc. Social restrictions still limit their spending on public entertainment, travel, vacations, and other leisure activities.

According to the latest estimates of the U. S. Bureau of the Census, personal income of Negro men in urban centers is 63% that of white men. Income of urban Negro families is 57% that of white families. The discrepancy between white and Negro income is greater in rural areas. But Negroes are rapidly becoming urban dwellers, and as they move to the cities their income not only increases, but inches closer to that of white persons. In 1950, about 60% of all Negroes in the United States and only 42% of Negro Southerners lived in cities. In 1958, about 70% of all Negroes were urban residents, and (although figures are not yet available) at least half of those in the South must by now be living in cities.

Negro buying power is less than that of white persons. To say this, however, should not hide the fact that it is large,

*Rounsaville Radio Stations, General and Specific Negro Market Data and Individual Station Information, p. 2.

and that the gap between white and Negro income is gradually narrowing. The economic leverage of Negroes has already been applied against discrimination in the lunch counter situation. It can be used against other forms of discrimination as well.

In 1959, the U. S. Bureau of the Census estimated the country's non-white population (most of which is Negro) to be 19.8 million people. In 1958, Negroes had an income after taxes of approximately $15,250,000,000--almost the total value of all United States exports and more than the national income of Canada, the United States' best foreign customer.

The market report of the Rounsaville Radio Stations gives the following statistics for their five Southern cities:

Marketing Area	Negro Population	Total Negro Income
Louisville	174,251	$129,405,400
Miami	368,130	187,220,940
Nashville	157,532	82,400,000
New Orleans	401,716	218,483,800
Tampa and St. Petersburg	157,650	66,180,620
	1,259,279	$683,690,760

The report also shows white and Negro median incomes in 24 Southern cities. It is worth noting that Negro male median income in Houston is only $229 below the white median in Columbus, Georgia. The median incomes of Negro men in Chicago and Detroit are, it might be added, $2,361 and $2,717 respectively.

MEDIAN INCOME

	Male		Female	
	Negro	White	Negro	White
Birmingham	$1,676	$2,883	$ 467	$1,147
New Orleans	1,469	2,261	682	1,189
Memphis	1,401	2,892	516	1,331
Atlanta	1,457	2,801	674	1,572
Houston	1,803	3,255	747	1,377
Norfolk-Portsmouth	1,591	2,590	596	1,139
Richmond	1,585	2,996	780	1,654
Dallas	1,503	2,974	676	1,396
Jacksonville	1,480	2,771	623	1,224
Mobile	1,314	2,609	483	1,085
Charleston	991	2,535	404	1,176
Shreveport	1,121	3,166	567	1,187
Louisville	1,723	2,790	667	1,271
Miami	1,643	2,776	866	1,269
Nashville	1,353	2,490	646	1,219
Jackson	1,120	2,883	466	1,496
Montgomery	1,034	2,791	466	1,339
Savannah	1,291	2,759	504	1,086
Tampa-St. Petersburg	1,376	2,137	665	970
Augusta	1,148	2,154	473	1,241
Columbus (Ga.)	1,169	2,032	473	1,192
Baton Rouge	1,420	3,508	574	1,305
Columbia	1,152	2,528	535	1,382
Charlotte	1,493	2,860	707	1,470

Report No. L-19
October 14, 1960

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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ST. PETERSBURG TIMES • JULY 24, 1960

INTEGRATION AND INDUSTRY–1

. . . By Frank Trippett

What Price Tag For 'Massive Resistance'?

Times Tallahassee correspondent Frank Trippett is touring several Southern states. This article is the first of two on the economic effects of Virginia's former policy of "massive resistance" to school integration. — THE EDITORS.

RICHMOND, Va. — What price tag can be pinned on the now concluded experiment called Massive Resistance?

TRIPPETT

At what cost to Virginia's economic growth did the state close schools in several localities to avoid integrating them?

A flat, statistical measure plainly is impossible.

Those who have watched developments here for years have found on-the-record judgments hard to obtain.

Industrial promoters appear ever cautious, like their kind everywhere, about openly admitting unpleasant facts. Some of them admit the years of furore over public schools had some "possible" effect on Virginia's industrial growth. But they minimize it to the point of rejecting the possibility.

To assert otherwise is, of course, to fix blame on prevailing political leaders who authored the massive resistance policy.

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STATE BUREAUS concerned with industrial growth issue reports which cite a variety of reasons, some of them valid, for a growth lag. But school closing isn't among them. Such bureaus exist only at the whim of the political leadership, and it is customary for them to word reports with a keen discretion born of the will to survive.

The Virginia Division of Industrial Development has held to a steadily rosy view in its reports on new manufacturing plants.

One such report on gains in 1958 — the critical year which brought closed schools and led to the collapse of massive resistance — was dissected by Benjamin Muse, then the Washington Post's writer on Virginia affairs.

BALANCING known losses with the claimed and sometimes indefinite gains, Muse concluded: ". . . 1958 was a year not of progress, not of standing still, but of retrogression in this field."

With neither comment nor interpretation, the Virginia State Employment Service supplied me with figures that appear to show 1958 as a year of a severe backward slip in manufacturing development.

The year's average number of persons in manufacturing employment was 8,000 less than the average for the previous year. This isn't to imply the instable school situation may be cited as the sole cause of that year's, or any single recent year's, slump. In 1958, particularly, a general national recession prevailed.

But a relationship between the school situation and industrial growth springs out at you from a chronology of the decade's manufacturing employment in Virginia.

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AND IN fact, however you choose to weigh the causes, Virginia in the years since it mounted the policy of massive resistance to the 1954 Brown desegregation decision has lagged far behind the capacity for industrial growth which it demonstrated in the early years of the decade.

The measure here is elementary — jobs. And the figures came, on request, from the Virginia State Employment Service.

In 1950 an average of 228,100 persons worked in manufacturing. In 1951 the average climbed 15,600. In 1952 it was up 7,100 and in 1953 it rose by another 8,700.

In 1954, year of the decision, the average dropped 2,400, but that year was followed by increases of 8,400 in 1955 and 8,600 in 1956. In the three years that followed massive resistance came both to its fruition and its demise.

In 1957 the average employment in manufacturing was 1,700 higher than the previous year. In 1958 it declined 8,000, and in 1959 rose 11,400.

FOR THE first five months of this year, the average stood at 272,700 or 3,500 over last year's average.

In 1951-52-53, the first three years of the decade, before massive resistance and school closing had been thought of, Virginia increased the average number employed in manufacturing by 31,400.

In 1957-58-59, the last three years of the decade, during which massive resistance was legally formulated and tried, Virginia increased the average by a net 5,100, or roughly one sixth as well as it had done in the earlier three years.

Measured in terms of actual manufacturing jobs, the rate of growth has been sharply less in recent years than had been managed at the outset of the decade.

And those really big industrial plums have been rare of late.

A LIST of the big ones — employing 500 or more — was carried in the Virginia Economic Review of April, 1960, published by the Division of Industrial Development of the Virginia Department of Conservation and Economic Development. These were ones established in the 1950-59 period.

And these were the plants put up by bluechip national concerns — General Electric, Westinghouse, Allied Chemical and the like — and employing more than 500.

This list of 11 such plants, employing up to 1,650 today, shows none obtained for 1958 and 1959, one for 1957, one for 1956 and all the remainder in the first half of the decade.

How much should the state's general school crisis be blamed for a demonstrable slowdown in growth? Here's the puzzler nobody presumes to answer in arbitrary terms. It's as impossible to answer as mankind's timeless backward-looking teaser about what-might-have-been.

● "Private schools" were set up when public schools were closed.

HOW, AFTER ALL, do you go about discovering what industries scratched Virginia from their list of potential sites because of the instable school situation?

"I know of no letters or documents in which an industry has stated that as a reason for not coming here," a leading Richmond banker told me.

I had been sent to him as one who had been concerned over the economic effects of the massive resistance period and as one who had participated in the dialogues which preceded Gov. J. Lindsay Almond's abandonment of that policy.

"I don't believe you have to be able to cite situation 'a' or 'b' or 'c' to prove the point," the banker went on. "I believe it's just common sense. You don't have to be shot by a bullet to know that a bullet will kill you if it hits you in the right place."

IN FACT, the concern of the Virginia business community that it might face a mortal blow if massive resistance wasn't abandoned is perhaps the best evidence of all of the serious impact the school situation was having on the state's economy.

Businessmen and industrialists, traditionally politically timid except where their own narrow governmental interests are concerned, played an important part in pressing for the abandonment of massive resistance.

Mostly they played this part in secret, conspiratorial circumstances. Few, then or now, wish their names publicly introduced into the controversy. The Richmond banker mentioned above would talk only with the understanding his name wouldn't be used.

Some business leaders candidly spoke out in the period of crisis. One top industrialist told the people he probably wouldn't have brought a plant to Virginia if he had known the schools would be placed in jeopardy — food for thought for those wondering about what-might-have-been.

Integration And Industry—II . . . By Frank Trippett

Business Helped End 'Massive Resistance'

RICHMOND, Va. — Virginia business leaders remained generally silent in the years when the politicians framed the policy of massive resistance.

TRIPPETT

But when that policy resulted in closed schools — and a costly drain on the vitality of the state's economic growth — the business community began asserting leadership.

An almost conspiratorial air surrounded this development.

Talking with those who followed Virginia developments closely in the period of crisis, you learn of a mysterious meeting at Richmond's Rotunda Club between a group of industrial and business leaders and Gov. J. Lindsay Almond.

The meeting preceded by a short time Almond's abandonment of massive resistance in his address to the General Assembly in January of last year.

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YOU CAN LEARN the names of some of those who attended — but always in confidence. The "guest list" included big names in Virginia business, notably big names affiliated with industries which promote industrial growth generally, such as railroads.

Further, the "guests" included close friends of U.S. Sen. Harry Byrd, who still hasn't repudiated massive resistance. "They would represent most of his campaign financing," said one student of the episode.

What is known about this meeting and other discussions which were the prelude to Almond's turnabout has led many observers to believe that it was the eternal pressure of the dollar which finally backed Virginia — Byrd to the contrary — away from a school-closing policy.

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A POLICY framed by politicians was turning the screws on business, so business turned the screws on the politicians—that's the the idea.

It's hard to doubt that the economic powers furnished a significant, if not the critical, leverage in veering Virginia away from massive resistance.

A leading Richmond banker who participated in some of the pre-reversal conferences with Almond was inclined to give business a less important position in the picture.

"The participation of the business community in Almond's reversal has been exaggerated," he said. "It is amazing that Almond went to the extreme he did, not that he reached the conclusion he finally did.

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"THERE IS no doubt that Almond knew businessmen were terribly concerned about this thing," the banker went on. "I don't mean there was any unanimity among them of what finally took place. But he knew there was a consequential segment of Virginia's civic structure, I would say, who could not possibly stomach a closed down system of schools. He knew this would involve us in havoc."

Almond, whatever the pressures upon him, chose an exceedingly curious way to preface his reversal. A few days before the January 1959 session he still sounded like the champion diehard of them all.

'Let me make it abundantly clear for the record now and hereafter, as governor of this state, I will not yield to that which I know to be wrong," he declared, after clearly indicating he regarded racial mixing in the "wrong" category.

Hardly more than a week later, in addressing the legislature, he jerked the rug from under massive resistance and in a plaintive plea to the lawmakers said:

"No fair minded person would be so unreasonable as to seek to hold me responsible for failure to exercise powers which the state is powerless to bestow."

In April of that year the General Assembly approved the present "Freedom of Choice" plan — which still allows a single county to close its schools on a local option basis — by a slim majority in the house and by only a single vote majority in the senate. Previously closed public schools in Norfolk, Charlottesville and Front Royal came back into operation.

What part did business play?

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"THE FULL STORY in the reversal of Virginia policy will never be told," wrote Helen Hill Miller of Charlottesville in a recent issue of Harvard Business Review. "Too many private conferences with the Governor and members of the state legislature on the part of businessmen, bankers, attorneys, though known about off the record, will remain permanently private.

"The Committee for Public Schools, a statewide citizens organization formed with the single purpose of mustering support for keeping the public schools open, was visible like an iceberg — the main mass and weight were below the surface."

Some key industrial officials have asserted open leadership in behalf of public schools both before and following the crucial legislative reversal.

DR. LOUIS RADER, General Electric plant manager at Waynesboro, warned that school closure there would cost him up to a fourth of his key personnel, probably irreplaceably. Pointedly, he said the $5 million payroll of his GE plant probably wouldn't have been located there had there been advance knowledge the schools might be jeopardized by state action.

"I am convinced that industrial development of Virginia will not take place as rapidly as it might, unless we have an attitude that will build a strong, effective public schools system," Rader said in March last year. "There is no doubt that the education climate and the business climate are interdependent. To this I can attest by my own experience, for I was personally responsible for the selection of Virginia as the location of one of General Electric's new plants."

In this period, when the "Freedom of Choice" plan still leaves the way open for schools to be jeopardized on local initiative (there's still no official move to reinstitute public schools in rural Prince Edward County), there has been an increasing emphasis by the leadership on the economic effects of the public education system.

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GOV. ALMOND, addressing what was billed as the largest economic development conference in Virginia history last year placed "adequate schools" at the top of his list of community cultural and economic factors in attracting industry.

Report L-20
October 25, 1960

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PROBLEM SOLVING THROUGH RACE RELATIONS COMMITTEES

When sit-ins began at lunch counters in February, 1960 the South was quickly faced with its second great crisis since 1954. The Supreme Court's order to desegregate schools had been met by "massive resistance"; the South is only now, and painfully, raising itself from the resulting confusion. The lunch counter crisis, on the other hand, was met in many Southern cities by attempts to find an agreeable solution--fair and satisfactory to all.

The result in these cities has been a successful reform of social practices. And it is not amiss to stress the word "successful." For too long the South has had little success in its race relations policies; necessary changes have been imposed from outside the region. The South's morale needed a success. Now it has had one. Not, however, a success in maintaining the status quo, but a success in exercising the initiative, in planning its own change. From the cities which have led in solving the lunch counter problem, a new spirit of cooperation and bi-racial respect has been released.

The principal means used by these cities and towns to meet the sit-in problem has been the creation of bi-racial committees. By this action, municipalities have confined the sit-in problem on a local level, insulated from the storms of state politics. They have also given reality to the oft-expressed desire for better communication between the races. Official mediating committees have been appointed in at least 29 Southern cities.

Those Southern localities which do not have effective bi-racial committees might profitably examine the way other places have organized their's. Various cities have followed different approaches, and several types of committees have appeared and have been, in their local situations, effective.

The most common, and the most frequently successful in mediating differences, has been the relatively small (5-15 members) committee, appointed by the Mayor, bi-racial, and composed of respected civic figures. Its proceedings and organizational structure have been fairly informal, and it has held closed discussions, though it has kept the local press informed. Such have been the committees of, for example, Charlotte (N.C.), Knoxville (Tenn.), and Richmond (Va.). The membership has been recruited from the religious, professional, and business leadership of their cities.

Not all committees have followed this pattern. Greensboro (N.C.) had only one Negro representative, seven white. The very successful Winston-Salem (N.C.) committee had 20 members. The Galveston (Tex.) group was all-white and self-appointed. In San Antonio (Tex.), a self-appointed committee of white ministers served. In Nashville (Tenn.), the settlement was finally worked out, not through the Mayor's committee, but by negotiations between store managers and Negro spokesmen; they reached agreement, however, on ground cleared and prepared by the previous work of the Mayor's group. Something similar occurred in Miami.

Immediate success is not the only measure of a race relations committee's effectiveness, not even if the committee is by-passed in the final stages of a controversy. The committee may be the preventive of a future crisis, or the means of guiding the community in the acceptance of new practices; in any event, it will make its contribution to unsnarling the contradictions of Southern human relations.

There may be local situations in which the most effective committee would be one formed by the Chamber of Commerce or the Ministerial Association, rather than by the city government. Provided it obtained, through the stature of its members, recognition of a leadership role its effectiveness could be as great. In whatever manner the committee is appointed, there is one requirement which is unchanging. Probably in most if not all Southern localities, the decision to have or not have a committee rests with white persons; they cannot afford to forget that the Negro members must be persons who have the trust of the Negro community. Choosing Negro members on the basis of their acceptability to white people will not work in today's South.

Of course, committees are not a panacea. There can be, in fact, circumstances under which the appointment of one might be unnecessary. This would be the case in a locality where there is already established liaison between the races and effective methods of bringing about change in community practices.

In two states--Florida and Oklahoma--the governors have appointed state wide commissions, and a third state--Kentucky--has formed one by legislative act. The Florida commission (known as the Fowler Commission on Race Relations) deserves special attention from the rest of the South, for race relations in most of Florida conform to traditional Southern patterns. The Fowler Commission, with professional staff, has worked hard and fruitfully to encourage cities and towns of the state to set up bi-racial committees, whether or not they presently have a critical racial controversy; the Commission has also done much to promote a more tolerant, realistic, and calm climate of opinion throughout the state. The Commission has itself aided in mediating the lunch counter issue in some cities, and in ameliorating the tensions in the recent Jacksonville imbroglio (Jacksonville's administration had refused to appoint a local committee).

In some cities, committees appointed to deal specifically with the lunch counter problem have been kept in existence with broader responsibilities. This is a heartening development. It even suggests the possibility that Southern towns and cities might utilize the approach of bi-racial planning, through the give and take of committee discussion, to effect school desegregation, without the need for court rulings.

For Further Reading

(single copies available on request while supplies last from the Southern Regional Council)

Margaret Price, Toward a Solution of the Sit-in Controversy, May 31, 1960

Kenneth Morland, Lunch Counter Desegregation in Corpus Christi, Galveston, and San Antonio, Texas, May 10, 1960

Clarence H. Patrick, Lunch-Counter Desegregation in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, July 25, 1960

Wallace Westfeldt, Settling a Sit-in (Nashville, Tenn.), July, 1960

Cities Where Mediating Committees
on Race Relations
Have Been Created by the City Government*

FLORIDA
- Auburndale
- Coral Gables
- Daytona Beach (at last report, committee had not met because of strict quorum rule)
- Delray Beach**
- Eustis**
- Fort Lauderdale**
- Fort Pierce
- Miami (at last report, inactive)
- Orlando**
- St. Petersburg (in appointing committee, Mayor instructed it to avoid any "integration" questions)
- Tampa**
- West Palm Beach**
- Winter Park**

GEORGIA
- Savannah (inactive since April, 1960)

NORTH CAROLINA
- Charlotte
- Durham**
- Gastonia
- Greensboro
- High Point
- Raleigh
- Winston-Salem

SOUTH CAROLINA
- Florence

TENNESSEE
- Knoxville
- Nashville
- Oak Ridge

TEXAS
- Houston

* This list may not be complete; it includes all locations which have come to SRC attention through press reports and other sources.

** Committee in existence prior to sit-in movement; in a few cases (e.g. Eustis and Fort Pierce, Fla.) committee has other governmental responsibilities.

VIRGINIA
Arlington
Lynchburg (created by City Council)
Richmond (appointed by Mayor following city election in which Councilmanic candidates committed themselves to favor creation of a committee)

* * *

In Roanoke (Va.) the unofficial Citizens Bi-Racial Committee led in the desegregation of lunch counters and is now actively studying other problems.

Pine Bluff (Ark.) has had an unofficial committee created by the ministerial association and endorsed by Mayor and majority of City Councilmen.

Laurinburg (N.C.) has a committee sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce.

Informal but prestigious committees in Dallas and Galveston, and a ministerial committee in San Antonio, were active; the latter gave origin to a permanent human relations commission.

The white and Negro ministerial associations of Tallahassee (Fla.) have jointly established a committee with lay and ministerial membership.

Long standing, unofficial racial relations councils exist in a number of Southern cities and have recently been organized in places other than those mentioned above.

Report L-21
November 30, 1960

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W., Rm.201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Wherever the school problem has been resolved, this has always been accomplished by putting the school problem in the hands of school officials who can handle it best. By contrast, every time the school matter has been taken over by political leaders, there has been catastrophe. We ought to learn something from that.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

H. McKinley Conway, Jr.

(Mr. Conway is president of Conway Publications, Inc., publishers of Industrial Development, Manufacturers Record, the annual Site Selection Handbook, and other business guides. He is a resident of DeKalb County, Georgia. The following address was presented to some 1,500 county teachers and school officials on October 22, 1960.)

I am delighted to have this opportunity to speak to what I believe to be one of the most impressive audiences assembled in DeKalb County. As a parent, I welcome this chance to say "thank you" to all of you for the unselfish and inspired work you are doing for my children, for my neighbors' children, and for the entire community.

As indicated by the chairman, my business is the study of communities, cities, counties, states, and larger areas, particularly from the viewpoint of economic development. I am one of the practitioners of the new art or science of area appraisal.

I think you will be interested to know that the appraisal and comparison of communities today is a matter of prime importance for the top men in industry and in government. It is a fact, for example, that selection of the proper community for a new business facility can very easily spell the difference between success and failure for the new venture.

The new art or science of area analysis has come into existence because, despite outward similarities, American communities are distinctly different--a fact which is often overlooked.

The casual highway traveler, noting the same Kiwanis and Rotary signs at the city limits, may in the course of an afternoon, see dozens of communities which on the surface seem almost identical. But the researcher who digs beneath the surface soon finds that there can be a world of difference between communities only a few miles apart.

We recently published a survey in which some rather astonishing figures were presented. This was the result of an analysis made by one of the largest companies in this country in connection with the location of an important new plant. This firm found that between the best and the worst of communities studied there could be differences in average hourly wages in manufacturing of as much as 77 cents per hour; it found crime rates in one spot 40 times as high as in another; it found per capita debt of $350 in one location and less than $1 in another; it found that the percentage of non-farm workers organized by unions was six times as great in one spot as in another; and that work stoppages per million non-farm employees were 12 times as great in one location as in another.

Continuing, the survey showed that the percentage of persons of voting age who voted in the last presidential election ranged from 22.1% in one area to 77.3% in another. It found that the accidental death rate was four times as great in some spots as in others; and that United Fund or Community Chest contributions per capita were 12 times as great in one area as in another.

I think you will be especially interested, and not at all surprised, to note that this company found big differences in educational achievements. There was a 45 to 1 ratio in mental rejects by Selective Service as between the worst and best possible locations. Between two locations there was a 700% difference in the number of engineers and scientists per 1,000 population; and there was a 4½ year differential in median school years completed between two other locations.

Significantly, every one of these factors represents an intangible which might not be seen in a superficial glance at a community. It is small wonder, then, that alert organizations today are eager to make careful appraisals of communities.

And these studies are devoting more and more attention to educational facilities and programs. I believe that this is something that cannot be overstressed, because education lies at the root of most of the intangible differences between communities. I believe there is a cause-and-effect relationship between public schools and public morality, public intellect and public responsibility.

This close inter-relationship between education and community development is something all of us need to understand better. Not enough citizens know what makes their community tick. For example, most home owners in DeKalb County--as they view their mounting tax bill--feel, I am sure, that they are definitely paying their own way. But this is not true. The typical residential taxpayer contributes only about 3/4 of the cost of the services he receives from his local government. This is true in all urban areas similar to DeKalb.

The difference, of course, is made up by commercial and industrial properties which pay a greater share of the cost of local government services. Here in DeKalb, for example, the General Motors plant at Doraville pays, in total dollars, taxes that are equivalent to those paid by several thousand single-family homes each year. And the plant doesn't send any children to school.

This means that we need an intelligent program of well-planned industrial development to provide the economic base for further improvement of our public services. Conversely, it means that we cannot do anything to jeopardize such a program if we expect out community to grow and prosper.

This brings me to the subject that is on the front pages of our newspapers in Georgia today--the question of keeping our public schools in operation. I believe every citizen in Georgia ought to be made aware of the importance of keeping the schools open in continuing the development of our communities.

In my opinion, the threat of closing our school system hangs like the sword of Damocles over every constructive program underway in this state today. Chaos and catastrophe lie just around the corner.

During the past 10 years my company has conducted a great many studies of the importance of industrial development in communities throughout this country. We have been especially active in the South, working very closely with local and state governments. We were in Little Rock before, during, and after the school closing there. We have been active in other areas in which schools have been threatened or closed.

Therefore, it is only natural that we have been asked a good many times what we thought would happen here in DeKalb County, Georgia, if schools should be closed. As a partial answer to this question, we have offered the following analysis which we believe is based on sound information.

> It has been found that the first effect of school closings, or even the threat of school closings, is a sharp reduction in the number of new industrial plants which will be located in an area. In fact, new industrial locations in Little Rock were reduced to zero for three years.

Conservatively estimating, school closing here would cost DeKalb County some 30 medium size units over a three year period. We would then tally these losses:

9,000 fewer people would move to DeKalb;

3,360 fewer homes would be built;

$18 million less gross income would come into the county;

$8 million less would be deposited into banks;

3,210 fewer automobiles would be registered;

6,200 job opportunities would be lost;

120 potential new retail stores would not open;

$11 million potential increase in retail sales would not be enjoyed.

Obviously, everyone who does business in DeKalb County would be affected. There would be substantial losses in potential revenue for building contractors, subcontractors, for distributors of building materials, and for countless service organizations.

Those who do not have children in the public schools may think that they are not involved in our present great debate. Certainly these figures indicate that nothing could be farther from the truth. We are all involved.

And we might add that if schools should close anywhere in Georgia development programs will be crippled everywhere in Georgia. I believe, in fact, that school closings here would actually have a more disastrous effect on industrial development in the outlying areas of Georgia than here in the Atlanta metropolitan area.

This is due to the fact that the Atlanta area is in the strongest competitive position and would continue to enjoy some development due simply to the fact that this is the center of the Southeastern market and certain facilities must be located here. On the other hand, many plants which choose to locate in small communities to tap the labor reservoir can just as easily locate in North Carolina or Tennessee as in small towns in Georgia.

Of course, closing any public schools in Georgia would result in immediate international publicity of the most unfavorable type. Overnight, the value of newspaper and magazine space devoted to adverse reports on Georgia would total millions of dollars--more than is spent on positive-type advertising by the State of Georgia and the various promotional groups within the state in a decade. Obviously, this would be demoralizing to the thousands of Georgia

civic leaders who devote their energies to promoting the development of their areas. I can't believe that any intelligent citizen will stand by and permit such a catastrophe to occur in his own state.

Five years ago, there was good reason to be confused in our thinking about this matter. However, we do not have any excuse today. We have seen the pattern in Little Rock; we have seen the pattern in Virginia and elsewhere throughout the South. The handwriting is on the wall.

The Sibley Committee* made an exhaustive study of past experience in handling the school crisis and produced an outstanding report. It is factual, realistic, and intelligent. I think it must be the basis for finding the solution to the problem in Georgia.

Basically, the majority opinion of the Sibley group is that the school decision must be left to each local area. That is what was learned in Virginia and that is the basis on which public schools were reopened there.

I think we might also observe that wherever the school problem has been resolved, this has always been accomplished by putting the school problem in the hands of school officials who can handle it best. By contrast, every time the school matter has been taken over by political leaders, there has been catastrophe. We ought to learn something from that.

I am an eternal optimist and, despite all of the storm warnings, I cannot help but hope that we are going to find a suitable answer to the school situation in Georgia during the coming year. I prefer to look upon the crisis which looms ahead not as a problem, but as an opportunity. Let me explain:

> Throughout the nation today, there are people who are watching to see what we do. I believe most of our critics expect us to fumble the ball and they will be happy to pounce upon the situation and make the worst of it.
>
> But look what would happen to Georgia's prestige nationally and internationally if we surprised our critics and handled the school situation smoothly and without chaos. Our stock would rise everywhere and every citizen of Georgia would benefit. Thus, there is in the school situation a distinct opportunity for Governor Vandiver, for his administration, and for all of us.

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* The Committee was created by the Georgia legislature in 1960. Chaired by John A. Sibley, it held public hearings in each congressional district of the state in order to ascertain public sentiment on the school desegregation question. After the hearings, it submitted to the legislature the report which Mr. Conway discusses.

If the decision is made to refer the school problem to the local level, I am confident that we will not have a major problem here in DeKalb County. Our school authorities will find a way to handle the situation. They know that to do otherwise would be tragic, for we are on the threshold of the greatest progress in the history of this county.

It is true that DeKalb has mushroomed during the past decade, but if we analyse the factors which contribute to growth we find that there are influences about to come into play that are bigger than anything we have experienced in the past.

For example, the Stone Mountain memorial project is at long-last coming into reality. This will probably have a greater impact on the county than any single project in our history.

Second, the metropolitan expressway system is rapidly taking shape and within the next few years the basic radials and the circumferential highway all will be in use. The circumferential highway will provide an entirely new orientation for development in the county and will lead to a great acceleration of construction of all types.

Third, we now have a comprehensive planning program which will better regulate our growth and willthus attract a more desirable type of activity. Our new series of planned industrial parks should, in the years just ahead, attract new research centers and other high-level scientific and technological activities.

One thing that every citizen of DeKalb should realize is that this is a most unusual county. And this is not just civic pride speaking. I have had an opportunity to study counties in every section of this country and I am constantly reminded of DeKalb's unique qualities.

Statistically, one of the indices that is considered to be important by those who study areas is a figure called the per-family net disposable income. Briefly, this is the amount of money left over for discretionary spending by the family after meeting essential expenses.

In this respect, year in and year out DeKalb ranks in the top 50 counties in the United States. Except for a few counties in the Washington, D. C. area and in Texas we have consistently been tops in the South in this respect.

This is due to the fact that DeKalb has practically no slum areas with low income families, and we do have a great many middle class families in which both the husband and wife have an income. We are, in terms of our purchasing power, therefore, an usually wealthy county.

I am sure you also know that our educational level in DeKalb is one of the highest in this region. Putting these two facts together--that we have income and that we have knowledge--I think we have every reason to be optimistic about what we can accomplish.

This means that we can build as fine a school system here as may be found anywhere. We can build community institutions that will be as fine as can be found anywhere. In short, we should not aspire to be best in Georgia, or best in the Southeast but simply to be best anywhere in whatever we undertake.

Insofar as individual careers are concerned, I believe that in the coming generation we can provide here the ultimate opportunities for personal growth and development, morally and intellectually. In short, we can be whatever we decide to be. And not even the sky is the limit.

Opportunities are going to occur and action is going to take place more rapidly than most of our citizens think. Events are going to rush in upon us and we are going to be challenged to the utmost to keep pace with our opportunities.

To illustrate this important fact, Board Chairman Robert E. Wilson, of Standard Oil of Indiana, has suggested that we adopt a condensed time scale for development analysis. If we compress the supposed 500,000 years of our evolution into 50 years, Mr. Wilson points out, we find that it took us some 49 years to get over being nomads and settle down into established communities. It took us a little longer to get our first pair of pants.

On this time scale, about six months ago we learned to write. Two weeks ago the first printing press was built. And only in the last three or four days have we understood how to use electricity!

Yesterday we had a very busy day. We developed radio, television, diesel power, rayon, nylon, motion pictures, and high-octane gasoline. Since breakfast this morning, we have released atomic energy, built jet planes, and produced two dozen new antibiotics and hormones!

Tomorrow, we will send our first manned rocket to the moon. I won't attempt to predict what will happen the day after tomorrow, but we can be sure that events will move swiftly. And if we do our duty today, the progress of DeKalb County and its school system will exceed our fondest expectations.

Report L-22
December 9, 1960

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

The Fowler Commission on Race Relations was appointed by Governor Collins of Florida to supply leadership for his state on issues of racial relations. On October 17, 1960 the Commission released a memorandum which dealt with the basic questions confronting Southern peoples. It is an analysis which has seldom been equalled for realism and for understanding of opportunities. With the consent of the Commission, we have reproduced the memorandum in full on the following pages. Although it is addressed to the leaders of one state, we believe that its reasoning is applicable to every Southern state.

TO FLORIDA LEADERS IN CIVIC, RELIGIOUS, AND BUSINESS AFFAIRS

Enclosed please find a memorandum which we are mailing to outstanding leaders in Florida. It points out twelve principal factors of change. They include changing factors involving:

Economics
Law
The World Scene
Mass Communication
Personal Communication
Education
Religious Emphasis
Armed Services
Negro Leadership
Urbanization
Political Rights
Attitudes

The memo points out that bi-racial committees have a similar, but more difficult, role to worker-management grievance procedures; that human relations committees, or some similar procedures, have been successful in numerous communities; and, that racial tension can best be handled around a table.

It contains a list of nine reasons why we, and many others, are convinced that such an approach will not precipitate discontent but will be profoundly contributive to peaceful race relations.

Finally, it reiterates our belief and respect for the right and responsibility of each community to develop its own approach.

Respectfully yours,

Cody Fowler
Chairman
Commission on Race Relations

M E M O R A N D U M

October 17, 1960

TO FLORIDA LEADERS IN CIVIC, RELIGIOUS, AND BUSINESS AFFAIRS.

Since we wrote all Mayors in Florida in April, with regard to the establishment of a bi-racial committee, we have been busy studying the problem at length. We feel, as a result of our discussions with outstanding leaders in business, education, religion, law enforcement, the press, and local bi-racial committees, far more equipped to explain the reasons for this recommendation. Whatever doubt as to the soundness and logic of this approach we could possibly have had, was completely removed by recent events in Jacksonville.

There are strong indications that many factors and forces operating in the field of race relations in our State are increasing tensions between the races. They are operating to a greater or lesser extent in all Florida communities, and are particularly strong in metropolitan communities as well as communities with large concentrations of college-educated Negro youngsters. They are:

1. The change from an "agricultural economy" to an "agricultural and industrial economy," and more recently to a "service economy" as well.

   This service economy's major activity is not production, but selling and serving rather than producing. What has not been fully appreciated is that the Negro in the South represents three billion dollars of the market of these service enterprises. As such, he now, through "selective buying," can exert a kind of economic pressure that has never been available to him. Many chain services are beginning to recognize this fact. While some have dismissed the recent student demonstrations as small isolated instances, we are beginning to understand that these demonstrations are obtaining support in the Negro Masses, with the distinct possibility that race tensions can affect the pocketbook of the merchant on Main Street in an unparalleled way. This is particularly so in our large cities, both North and South, where an increasing percentage of downtown shoppers are non-white.

2. The change in the interpretation of the rights of U.S. citizens by the Supreme Court, regardless of the feelings of many.

   These new decisions widely accepted in all lower Federal Courts are making legal defenses to total segregation policies in public facilities increasingly expensive, and ineffective except for the purpose of delay. Unrealistic understanding of the law is widespread, and is creating unrealistic demands on people in leadership roles. In Florida, with its vast tourist trade and rapidly

expanding industry, these decisions are contributing to a much more extensive problem than other Southern States. Tourists and new industry can be expected to be quite sensitive to the fear of unpleasant race tension.

3. The change in Africa from a continent of stable colonialism to a crucial part of the free world in the throes of new nationhood.

The obvious need of America to maintain the effective leadership of the free world of which Africa is an essential part, plus the fact that two-thirds to three-fourths of the total world population is non-white, is increasing national pressure on many of the traditional practices of the South, and is clearly reflected in the platforms of both major political parties.

4. The change in the effects of mass communication.

The increase in television and other mass means of communication has reduced the gap of aspiration between the two races. The same goals are held out to Negro and white alike, but job opportunities are far from equal. Whenever we increase wants, without increasing means, we are indirectly precipitating high levels of frustration.

5. The change in time, convenience and expense of personal communication.

New York is now two hours away. When we add to this the fact of the increased number of Negroes of education and political strength outside the South, and their increased demands, it becomes very obvious that local and national Negro leaders are in closer contact, resulting in increased awareness of the relationship of local problems to the national and world scene.

6. The change in the number of Florida Negroes who are educated.

This has resulted, to no ones real surprise, in a more persistant and articulate assertion of declared democratic rights.

7. The fact that so many major religious bodies or their leaders have seen fit to reassert the Judaic Christian understanding "that before God all men are created equal, and are entitled to equal opportunities."

Our files reflect expressions from the following organizations to name only a few.

Assemblies of God
Southern Baptist Convention
Church of the Brethren
Churches of Christ
Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints

Churches of Christ, Scientist
Church of God
Church of the Nazarene
Congregational Christian Churches
Disciples of Christ
Protestant Episcopal Church
Evangelical and Reformed Church
Evangelical United Brethren Church
Religious Society of Friends
Greek Archdiocese of North and South America
Jehovah's Witnesses
Central Conference of American Rabbis
Synagogue Council of America
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod
United Lutheran Church in America
The Methodist Church
Cumberland Presbyterian Church
Presbyterian Church in the United States
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.
United Presbyterian Church
Roman Catholic
Seventh-Day Adventist Church
Unitarian Church

8. Service in our Armed Forces.

Experience in our Armed Services, which have desegregated without difficulty, has made it more difficult for many Negroes to accept complete segregation. Included in this catagory are thousands of Negro veterans, many of whom are leaders in the Negro communities, and several of whom were officers in the Armed Services.

9. Changes in Negro Leadership Patterns.

The old "accomodating type" of leadership, which had power because of its acceptability to the white community, is being challenged and replaced by a younger and more aggressive type of leadership. Inability of responsible local leaders in the Negro community to bring about change means the diminution of their power and ascension of a more militant group of leaders.

10. The change from a rural to an urban society.

One of the major phenomenon of our time is the rapid shift of population from the country to the city. The pressure for change of customs based on a rural economic and social structure can be expected to become much greater in the city than on the farm.

11. Change in Political Rights.

Increased Federal legal protection of the Negro's right to vote obviously is increasing his political power. It is noteworthy that the last three presidents of the United States, as well as the two present presidential contenders have taken very strong positions with regard to civil rights.

12. Change in Attitudes.

Numerous researches have found significant correlations between the lack of educational opportunities and prejudice. With continued advances in education in our state and the nation, it can be expected that prejudice will continue to diminish.

These factors for change are extremely likely to increase in the 60's and are increasing rapidly as of this moment. New adjustments are going to have to be made regardless of the preferences of many. The difficulty is that these adjustments may be made on the street-corner under the leadership of extremists with disturbance of the peace, threats of violence, and angry passion as the guiding line, unless there is an institution in the community whose task is to deal with them.

No large industry would operate today without a well-functioning grievance procedure. This is vital to proper labor-management relations. A worker with a grievance who has no place to take it tends to build up resentment and increase the probability of irresponsible behavior. This is just a simple operating maxim of good management and public relations in general.

Our race problems are not basically different with the exception that they stem from such long held traditions and such strong emotions that they are even more difficult. They require much skillful treatment. Often they cannot be effectively handled in regular channels of government-citizen communications. We have discovered that many cities in the North and the South have found the most constructive approach to be the establishment and able functioning of a committee to deal with these and related problems of community relationship. Fourteen Communities in Florida have already established such committees. Thirty-three cities throughout the nation have hired professional staffs and have substantial budgets. The idea of a committee to deal with minority group problems is not in the least novel and has proved in numerous instances very effective, particularly in the areas of communication and understanding.

We have been so busy thinking in terms of names of "integrationist" and "segregationist" that we have lost sight of the fact that whether we like it or not we are facing real problems that cannot be avoided. Like all problems of change, they require a forum and safety valve.

Many of Florida's Leaders with whom we have talked have acknowledged the inevitability of change in race relations and share with us deep concern for such widespread lack of concern.

Simply put, which way is better for change to come?

1. By economic boycott, wade-ins, demonstrations, and race clashes?

OR

2. By responsible leaders who have studied the problem over a period of time; who have examined all points of view as well as the facts; who have the respect of the great majority of their community; and, who can arrive at the most satisfactory recommendations?

All these things are compelling reasons we feel for establishing bi-racial committees.

But more than this, abrupt change in racial policies can cause a community crisis. If the change is seen as involving the community's total situation, the possibility of hostility and anxiety are enormously multiplied. Such abrupt change is most likely to occur when prior communication has been poor. This means to us that the basic requirement for successful handling of a racial tension is the quality, extent, and depth, of prior communication between the races at the local level. Strategically this makes, we feel, an extraordinarily powerful argument for lengthy and thorough discussions prior to change.

Moreover, we have discovered that much racial tension can be greatly lessened by rational in time treatment of unmet needs of Negroes in housing, recreational, and occupational opportunities.

Progress Village in Tampa is only one of several outstanding examples of this kind of approach using the benefits of private enterprise and urban redevelopment programs. Research shows that contrary to the perceptions of many people of the white community the Negro is primarily concerned with job and housing opportunities.

Many communities have indicated that they have no racial problems and hence no need for a bi-racial committee. If this is so, we have only our congratulations and heartfelt thanks to give. In many instances this is true. In many others however, on the slightest prodding, it turns out to be unrealistic. Such unrealism may stem fr

1. Looking at racial incidents as being unique, with no attempt to see clearly developing patterns expressing major social forces.

2. Fear of criticism, causing discontent to be repressed and hidden which only increases the future pressure while giving a false impression of immediate satisfaction. Problems that are put off have a remarkably unhealthy tendency to worsen.

Many have indicated the fear that discussion will only encourage the expression of Negro discontent. The answer is that such discussion often has the immediate effect of puncturing dangerous illusions of racial content, but in the long run, if done by responsible leaders is profoundly settling because:

1. It encourages the leadership of both races to know how the other feels, and not just how they think they ought to feel. We have seen much too much evidence, some of it tragic, of people assuming that others felt the way they thought they ought to feel.

2. It tends to dissipate extremists pressure and influence. It is much harder to be irrational in the face of a fair hearing.

3. It tends to replace emotionalism and exparte speechmaking with firm understanding of reality, the community's growth, and the state's future in a dynamically changing world.

4. It encourages progress and advancement in community areas where resistance is least and need is greatest. It is apt to result in change with a minimum dislocation of the community's equilibrium, with improved community capacity to deal with future change, and greater harmony.

5. It encourages change to be seen in the light of understanding problems of resistance, and wide differences in feelings, rather than in terms of pressure, hate, indifference, or the special policy of a special interest group.

6. It is conducive to substantial economic savings to the community and the state. The present social costs of much of the Negro community, whether measured in judicial and penal records, police protection, social agency work, or malformed character structure, is exceedingly high and would be, in the long run, greatly reduced by such an approach of mutual understanding. Moreover, it would be a source of help and encouragement for Negro leaders to upgrade the standards of many of their people. Florida could lose millions in tourist trade and industrial expansion if a policy of racial repression, adapted for a rural economic society, is allowed to unwittingly build up the potential for racial tension and street-corner solutions.

7. It is likely to result in the accumulation of a much greater stock pile of knowledge than available to any individual. It provides for sharing responsibility in an area where responsibility must be shared. Moreover it makes it easier to recognize problems and to deal with them constructively.

8. We believe that deep down the discussion approach is in accord with the overwhelming majority of Florida's and the Nation's citizens. Its recommendation can be expected to be considered with a much more objective attitude than those made by an individual or group of limited representation. This is especially true where it is clearly indicated that such committees have no power to force anybody to do anything.

9. It will encourage economic and human realism as well as the harmonious existance and living together of the various people that make up a community.

These, then, are what we regard as some of the significant reasons for the appointment and effective functioning of a bi-racial committee, consisting of the community's top leadership selected with care and with fairness.

We have discovered that Ministerial Associations and Chambers of Commerce can be extremely helpful in the delicate task of ascertaining and obtaining the support of the community's respected leadership. They can be of real help in the very delicate job of minimizing premature statements until the problem has been thoroughly explored, as well as placing primary emphasis on conciliation and mediation, rather than arbitration.

We have also learned that such groups are most effective when they represent a variety of points of view.

We have been asked by many for specific suggestions as to how these groups might approach the problem once they are established. In response to this, we have drawn up an outline of approach which might be helpful as a starting point for a local committee's exploration as one of many ways to proceed. We would be happy to supply this upon request.

We are aware, of course, that every community is different, and that each must make its own decision and has its own responsibility. We firmly and deeply believe in this.

We ask your thoughtful consideration of these factors, as well as our sincere desire to be of help to you, your community, and the State as a whole. We would be happy to supply you with additional copies of this statement upon request.

Finally, we suggest, consider the alternatives to failure of taking the initiative.

Respectfully yours,

Cody Fowler
Chairman
Commission on Race Relations

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Report L-23
January 24, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W. - Rm. 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Listed below are formerly all-white colleges and universities of 17 Southern and border states, and the District of Columbia, which have desegregated since 1935 (when the University of Maryland admitted a Negro to its Law School) plus a few opened integrated in recent years.* Most of these schools did not desegregate until after 1948. Some still restrict Negro students to graduate and professional schools while others accept them at all levels. A few of the institutions listed may not as yet have enrolled a Negro; however, their governing bodies have announced a non-racial admission policy.

	Legal Control
ALABAMA	
Spring Hill College, Mobile	Roman Catholic
ARKANSAS	
Arkansas A. & M. College, College Heights	State
Arkansas College, Batesville	Presbyterian
Arkansas Polytechnic College, Russellville	State
Arkansas State College, State College	State
Arkansas State Teachers College, Conway	State
College of the Ozarks, Clarksville	Presbyterian
Henderson State Teachers College, Arkadelphia	State
Southern State College, Magnolia	State
University of Arkansas, Fayetteville	State
DELAWARE	
University of Delaware, Newark	State
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	
American University	Methodist
Catholic University of America	Roman Catholic
District of Columbia Teachers College (a merger of Wilson Teachers College and Minor Teachers College)	Municipal
Dunbarton College of Holy Cross	Roman Catholic
George Washington University	Private
Georgetown University	Roman Catholic
Georgetown Visitation Junior College	Roman Catholic
Immaculata Junior College	Roman Catholic
Trinity College	Roman Catholic

*The list is based on information in our files, and may not be complete. Periodic reports in Southern School News have been a principal source.

FLORIDA	Legal Control
Barry College, Miami	Roman Catholic
Dade County Junior College, Dade County	State
University of Florida, Gainesville	State
GEORGIA	
Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur	Presbyterian
University of Georgia, Athens	State
KENTUCKY	
Asbury College, Wilmore	Private
Ashland Junior College, Ashland	Municipal
Bellarmine College, Louisville	Roman Catholic
Bethel College, Hopkinsville	Southern Baptist
Brescia College, Owensboro	Roman Catholic
Berea College, Berea	Private
Centre College of Kentucky, Danville	Presbyterian
The College of the Bible, Lexington	Disciples of
Eastern Kentucky State College, Richmond	State / Christ
Georgetown College, Georgetown	Southern Baptist
Lees Junior College, Jackson	Presbyterian
Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Louisville	Presbyterian
Midway Junior College, Midway	Private
Morehead State College, Morehead	State
Murray State College, Murray	State
Nazareth College, Louisville	Roman Catholic
Paducah Junior College, Paducah	Municipal
Pikesville Junior College, Pikesville	Presbyterian
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville	Southern Baptist
Union College, Barbourville	Methodist
University of Louisville, Louisville	Municipal
University of Kentucky, Lexington	State
Ursuline College, Louisville	Roman Catholic
Villa Madonna College, Covington	Roman Catholic
Western Kentucky State College, Bowling Green	State
LOUISIANA	
John McNeese State College, Lake Charles	State
Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge	State
Louisiana State University at New Orleans	State
Loyola University, New Orleans	Roman Catholic
St. Mary's Dominican College, New Orleans	Roman Catholic
Southeastern Louisiana College, Hammond	State
University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette	State
MARYLAND	
Baltimore College of Commerce, Baltimore	YMCA
Baltimore Junior College, Baltimore	City
College of Notre Dame of Maryland, Baltimore	Roman Catholic
Goucher College, Baltimore	Private

MARYLAND, CONTINUED	Legal Control
Hagerstown Junior College, Hagerstown	County
Hood College, Frederick	Private
Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore	Private
Loyola College, Baltimore	Roman Catholic
The Maryland Institute, Baltimore	Private
Mt. St. Agnes College, Baltimore	Roman Catholic
Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg	Roman Catholic
Peabody Institute of the City of Baltimore, Baltimore	Private
St. Joseph College, Emmitsburg	Roman Catholic
St. John's College, Annapolis	Private
St. Mary's Seminary Junior College, St. Mary's City	State
State Teachers College, Frostburg	State
State Teachers College, Salisbury	State
State Teachers College, Towson	State
United States Naval Academy, Annapolis	National
University of Maryland, College Park & Baltimore Divisions	State
Washington College, Chestertown	Private
Western Maryland College, Westminister	Methodist

MISSOURI	
Central Missouri State College, Warrensburg	State
Culver-Stockton College, Canton	Disciples of Christ
Harris Teachers College, St. Louis	Municipal
Joplin Junior College, Joplin	District
Junior College of Kansas City	Municipal
Northeast Missouri State Teachers College, Kirksville	State
Northwest Missouri State Teachers College, Maryville	State
St. Louis University, St. Louis	Roman Catholic
St. Joseph Junior College, St. Joseph	Municipal
Southeast Missouri State College, Cape Girardeau	State
Southwest Missouri State College, Springfield	State
University of Kansas City, Kansas City	Private
University of Missouri, Columbia and Rolla Divisions	State
Washington University, St. Louis	Private
Webster College, Webster Groves	Roman Catholic

NORTH CAROLINA	
Belmont Abbey College, Belmont	Roman Catholic
Black Mountain College, Black Mountain	Private
North Carolina State College, Raleigh	State
Sacred Heart Junior College, Belmont	Roman Catholic
Pfeiffer College, Misenheimer	Methodist
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill	State
Warren Wilson Junior College, Swannanoa	Presbyterian
Woman's College of University of North Carolina, Greensboro	State
Southeastern Theological Seminary, Wake Forest	Southern Baptist

OKLAHOMA	
Cameron State Agricultural College, Lawton	State
Central State College, Edmond	State
Conners State Agricultural College, Warner	State

OKLAHOMA, CONTINUED	Legal Control
East Central State College, Ada	State
Eastern Oklahoma A. & M. College, Wilburton	State
Murray State Agricultural College, Tishomingo	State
Muskogee Junior College, Muskogee	Municipal
Northeastern Oklahoma A. & M., Miami	State
Northeastern State College, Tahlequah	State
Northern Oklahoma Junior College, Tonkawa	State
Northwestern State College, Alva	State
Oklahoma Baptist University, Shawnee	Southern Baptist
Oklahoma City University, Oklahoma City	Methodist
Oklahoma College for Women, Chickasha	State
Oklahoma Military Academy, Claremore	State
Oklahoma State University of Agriculture & Applied Science,	State
Panhandle A. & M. College, Goodwell /Stillwater	State
Phillips University, Enid	Disciples of Christ
St. Gregory's College, Shawnee	Roman Catholic
Southeastern State College, Durant	State
Southwestern State College, Weatherford	State
University of Oklahoma, Norman	State

TENNESSEE	
Austin Peay State College, Clarksville	State
East Tennessee State College, Johnson City	State
Madison College, Madison College	Private
Maryville College, Maryville	Presbyterian
Middle Tennessee State College, Murfreesboro	State
Memphis State University, Memphis	State
Peabody College, Nashville	Private
Scarritt College for Christian Workers, Nashville	Methodist
Tennessee Polytechnic Institute, Cookeville	State
Tusculum College, Greeneville	Private
University of the South, Sewanee	Episcopal
University of Tennessee, Knoxville	State
Vanderbilt University, Nashville	Private

TEXAS	
Amarillo College, Amarillo	Municipal
Austin College, Sherman	Presbyterian
Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Austin	Presbyterian
Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas	Private
Del Mar College, Corpus Christi	Municipal
DeMazenod Scholasticate, San Antonio	Roman Catholic
Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest, Austin	Episcopal
Frank Phillips College, Borger	District
Gainesville Junior College, Gainesville	Municipal
Howard County Junior College, Big Spring	County
Incarnate Word College, San Antonio	Roman Catholic
Kilgore College, Kilgore,	District
Lamar State College of Technology, Beaumont	District
Laredo Junior College, Laredo	Municipal

TEXAS, CONTINUED,	Legal Control
Lutheran Concordia College, Austin	Lutheran
Midwestern University, Wichita Falls	Municipal
McMurry College, Abilene	Methodist
North Texas State College, Denton	State
Odessa College, Odessa	District
Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio	Roman Catholic
Pan American College, Edinburg	County
Paris Junior College, Paris	Municipal
St. Edwards University, Austin	Roman Catholic
St. Mary's University of San Antonio, San Antonio	Roman Catholic
San Angelo College, San Angelo	Municipal
San Antonio College, San Antonio	Municipal
Southern Methodist University, Dallas	Methodist
Southwest Texas Junior College, Uvalde	District
Southwestern Baptist Seminary, Fort Worth	Southern Baptist
Texas College of Arts and Industries, Kingsville	State
Temple Junior College, Temple	Municipal
Texas Christian University, Brite College of the Bible, /Fort Worth	Christian
Texas Lutheran College, Seguin	Lutheran
Texas Southmost College, Brownsville	Municipal
Texas Western College, El Paso	State
Texarkana College, Texarkana	Municipal
Trinity University, San Antonio	Presbyterian
University of Dallas, Dallas	Roman Catholic
University of Texas, Austin	State
Victoria College, Victoria	Municipal
Wayland Baptist College, Plainview	Southern Baptist
Wharton County Junior College, Wharton	County

VIRGINIA	
Bridgewater College, Bridgewater	Brethren
College of William & Mary, Williamsburg and Norfolk Divisions	State
Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg	Mennonite
Medical College of Virginia, Richmond	State
Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary in Virginia, Alexandria	Episcopal
Richmond Professional Institute of the College of William & Mary, /Richmond	State
Union Theological Seminary, Richmond	Presbyterian
University of Virginia, Charlottesville	State
Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg	State

WEST VIRGINIA	
Bethany College, Bethany	Private
Concord College, Athens	State
Davis and Elkins College, Elkins	Private
Fairmont State College, Fairmont	State
Glenville State College, Glenville	State
Marshall College, Huntington	State
Potomac (Junior) State College of West Virginia University, Keyser	State
Salem College, Salem	Seventh Day Baptist
Shepherd College, Shepherdstown	State
West Liberty State College, West Liberty	State
West Virginia Institute of Technology, Montgomery	State
West Virginia University, Morgantown	State
West Virginia Wesleyan College, Buckhannon	Methodist

Report L-23A, Revised
September 22, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W., Rm.201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION*

Listed below are formerly all-white colleges and universities of 17 southern and border states and the District of Columbia which have desegregated since 1935 (when the University of Maryland admitted a Negro to its Law School). Most of these institutions did not desegregate until after 1948, and the majority of them have been added to this list within the past two years. A few of them still restrict Negro enrollment to the graduate and professional schools. At some of the schools no Negro student has yet been enrolled, but statements of their governing boards indicate an official policy of admission without regard to race.

ALABAMA	Legal Control
Spring Hill College, Mobile	Roman Catholic

ARKANSAS	
Arkansas A. & M. College, College Heights	State
Arkansas College, Batesville	Presbyterian
Arkansas Polytechnic College, Russellville	State
Arkansas State College, State College	State
Arkansas State Teachers College, Conway	State
College of the Ozarks, Clarksville	Presbyterian
Henderson State Teachers College, Arkadelphia	State
Southern State College, Magnolia	State
University of Arkansas, Fayetteville	State

DELAWARE	
University of Delaware, Newark	State

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	
American University	Methodist
Catholic University of America	Roman Catholic
District of Columbia Teachers College (merger of Wilson Teachers College and Minor Teachers College)	Municipal

* The list is based on information in our files, and may not be complete. Periodic reports in Southern School News have been a principal source.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, CONTINUED	Legal Control
Dunbarton College of Holy Cross	Roman Catholic
George Washington University	Private
Georgetown University	Roman Catholic
Georgetown Visitation Junior College	Roman Catholic
Immaculata Junior College	Roman Catholic
Trinity College	Roman Catholic

FLORIDA	
Barry College, Miami	Roman Catholic
Dade County Junior College, Dade County	State
St. Petersburg Junior College, St. Petersburg	County
University of Florida, Gainesville	State
University of Miami, Coral Gables	Private
University of South Florida, Tampa	State

GEORGIA	
Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur	Presbyterian
Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta	State
University of Georgia, Athens	State

KENTUCKY	
Asbury College, Wilmore	Private
Ashland Junior College, Ashland	Municipal
Bellarmine College, Louisville	Roman Catholic
Bethel College, Hopkinsville	Southern Baptist
Brescia College, Owensboro	Roman Catholic
Berea College, Berea	Private
Centre College of Kentucky, Danville	Presbyterian
The College of the Bible, Lexington	Disciples of/
Eastern Kentucky State College, Richmond	State Christ
Georgetown College, Georgetown	Southern Baptist
Lees Junior College, Jackson	Presbyterian
Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary	Presbyterian
Morehead State College, Morehead	State
Murray State College, Murray	State
Nazareth College, Louisville	Roman Catholic
Paducah Junior College, Paducah	Municipal
Pikesville Junior College, Pikesville	Presbyterian
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville	Southern Baptist
Union College, Barbourville	Methodist
University of Louisville, Louisville	Municipal
University of Kentucky, Lexington	State
Ursuline College, Louisville	Roman Catholic
Villa Madonna College, Covington	Roman Catholic
Western Kentucky State College, Bowling Green	State

LOUISIANA	
John McNeese State College, Lake Charles	State

LOUISIANA, CONTINUED	Legal Control
Immaculata Minor Seminary, Lafayette	Roman Catholic
Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge	State
Louisiana State University at New Orleans	State
Loyola University, New Orleans	Roman Catholic
New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary	Southern Baptist
Notre Dame Seminary, New Orleans	Roman Catholic
St. Mary's Dominican College, New Orleans	Roman Catholic
Southeastern Louisiana College, Hammond	State
University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette	State

MARYLAND

Baltimore College of Commerce, Baltimore	YMCA
Baltimore Junior College, Baltimore	City
College of Notre Dame of Maryland, Baltimore	Roman Catholic
Goucher College, Baltimore	Private
Charles County Junior College, La Plata	County
Catonsville Community College, Catonsville	County
Essex Community College, Essex	County
Frederick Community College, Frederick	County
Harford Junior College, Bel Air	County
Montgomery Junior College, Takoma Park	County
Prince George's Community College, Suitland	County
Hagerstown Junior College, Hagerstown	County
Hood College, Frederick	Private
Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore	Private
Loyola College, Baltimore	Roman Catholic
The Maryland Institute, Baltimore	Private
Mt. St. Agnes College, Baltimore	Roman Catholic
Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg	Roman Catholic
Peabody Institute of the City of Baltimore, Baltimore	Private
St. Joseph College, Emmitsburg	Roman Catholic
St. John's College, Annapolis	Private
St. Mary's Seminary Junior College, St. Mary's City	State
State Teachers College, Frostburg	State
State Teachers College, Salisbury	State
State Teachers College, Towson	State
United States Naval Academy, Annapolis	National
University of Maryland, College Park & Baltimore Divisions	State
Washington College, Chestertown	Private
Western Maryland College, Westminster	Methodist

MISSOURI

Central Missouri State College, Warrensburg	State
Culver-Stockton College, Canton	Disciples of Christ
Harris Teachers College, St. Louis	Municipal
Joplin Junior College, Joplin	District
Junior College of Kansas City	Municipal
Junior College of Flat River	Municipal
Moberly Junior College, Moberly	Municipal
Northeast Missouri State Teachers College, Kirksville	State

MISSOURI, CONTINUED	Legal Control
Northwest Missouri State Teachers College, Maryville	State
Park College, Parkville	Presbyterian
St. Louis University, St. Louis	Roman Catholic
St. Joseph Junior College, St. Joseph	Municipal
Southeast Missouri State College, Cape Girardeau	State
Southwest Missouri State College, Springfield	State
Trenton Junior College, Trenton	Municipal
University of Kansas City	Private
University of Missouri, Columbia and Rolla Divisions	State
Washington University, St. Louis	Private
Webster College, Webster Groves	Roman Catholic
Westminster College, Fulton	Presbyterian

NORTH CAROLINA	
Asheville-Biltmore College, Asheville	Municipal-County
Belmont Abbey College, Belmont	Roman Catholic
Black Mountain College, Black Mountain	Private
Charlotte Community College, Charlotte	Municipal
Duke University, Durham	Private
Mars Hill College, Mars Hill	Southern Baptist
North Carolina State College, Raleigh	State
Pfeiffer College, Misenheimer	Methodist
Sacred Heart Junior College, Belmont	Roman Catholic
Southeastern Theological Seminary, Wake Forest	Southern Baptist
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill	State
Wake Forest, Winston-Salem (graduate school only)	Southern Baptist
Warren Wilson Junior College, Swannanoa	Presbyterian
Western Carolina College, Cullowhee	State
Woman's College of University of North Carolina, Greensboro	State

OKLAHOMA	
Altus Junior College, Altus	District
Cameron State Agricultural College, Lawton	State
Central State College, Edmond	State
Conners State Agricultural College, Warner	State
East Central State College, Ada	State
Eastern Oklahoma A. & M. College, Wilburton	State
El Reno Junior College, El Reno	District
Murray State Agricultural College, Tishomingo	State
Muskogee Junior College, Muskogee	Municipal
Northeastern Oklahoma A. & M., Miami	State
Northeastern State College, Tahlequah	State
Northern Oklahoma Junior College, Tonkawa	State
Northwestern State College, Alva	State
Oklahoma Baptist University, Shawnee	Southern Baptist
Oklahoma Christian College, Oklahoma City	Private
Oklahoma City University, Oklahoma City	Methodist
Oklahoma College for Women, Chickasha	State
Oklahoma Military Academy, Claremore	State
Oklahoma State University, Okmulgee	State
Oklahoma State University of Agriculture and Applied Science, Stillwater	State

OKLAHOMA, CONTINUED	Legal Control
Panhandle A. & M. College, Goodwell	State
Phillips University, Enid	Disciples of Christ
Poteau Community College, Poteau	Private
St. Gregory's College, Shawnee	Roman Catholic
Sayre Junior College, Sayre	District
Seminole Junior College, Seminole	District
Southeastern State College, Durant	State
Southwestern State College, Weatherford	State
University of Oklahoma, Norman	State

TENNESSEE	
Austin Peay State College, Clarksville	State
East Tennessee State College, Johnson City	State
Madison College, Madison College	Private
Maryville College, Maryville	Presbyterian
Middle Tennessee State College, Murfreesboro	State
Memphis State University, Memphis	State
Peabody College, Nashville	Private
Scarritt College for Christian Workers, Nashville	Methodist
Tennessee Polytechnic Institute, Cookeville	State
Tusculum College, Greeneville	Private
University of the South, Sewanee	Episcopal
University of Tennessee, Knoxville	State
University of Tennessee, Nashville, Memphis, & Martin Branches	State
Vanderbilt University, Nashville	Private

TEXAS	
Amarillo College, Amarillo (Junior College)	Municipal
Austin College, Sherman	Presbyterian
Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Austin	Presbyterian
Cisco Junior College, Cisco	District
Clarendon Junior College, Clarendon	District
Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas	Private
Del Mar College, Corpus Christi (Junior College)	Municipal
DeMazenod Scholasticate, San Antonio	Roman Catholic
Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest, Austin	Episcopal
Frank Phillips College, Borger (Junior College)	District
Gainesville Junior College, Gainesville	Municipal
Howard County Junior College, Big Spring	County
Incarnate Word College, San Antonio	Roman Catholic
Kilgore College, Kilgore	District
Lamar State College of Technology, Beaumont	District
Laredo Junior College, Laredo	Municipal
Lutheran Concordia College, Austin	Lutheran
Midwestern University, Wichita Falls	Municipal
McMurry College, Abilene	Methodist
North Texas State College, Denton	State
Odessa College, Odessa (Junior College)	District

TEXAS, CONTINUED	Legal Control
Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio	Roman Catholic
Pan American College, Edinburg	County
Paris Junior College, Paris	Municipal
St. Edwards University, Austin	Roman Catholic
St. Mary's University of San Antonio	Roman Catholic
San Angelo College, San Angelo (Junior College)	Municipal
San Antonio College, San Antonio (Junior College)	Municipal
South Plains College, Levelland (Junior College)	County
Southern Methodist University, Dallas	Methodist
Southwest Texas Junior College, Uvalde	District
Southwestern Baptist Seminary, Fort Worth	Southern Baptist
Texas Christian University, Brite College of the Bible, Fort Worth	Christian
Texas College of Arts and Industries, Kingsville	State
Temple Junior College, Temple	Municipal
Texas Lutheran College, Seguin	Lutheran
Texas Southmost College, Brownsville (Jr. College)	Municipal
Texas Technological College, Lubbock	State
Texas Western College, El Paso	State
Trinity University, San Antonio	Presbyterian
University of Dallas, Dallas	Roman Catholic
University of Texas, Austin	State
Victoria College, Victoria (Junior College)	Municipal
Wayland Baptist College, Plainview	Southern Baptist
West Texas State, Canyon	State
Wharton County Junior College, Wharton	County
Texas Woman's University, Denton	State
St. Phillips College, San Antonio (Jr. College)	District

VIRGINIA	
Bridgewater College, Bridgewater	Brethren
College of William & Mary, Williamsburg and Norfolk Divisions	State
Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg	Mennonite
Medical College of Virginia, Richmond	State
Presbyterian School of Christian Education, Richmond	Presbyterian
Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary in Virginia Alexandria	Episcopal
Richmond Professional Institute of the College of William and Mary, Richmond	State
Union Theological Seminary, Richmond	Presbyterian
University of Virginia, Charlottesville	State
Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg	State

WEST VIRGINIA	
Bethany College, Bethany	Private
Concord College, Athens	State
Davis and Elkins College, Elkins	Presbyterian
Fairmont State College, Fairmont	State
Glenville State College, Glenville	State
Marshall College, Huntington	State

WEST VIRGINIA	Legal Control
Potomac (Junior) State College of West Virginia University, Keyser	State
Salem College, Salem	Seventh Day Baptist
Shepherd College, Shepherdstown	State
West Liberty State College, West Liberty	State
West Virginia Institute of Technology, Montgomery	State
West Virginia University, Morgantown	State
West Virginia Wesleyan College, Buckhannon	Methodist

Report L-23B, Revised
February 13, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION*

Listed below are formerly all-white colleges and universities of the 17 southern and border states and the District of Columbia which we know to be desegregated. This report updates L-Reports 23 and 23A which appeared in January 1961 and September 1961 respectively. In the past two years there has been an increase of approximately 30 percent in the number of desegregated colleges and universities throughout the areas covered in this report (see appendix), and today all southern states have at least one desegregated institution of higher learning. In the past two years, 89 colleges and universities have desegregated, most of them with neither fuss nor fanfare. A few still restrict Negro enrollment to the graduate and professional schools. At some of the schools no Negro students are enrolled, but either statements of their governing boards indicate an official policy of admission without regard to race, or they are under court order.

ALABAMA	LEGAL CONTROL
Public	
University of Alabama, University (under court order to desegregate since 1956; no Negro students)	State
Nonpublic	
Spring Hill College, Mobile	Roman Catholic

ARKANSAS	
Public	
Arkansas A. & M. College, College Heights	State
Arkansas Polytechnic College, Russellville	State
Arkansas State College, State College	State
Arkansas State Teachers College, Conway	State
Henderson State Teachers College, Arkadelphia	State
Southern State College, Magnolia	State
University of Arkansas, Fayetteville	State
Nonpublic	
Arkansas College, Batesville	Presbyterian
College of the Ozarks, Clarksville	United Presbyterian

*This list is based on information in our files, and may not be complete. Periodic reports in Southern School News have been a principal source.

DELAWARE	LEGAL CONTROL
Public	
University of Delaware, Newark	State

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	
Public	
District of Columbia Teachers College	Municipal
Nonpublic	
American University	Methodist
Catholic University of America	Roman Catholic
Dunbarton College of Holy Cross	Roman Catholic
George Washington University	Private
Georgetown University	Roman Catholic
Georgetown Visitation Junior College	Roman Catholic
Immaculata Junior College	Roman Catholic
Trinity College	Roman Catholic

FLORIDA	
Public	
Dade County Junior College, Miami	County
Daytona Beach Junior College, Daytona Beach	County
Florida State University, Tallahassee	State
Manatee Junior College, Bradenton	County
Palm Beach Junior College, Lake Worth	County
St. Petersburg Junior College, St. Petersburg	County
University of Florida, Gainesville	State
University of South Florida, Tampa	State
Nonpublic	
Barry College, Miami	Roman Catholic
Florida Presbyterian College, St. Petersburg	Presbyterian
Stetson University, DeLand	Southern Baptist
University of Miami, Coral Gables	Private

GEORGIA	
Public	
Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta	State
Georgia State College, Atlanta	State
University of Georgia, Athens	State
Nonpublic	
Agnes Scott College, Decatur	Private
Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur	Presbyterian
Emory University, Atlanta	Methodist
Oglethorpe University, Atlanta	Private

KENTUCKY	LEGAL CONTROL
Public	
Eastern Kentucky State College, Richmond	State
Morehead State College, Morehead	State
Murray State College, Murray	State
Paducah Junior College, Paducah	Municipal
University of Kentucky, Lexington	State
University of Louisville, Louisville	Municipal
Western Kentucky State College, Bowling Green	State
Nonpublic	
Asbury College, Wilmore	Private
Ashland Junior College, Ashland	Private
Bellarmine College, Louisville	Roman Catholic
Berea College, Berea	Private
Bethel College, Hopkinsville	Southern Baptist
Bowling Green College of Commerce, Bowling Green	Private
Brescia College, Owensboro	Roman Catholic
Campbellsville College, Campbellsville	Southern Baptist
Centre College of Kentucky, Danville	Private
The College of the Bible, Lexington	Disciples of Christ
Georgetown College, Georgetown	Southern Baptist
Kentucky Wesleyan College, Owensboro	Methodist
Lees Junior College, Jackson	Presbyterian
Lindsey Wilson College, Columbia	Methodist
Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary	Presbyterian
Nazareth College, Louisville	Roman Catholic
Pikeville Junior College, Pikeville	Presbyterian
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville	Southern Baptist
Transylvania College, Lexington	Private
Union College, Barbourville	Methodist
Ursuline College, Louisville	Roman Catholic
Villa Madonna College, Covington	Roman Catholic

LOUISIANA	
Public	
Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge	State
Louisiana State University at New Orleans	State
McNeese State College, Lake Charles	State
Southeastern Louisiana College, Hammond	State
University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette	State
Nonpublic	
Immaculata Minor Seminary, Lafayette	Roman Catholic
Loyola University, New Orleans	Roman Catholic
New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary	Southern Baptist
Notre Dame Seminary, New Orleans	Roman Catholic
St. Mary's Dominican College, New Orleans	Roman Catholic
Tulane University, New Orleans	Private

MARYLAND	LEGAL CONTROL
Public	
Allegany Community Junior College, Cumberland	County
Anne Arundel Junior College, Anne Arundel	County
Baltimore Junior College, Baltimore	Municipal
Catonsville Community College, Catonsville	County
Charles County Junior College, La Plata	County
Essex Community College, Essex	County
Frederick Community College, Frederick	County
Hagerstown Junior College, Hagerstown	County
Harford Junior College, Bel Air	County
Montgomery Junior College, Takoma Park	County
Prince George's Community College, Suitland	County
St. Mary's Seminary Junior College, St. Mary's City	State
State Teachers College, Frostburg	State
State Teachers College, Salisbury	State
State Teachers College, Towson	State
United States Naval Academy, Annapolis	National
University of Maryland, College Park and Baltimore	State
Nonpublic	
Baltimore College of Commerce, Baltimore	YMCA
College of Notre Dame of Maryland, Baltimore	Roman Catholic
Goucher College, Towson	Private
Hood College, Frederick	Private
Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore	Private
Loyola College, Baltimore	Roman Catholic
The Maryland Institute, Baltimore	Private
Mount St. Agnes College, Baltimore	Roman Catholic
Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg	Roman Catholic
Peabody Institute of the City of Baltimore, Baltimore	Private
St. John's College, Annapolis	Private
St. Joseph College, Emmitsburg	Roman Catholic
Washington College, Chestertown	Private
Western Maryland College, Westminster	Methodist

MISSISSIPPI	
Public	
University of Mississippi, Oxford	State

MISSOURI	
Public	
Central Missouri State College, Warrensburg	State
Harris Teachers College, St. Louis	Municipal
Joplin Junior College, Joplin	District
Junior College of Flat River, Flat River	Municipal
Junior College of Kansas City, Kansas City	District
Moberly Junior College, Moberly	Municipal
Northeast Missouri State Teachers College, Kirksville	State

MISSOURI - continued	LEGAL CONTROL
Northwest Missouri State College, Maryville	State
St. Joseph Junior College, St. Joseph	Municipal
Southeast Missouri State College, Cape Girardeau	State
Southwest Missouri State College, Springfield	State
Trenton Junior College, Trenton	Municipal
University of Missouri, Columbia and Rolla Divisions	State
Nonpublic	
Culver-Stockton College, Canton	Disciples of Christ
Park College, Parkville	Presbyterian
St. Louis University, St. Louis	Roman Catholic
University of Kansas City, Kansas City	Private
Washington University, St. Louis	Private
Webster College, Webster Groves	Roman Catholic
Westminster College, Fulton	Presbyterian

NORTH CAROLINA	
Public	
Appalachian State Teachers College, Boone	State
Asheville-Biltmore College, Asheville	Municipal-County
Charlotte College, Charlotte	Municipal
East Carolina College, Greenville	State
North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, Raleigh	State
Pembroke State College, Pembroke	State
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill	State
Western Carolina College, Cullowhee	State
Wilmington College, Wilmington	State and County
Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, Greensboro	State
Nonpublic	
Belmont Abbey College, Belmont	Roman Catholic
Black Mountain College, Black Mountain	Private
Catawba College, Salisbury	Evangelical Reform
College of the Albermarle, Elizabeth City	Private
Davidson College, Davidson	Presbyterian
Duke University, Durham	Private
Gardner-Webb Junior College, Inc., Boiling Springs	Southern Baptist
Guilford College, Guilford	Society of Friends
Mars Hill College, Mars Hill	Southern Baptist
Meredith College, Raleigh	Southern Baptist
Pfeiffer College, Misenheimer	Methodist
Sacred Heart Junior College, Belmont	Roman Catholic
Saint Andrews College, Laurinburg	Presbyterian
Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest	Southern Baptist
Wake Forest College, Winston-Salem	Baptist

NORTH CAROLINA - continued	LEGAL CONTROL
Warren Wilson Junior College, Swannanoa	Presbyterian

OKLAHOMA

Public	
Altus Junior College, Altus	District
Cameron State Agricultural College, Lawton	State
Central State College, Edmond	State
Connors State Agricultural College, Warner	State
East Central State College, Ada	State
Eastern Oklahoma A. & M. College, Wilburton	State
El Reno Junior College, El Reno	District
Murray State Agricultural College, Tishomingo	State
Muskogee Junior College, Muskogee	Municipal
Northeastern Oklahoma A. & M., Miami	State
Northeastern State College, Tahlequah	State
Northern Oklahoma Junior College, Tonkawa	State
Northwestern State College, Alva	State
Oklahoma College for Women, Chickasha	State
Oklahoma Military Academy, Claremore	State
Oklahoma State University of Agriculture and Applied Science, Stillwater	State
Panhandle A. & M. College, Goodwell	State
Poteau Community College, Poteau	Municipal
Sayre Junior College, Sayre	District
Seminole Junior College, Seminole	District
Southeastern State College, Durant	State
Southwestern State College, Weatherford	State
University of Oklahoma, Norman	State

Nonpublic	
Benedictine Heights College, Tulsa	Roman Catholic
Oklahoma Baptist University, Shawnee	Southern Baptist
Oklahoma Christian College, Oklahoma City	Private
Oklahoma City University, Oklahoma City	Methodist
Phillips University, Enid	Disciples of Christ
St. Gregory's College, Shawnee	Roman Catholic
University of Tulsa, Tulsa	Private

SOUTH CAROLINA

Public	
Clemson Agricultural College, Clemson	State

Nonpublic	
Our Lady of Mercy Junior College, Charleston	Roman Catholic

TENNESSEE

Public	
Austin Peay State College, Clarksville	State
East Tennessee State College, Johnson City	State

TENNESSEE - Continued	LEGAL CONTROL
Memphis State University, Memphis	State
Middle Tennessee State College, Murfreesboro	State
Tennessee Polytechnic Institute, Cookeville	State
University of Tennessee, Knoxville	State
University of Tennessee, Nashville, Memphis and Martin Branches	State
Nonpublic	
Bethel College, McKenzie	Presbyterian
Christian Brothers College, Memphis	Roman Catholic
Maryville College, Maryville	Presbyterian
Peabody College, Nashville	Private
Scarritt College for Christian Workers, Nashville	Methodist
Tusculum College, Greenville	Private
University of the South, Sewanee	Protestant Episcopal
Vanderbilt University, Nashville	Private

TEXAS

Public	
Amarillo College, Amarillo	Municipal
Arlington State College, Arlington (branch of Texas A. & M.)	State
Brownsville Junior College, Brownsville	Municipal
Cisco Junior College, Cisco	District
Clarendon Junior College, Clarendon	District
Cooke County Junior College, Gainesville	Municipal
Del Mar College, Corpus Christi	Municipal
East Texas State College, East Texas Station	State
Frank Phillips Junior College, Borger	District
Hill Junior College, Hillsboro	District
Houston University, Houston	Municipal
Howard County Junior College, Big Spring	County
Kilgore College, Kilgore	District
Lamar State College of Technology, Beaumont	District
Laredo Junior College, Laredo	Municipal
Lee College, Baytown	Municipal
Midwestern University, Wichita Falls	Municipal
Navarro Junior College, Corsicana	County
North Texas State University, Denton	State
Odessa College, Odessa	District
Pan American College, Edinburg	County
Paris Junior College, Paris	Municipal
San Angelo College, San Angelo	Municipal
San Antonio College, San Antonio	Municipal
San Jacinto College, Pasadena	District
South Plains College, Levelland	County
Southwest Texas Junior College, Uvalde	District
Temple Junior College, Temple	Municipal
Texarkana College, Texarkana	Municipal

TEXAS - continued	LEGAL CONTROL
Texas College of Arts and Industry, Kingsville	State
Texas Southmost Junior College, Brownsville	Municipal
Texas Technological College, Lubbock	State
Texas Western College, El Paso (branch of University of Texas)	State
Texas Woman's University, Denton	State
University of Texas, Austin	State
Victoria College, Victoria	Municipal
Weatherford College, Weatherford	District
West Texas State College, Canyon	State
Wharton County Junior College, Wharton	County
Nonpublic	
Abilene Christian College, Abilene	Private
Austin College, Sherman	Southern Presbyterian
Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Austin	Presbyterian
Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas	Private
De Mazenod Scholasticate, San Antonio	Roman Catholic
Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest, Austin	Protestant Episcopal
Hardin-Simmons University, Abilene	Southern Baptist
Incarnate Word College, San Antonio	Roman Catholic
Lutheran Concordia College, Austin	Lutheran
McMurray College, Abilene	Methodist
Our Lady of the Lake College, Abilene	Roman Catholic
St. Edward's University, Austin	Roman Catholic
St. Mary's University of San Antonio	Roman Catholic
Southern Methodist University, Dallas	Methodist
Southwestern Baptist Seminary, Fort Worth	Baptist
Texas Christian University, Fort Worth	Christian
Texas Lutheran College, Sequin	Lutheran
Trinity University, San Antonio	Presbyterian
University of Dallas, Dallas	Roman Catholic
Wayland Baptist College, Plainview	Southern Baptist
VIRGINIA	
Public	
Colleges of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Norfolk and Richmond Institute	State
Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia, Fredericksburg	State
Medical College of Virginia, Richmond	State
Patrick Henry College, Martinsville	State
University of Virginia, Charlottesville	State
Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg	State
Nonpublic	
Bridgewater College, Bridgewater	Brethren
Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg	Mennonite

VIRGINIA - continued	LEGAL CONTROL
Presbyterian School of Christian Education, Richmond	Presbyterian
Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary in Virginia, Alexandria	Episcopal
Union Theological Seminary, Richmond	Presbyterian

WEST VIRGINIA

Public	
Concord College, Athens	State
Fairmont State College, Fairmont	State
Glenville State College, Glenville	State
Marshall University, Huntington	State
Potomac State College of West Virginia University, Keyser	State
Shepherd College, Shepherdstown	State
West Liberty State College, West Liberty	State
West Virginia Institute of Technology, Montgomery	State
West Virginia State College, Institute	State
West Virginia University, Morgantown	State

Nonpublic	
Alderson-Broaddus College, Philippi	Baptist
Beckley College, Beckley	Private
Bethany College, Bethany	Private
Davis and Elkins College, Elkins	Presbyterian
Salem College, Salem	Seventh Day Baptist
West Virginia Wesleyan College, Buckhannon	Methodist

A P P E N D I X

	JANUARY 1961		JANUARY 1963	
	PUBLIC	NONPUBLIC	PUBLIC	NONPUBLIC
ALABAMA	1*	1	1*	1
ARKANSAS	7	2	7	2
DELAWARE	1	0	1	0
D. C.	1	8	1	8
FLORIDA	2	1	8	4
GEORGIA	1	1	3	4
KENTUCKY	7	17	7	21
LOUISIANA	5	2	5	6
MARYLAND	8	14	17	14
MISSISSIPPI	0	0	1	0
MISSOURI	10	5	13	7
NORTH CAROLINA	3	6	10	16
OKLAHOMA	18	4	23	7
SOUTH CAROLINA	0	0	1	1
TENNESSEE	6	7	7	8
TEXAS	24	18	39	20
VIRGINIA	5	4	7	5
WEST VIRGINIA	9	4	10	6
	108	94	161	130

*Court Order, 1956, but no Negro students have been admitted since Miss Autherine Lucy was expelled in February 1956.

March 8, 1961

REVISION

DELETE

Barry College; Miami, Florida

Midway Junior College; Midway, Kentucky

ADD

University of Miami; Coral Gables, Florida	Private
Park College; Parkville, Missouri	Presbyterian
Westminster College; Fulton, Missouri	Presbyterian
Presbyterian School of Christian Education; Richmond, Virginia	Presbyterian

Report L-23C. Revised
April 1, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION*

Listed below are formerly all-white colleges and universities of the 17 southern and border states and the District of Columbia which we know to be desegregated. This report updates L-Reports 23, 23A, and 23B which appeared in January 1961, September 1961, and February 1963 respectively. In the past two years there has been an increase of approximately 58 percent in the number of desegregated colleges and universities throughout the areas covered in this report (see appendix, page 11), and today all southern states have at least one desegregated institution of higher learning. In the past two years, 117 colleges and universities have desegregated, most of them with neither fuss nor fanfare. A few still restrict Negro enrollment to the graduate and professional schools. At some of the schools no Negro students are enrolled, but either statements of their governing boards indicate an official policy of admission without regard to race, or they are under court order.

ALABAMA	LEGAL CONTROL
Public	
University of Alabama, University (under court order to desegregate since 1956)	State
Nonpublic	
Spring Hill College, Mobile	Roman Catholic
ARKANSAS	
Public	
Arkansas A. & M. College, College Heights	State
Arkansas Polytechnic College, Russellville	State
Arkansas State College, State College	State
Arkansas State Teachers College, Conway	State
Henderson State Teachers College, Arkadelphia	State
Southern State College, Magnolia	State
University of Arkansas, Fayetteville	State

*This list is based on information in our files, and may not be complete. Periodic reports in Southern School News have been a principal source.

ARKANSAS, continued	LEGAL CONTROL
Nonpublic	
Arkansas College, Batesville	Presbyterian
College of the Ozarks, Clarksville	United Presbyterian
Ouachita Baptist College, Arkadelphia	Southern Baptist

DELAWARE

Public	
University of Delaware, Newark	State

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Public	
District of Columbia Teachers College	Municipal
Nonpublic	
American University	Methodist
Catholic University of America	Roman Catholic
Dunbarton College of Holy Cross	Roman Catholic
George Washington University	Private
Georgetown University	Roman Catholic
Georgetown Visitation Junior College	Roman Catholic
Immaculata Junior College	Roman Catholic
Trinity College	Roman Catholic

FLORIDA

Public	
Dade County Junior College, Miami	County
Daytona Beach Junior College, Daytona Beach	County
Florida State University, Tallahassee	State
Manatee Junior College, Bradenton	County
Palm Beach Junior College, Lake Worth	County
University of Florida, Gainesville	State
University of South Florida, Tampa	State
St. Petersburg Junior College, St. Petersburg	County
Nonpublic	
Barry College, Miami	Roman Catholic
Florida Presbyterian College, St. Petersburg	Presbyterian
Stetson University, DeLand	Southern Baptist
University of Miami, Coral Gables	Private

GEORGIA

Public	
Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta	State
Georgia State College, Atlanta	State
University of Georgia, Athens	State

GEORGIA, continued	LEGAL CONTROL
Nonpublic	
Agnes Scott College, Decatur	Private
Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur	Presbyterian
Emory University, Atlanta	Methodist
Oglethorpe University, Atlanta	Private

KENTUCKY

Public	
Ashland Center, University of Kentucky, Ashland	State
Eastern Kentucky State College, Richmond	State
Fort Knox Center, University of Kentucky, Fort Knox	State
Morehead State College, Morehead	State
Murray State College, Murray	State
Northern Center, University of Kentucky, Covington	State
Northwestern Center, University of Kentucky, Henderson	State
Paducah Junior College, Paducah	Municipal
Southeastern Center, University of Kentucky, Cumberland	State
University of Kentucky, Lexington	State
University of Louisville, Louisville	Municipal
Western Kentucky State College, Bowling Green	State
Nonpublic	
Asbury College, Wilmore	Private
Bellarmine College, Louisville	Roman Catholic
Berea College, Berea	Private
Bowling Green College of Commerce, Bowling Green	Private
Brescia College, Owensboro	Roman Catholic
Campbellsville College, Campbellsville	Southern Baptist
Caney Junior College, Pippa Passes	Private
Carver School of Missions, Louisville	Southern Baptist
Centre College of Kentucky, Danville	Private
College of the Bible, Lexington	Disciples of Christ
Cumberland College, Williamsburg	Southern Baptist
Georgetown College, Georgetown	Southern Baptist
Kentucky Southern College, Louisville	Southern Baptist
Kentucky Wesleyan College, Owensboro	Methodist
Lees Junior College, Jackson	Presbyterian
Lindsey Wilson College, Columbia	Methodist
Loretto Junior College, Nerinx	Private
Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary	Presbyterian
Nazareth College, Louisville	Roman Catholic
Pikeville College, Pikeville	Presbyterian
St. Catherine Junior College, Springfield	Roman Catholic
St. Mary's College, St. Mary	Private
Sue Bennett College, London	Methodist
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville	Southern Baptist
Transylvania College, Lexington	Private

KENTUCKY, continued	LEGAL CONTROL
Union College, Barbourville	Methodist
Ursuline College, Louisville	Roman Catholic
Villa Madonna College, Covington	Roman Catholic

LOUISIANA

Public

Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge	State
Louisiana State University at New Orleans	State
McNeese State College, Lake Charles	State
Southeastern Louisiana College, Hammond	State
University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette	State

Nonpublic

Immaculata Minor Seminary, Lafayette	Roman Catholic
Loyola University, New Orleans	Roman Catholic
New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary	Southern Baptist
Notre Dame Seminary, New Orleans	Roman Catholic
St. Mary's Dominican College, New Orleans	Roman Catholic
Tulane University, New Orleans	Private

MARYLAND

Public

Allegany Community College, Cumberland	County
Anne Arundel Community College, Anne Arundel	County
Baltimore Junior College, Baltimore	Municipal
Catonsville Community College, Catonsville	County
Charles County Junior College, La Plata	County
Essex Community College, Essex	County
Frederick Community College, Frederick	County
Hagerstown Junior College, Hagerstown	County
Harford Junior College, Bel Air	County
Montgomery Junior College, Takoma Park	County
Prince George's Community College, Suitland	County
St. Mary's Seminary Junior College, St. Mary's City	State
State Teachers College, Frostburg	State
State Teachers College, Salisbury	State
State Teachers College, Towson	State
United States Naval Academy, Annapolis	National
University of Maryland, College Park and Baltimore	State

Nonpublic

Baltimore College of Commerce, Baltimore	YMCA
College of Notre Dame of Maryland, Baltimore	Roman Catholic
Goucher College, Towson	Private
Hood College, Frederick	Private
Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore	Private
Loyola College, Baltimore	Roman Catholic
The Maryland Institute, Baltimore	Private

MARYLAND, continued	LEGAL CONTROL
Mount St. Agnes College, Baltimore	Private
Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg	Roman Catholic
Peabody Institute of City of Baltimore, Baltimore	Private
St. John's College, Annapolis	Private
St. Joseph College, Emmitsburg	Roman Catholic
Washington College, Chestertown	Private
Western Maryland College, Westminster	Methodist

MISSISSIPPI

Public

University of Mississippi, Oxford	State

Nonpublic

St. Augustine Catholic Seminary, Bay St. Louis	Roman Catholic

MISSOURI

Public

Central Missouri State College, Warrensburg	State
Harris Teachers College, St. Louis	Municipal
Joplin Junior College, Joplin	District
Junior College of Flat River, Flat River	Municipal
Junior College of Kansas City, Kansas City	District
Moberly Junior College, Moberly	Municipal
Northeast Missouri State Teachers College, Kirksville	State
Northwest Missouri State College, Maryville	State
St. Louis-St. Louis County Junior College, St. Louis	City-County
St. Joseph Junior College, St. Joseph	Municipal
Southeast Missouri State College, Cape Girardeau	State
Southwest Missouri State College, Springfield	State
Trenton Junior College, Trenton	Municipal
University of Missouri, Columbia & Rolla Divisions	State

Nonpublic

Culver-Stockton College, Canton	Disciples of Christ
Drury College, Springfield	Congregational Christian
Park College, Parkville	Presbyterian
St. Louis University, St. Louis	Roman Catholic
University of Kansas City, Kansas City	Private
Washington University, St. Louis	Private
Webster College, Webster Groves	Roman Catholic
Westminster College, Fulton	Presbyterian
William Jewell College, Liberty	Southern Baptist

NORTH CAROLINA*

Public

Appalachian State Teachers College, Boone	State
Asheville-Biltmore College, Asheville	State-Municipal-County
Charlotte College, Charlotte	Municipal
College of the Albermarle, Elizabeth City	State-County
East Carolina College, Greenville	State

*Catawba College, Salisbury, Evangelical Reformed, has enrolled an African student but has no official desegregation policy.

NORTH CAROLINA, continued	LEGAL CONTROL
North Carolina State College of Agriculture & Engineering, Raleigh	State
Pembroke State College, Pembroke	State
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill	State
Western Carolina College, Cullowhee	State
Wilmington College, Wilmington	State-County
Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, Greensboro	State
Nonpublic	
Belmont Abbey College, Belmont	Roman Catholic
Black Mountain College, Black Mountain	Private
Brevard College, Brevard	Methodist
Davidson College, Davidson	Presbyterian
Duke University, Durham	Private
Elon College, Elon College	Private
Gardner-Webb Junior College, Inc., Boiling Springs	Southern Baptist
Guilford College, Guilford	Society of Friends
Lenoir Rhyne College, Hickory	Lutheran
Mars Hill College, Mars Hill	Southern Baptist
Meredith College, Raleigh	Southern Baptist
Pfeiffer College, Misenheimer	Methodist
Queens College, Charlotte	Presbyterian
Sacred Heart Junior College, Belmont	Roman Catholic
Saint Andrews Presbyterian College, Laurinburg	Presbyterian
Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest	Southern Baptist
Wake Forest College, Winston-Salem	Southern Baptist
Warren Wilson Junior College, Swannanoa	Presbyterian

OKLAHOMA	
Public	
Altus Junior College, Altus	District
Cameron State Agricultural College, Lawton	State
Central State College, Edmond	State
Connors State Agricultural College, Warner	State
East Central State College, Ada	State
Eastern Oklahoma A. & M. College, Wilburton	State
El Reno Junior College, El Reno	District
Murray State Agricultural College, Tishomingo	State
Muskogee Junior College, Muskogee	Municipal
Northeastern Oklahoma A. & M., Miami	State
Northeastern State College, Tahlequah	State
Northern Oklahoma Junior College, Tonkawa	State
Northwestern State College, Alva	State
Oklahoma College for Women, Chickasha	State
Oklahoma Military Academy, Claremore	State
Oklahoma State University of Agriculture and Applied Science, Stillwater	State
Panhandle A. & M. College, Goodwell	State
Poteau Community College, Poteau	Municipal
Sayre Junior College, Sayre	District
Seminole Junior College, Seminole	District

OKLAHOMA, continued	LEGAL CONTROL
Southeastern State College, Durant	State
Southwestern State College, Weatherford	State
University of Oklahoma, Norman	State
Nonpublic	
Benedictine Heights College, Tulsa	Roman Catholic
Oklahoma Baptist University, Shawnee	Southern Baptist
Oklahoma Christian College, Oklahoma City	Private
Oklahoma City University, Oklahoma City	Methodist
Phillips University, Enid	Disciples of Christ
St. Gregory's College, Shawnee	Roman Catholic
University of Tulsa, Tulsa	Private

SOUTH CAROLINA

Public	
Clemson Agricultural College, Clemson	State
Nonpublic	
Our Lady of Mercy Junior College, Charleston	Roman Catholic

TENNESSEE

Public	
Austin Peay State College, Clarksville	State
East Tennessee State College, Johnson City	State
Memphis State University, Memphis	State
Middle Tennessee State College, Murfreesboro	State
Tennessee Polytechnic Institute, Cookeville	State
University of Tennessee, Knoxville	State
University of Tennessee, Nashville, Memphis and Martin Branches (3)	State
Nonpublic	
Bethel College, McKenzie	Cumberland Presbyterian
Christian Brothers College, Memphis	Roman Catholic
Madison College, Madison College	Private
Maryville College, Maryville	Presbyterian
Peabody College, Nashville	Private
Scarritt College for Christian Workers, Nashville	Methodist
Tusculum College, Greenville	Private
University of Chattanooga, Chattanooga*	Private
University of the South, Sewanee	Protestant Episcopal
Vanderbilt University, Nashville	Private

TEXAS

Public	
Amarillo College, Amarillo	Municipal

*Summer school only desegregated.

TEXAS, continued	LEGAL CONTROL
Arlington State College, Arlington (branch of Texas A. & M.)	State
Brownsville Junior College, Brownsville	Municipal
Cisco Junior College, Cisco	District
Clarendon Junior College, Clarendon	District
Cooke County Junior College, Gainesville	Municipal
Del Mar College, Corpus Christi	Municipal
East Texas State College, East Texas Station	State
Frank Phillips Junior College, Borger	District
Hill Junior College, Hillsboro	District
Houston University, Houston	Municipal
Howard County Junior College, Big Spring	County
Kilgore College, Kilgore	District
Lamar State College of Technology, Beaumont	District
Laredo Junior College, Laredo	Municipal
Lee College, Baytown	Municipal
Midwestern University, Wichita Falls	Municipal
Navarro Junior College, Corsicana	County
North Texas State University, Denton	State
Odessa College, Odessa	District
Pan American College, Edinburg	County
Paris Junior College, Paris	Municipal
San Angelo College, San Angelo	Municipal
San Antonio College, San Antonio	District
San Jacinto College, Pasadena	District
South Plains College, Levelland	County
Southwest Texas Junior College, Uvalde	District
Southwest Texas State College, San Marcos	State
Temple Junior College, Temple	Municipal
Texarkana College, Texarkana	Municipal
Texas College of Arts and Industry, Kingsville	State
Texas Southmost College, Brownsville	Municipal
Texas Technological College, Lubbock	State
Texas Western College, El Paso (branch of University of Texas)	State
Texas Woman's University, Denton	State
University of Texas, Austin	State
Victoria College, Victoria	Municipal
Weatherford College, Weatherford	District
West Texas State College, Canyon	State
Wharton County Junior College, Wharton	County
Nonpublic	
Abilene Christian College, Abilene	Private
Austin College, Sherman	Southern Presbyterian
Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Austin	Presbyterian
Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas	Private
De Mazenod Scholasticate, San Antonio	Roman Catholic
Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest, Austin	Protestant Episcopal
Hardin-Simmons University, Abilene	Southern Baptist
Incarnate Word College, San Antonio	Roman Catholic

TEXAS, continued	LEGAL CONTROL
Lutheran Concordia College, Austin	Lutheran
McMurry College, Abilene	Methodist
Our Lady of the Lake College,	Roman Catholic
St. Edward's University, Austin	Roman Catholic
St. Mary's University of San Antonio	Roman Catholic
Southern Methodist University, Dallas	Methodist
Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth	Southern Baptist
Texas Christian University, Fort Worth	Christian
Texas Lutheran College, Sequin	Lutheran
Trinity University, San Antonio	Presbyterian
University of Corpus Christi, Corpus Christi	Southern Baptist
University of Dallas, Dallas	Roman Catholic
Wayland Baptist College, Plainview	Southern Baptist

VIRGINIA

Public

College of William and Mary, Williamsburg	State
Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia, Fredericksburg	State
Medical College of Virginia, Richmond	State
Patrick Henry College, Martinsville	State
Richmond Professional Institute, Richmond	State
University of Virginia, Charlottesville	State
Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg	State

Nonpublic

Bridgewater College, Bridgewater	Brethren
Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg	Mennonite
Presbyterian School of Christian Education, Richmond	Presbyterian
Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary in Virginia, Alexandria	Episcopal
Union Theological Seminary, Richmond	Presbyterian

WEST VIRGINIA

Public

Concord College, Athens	State
Fairmont State College, Fairmont	State
Glenville State College, Glenville	State
Marshall University, Huntington	State
Potomac State College of West Virginia University, Keyser	State
Shepherd College, Shepherdstown	State
West Liberty State College, West Liberty	State
West Virginia Institute of Technology, Montgomery	State
West Virginia State College, Institute	State
West Virginia University, Morgantown	State

WEST VIRGINIA, continued	LEGAL CONTROL
Nonpublic	
Alderson-Broaddus College, Philippi	Baptist
Beckley College, Beckley	Private
Bethany College, Bethany	Private
Davis and Elkins College, Elkins	Presbyterian
Salem College, Salem	Seventh Day Baptist
West Virginia Wesleyan College, Buckhannon	Methodist

A P P E N D I X

	JANUARY 1961		MARCH 1963	
	PUBLIC	NONPUBLIC	PUBLIC	NONPUBLIC
ALABAMA	1*	1	1*	1
ARKANSAS	7	2	7	3
DELAWARE	1	0	1	0
D. C.	1	8	1	8
FLORIDA	2	1	8	4
GEORGIA	1	1	3	4
KENTUCKY	7	17	12	28
LOUISIANA	5	2	5	6
MARYLAND	8	14	17	14
MISSISSIPPI	0	0	1	1
MISSOURI	10	5	14	9
NORTH CAROLINA	3	6	10	19
OKLAHOMA	18	4	23	7
SOUTH CAROLINA	0	0	1	1
TENNESSEE	6	7	9	10
TEXAS	24	18	40	21
VIRGINIA	5	4	9	5
WEST VIRGINIA	9	4	10	6
	108	94	172	147

* Court Order, 1956, but no Negro students have been admitted since Miss Autherine Lucy was expelled in February, 1956.

Report L-23D (Revised)
December, 1964

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION*

Listed below are formerly all-white colleges and universities of the 17 southern and border states and the District of Columbia which we know to be desegregated, in practice or policy. We have, this year, omitted listing by name when all public or non-public schools are desegregated. This report updates our L-Reports 23, 23A, 23B, and 23C which appeared in January 1961, September 1961, February 1963, and April 1963 respectively.

From March 1963 through November 4, 1964 the number of predominantly white desegregated colleges and universities has increased from 319 to 438, an increase of 119. Of these 23 were public and 96 were non-public. Four southern states have desegregated all previously white public institutions: Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas. The border states of Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia have desegregated all public institutions.

Our records indicate that there remain more than 40 segregated accredited public institutions of higher learning in the eleven southern states and about 140 (more than half of the total accredited) non-public institutions.** Of these, most are denominational. In the six border states and the District of Columbia, there are still some 25 segregated accredited institutions of higher learning, most of which are denominational.

Not all schools listed have Negro students enrolled, but in all such cases statements of their governing boards indicate an official policy of admission without regard to race.

ALABAMA	LEGAL CONTROL
Public	
Auburn University, Auburn	State
Florence State College, Florence	State
University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa	State
Birmingham Extension; Huntsville Extension	
Non-public	
Sacred Heart College, Cullman	Roman Catholic
Spring Hill College, Mobile	Roman Catholic

* This list is based on information in our files, and may not be complete. Periodic reports in Southern School News have been a principal source.

** Our count of accredited institutions is from the Education Directory, 1963-1964, Higher Education, of the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

ARKANSAS	LEGAL CONTROL
Public--7 (all)	State
Non-public	
Arkansas College, Batesville	Presbyterian
Crowley Ridge Junior College, Paragould	Private
College of the Ozarks, Clarksville	Presbyterian
Ft. Smith Junior College, Ft. Smith	Private
Harding College, Searcy	Church of Christ
Hendrix College, Conway	Methodist
John Brown University, Siloam Springs	Private
Little Rock University, Little Rock	Private
Ouachita Baptist College, Arkadelphia	Southern Baptist
Southern Baptist College, Walnut Ridge	Southern Baptist

DELAWARE

Public--1 (all)

Non-public--2 (all)

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Public--3 (all)

Non-public	
American University	Methodist
Benjamin Franklin University	Private
Catholic University of America	Roman Catholic
Dunbarton College of Holy Cross	Roman Catholic
George Washington University	Private
Georgetown University	Roman Catholic
Georgetown Visitation Junior College	Roman Catholic
Immaculata Junior College	Roman Catholic
Strayer Junior College of Finance	Private
Trinity College	Roman Catholic
(School of Advanced International Studies, D.C. branch of Johns Hopkins, Maryland is counted in Maryland)	Private

FLORIDA*

Public	
Brevard Junior College, Cocoa	County
Broward Junior College	County
Central Florida Junior College, Ocala	County
Daytona Beach Junior College, Daytona Beach	County
Edison Junior College, Fort Myers	County
Florida State University, Tallahassee	State

* An interesting development occurred in Florida: two counties closed all-Negro junior colleges and combined the student bodies with formerly all-white junior colleges. Lee County closed the Dunbar branch and desegregated Edison Junior College; Putnam County closed Collier-Blocker Junior College, merging it with St. John's River Junior College.

FLORIDA, continued:	LEGAL CONTROL
Manatee Junior College, Bradenton	County
Miami-Dade County Junior College, Miami	County
Palm Beach Junior College, Lake Worth	County
St. John's River Junior College, Palatka	County
St. Petersburg Junior College, St. Petersburg	County
University of Florida, Gainesville	State
University of South Florida, Tampa	State
Non-public	
Barry College, Miami	Roman Catholic
Florida Presbyterian College, St. Petersburg	Presbyterian
Jacksonville University, Jacksonville	Private
New College, Sarasota	Private
Stetson University, DeLand	Southern Baptist
University of Miami, Coral Gables	Private

GEORGIA

Public	
Armstrong College of Savannah	State
Brunswick Junior College, Brunswick	State
Columbus College, Columbus	State
Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta	State
Southern Technical Institute, Marietta	
Georgia Southern College, Statesboro	State
Georgia State College, Atlanta	State
Southern College of Pharmacy, Atlanta	State
University of Georgia, Athens	State
Valdosta State College, Valdosta	State
West Georgia College, Carrollton	State
Women's College of Georgia, Milledgeville	State
Non-public	
Agnes Scott College, Decatur	Private
Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur	Presbyterian
Emory University, Atlanta	Methodist
Mercer University, Macon	Southern Baptist
Oglethorpe University, Atlanta	Private

KENTUCKY

Public--7 (all)

Non-public	
Asbury College, Wilmore	Private
Bellarmine College, Louisville	Roman Catholic
Berea College, Berea	Private
Bethel College, Hopkinsville	Southern Baptist
Bowling Green College of Commerce, Bowling Green	Private
Brescia College, Owensboro	Roman Catholic
Campbellsville College, Campbellsville	Southern Baptist
Caney Junior College, Pippapass	Private
Carver School of Missions, Louisville	Southern Baptist
Catherine Spalding College, Louisville	Roman Catholic
(formerly Nazereth College; name changed)	

KENTUCKY, continued:

	LEGAL CONTROL
Centre College of Kentucky, Danville	Private
College of the Bible, Lexington	Disciples of Christ
Cumberland College, Williamsburg	Southern Baptist
Georgetown College, Georgetown	Southern Baptist
Kentucky Southern College, Louisville	Southern Baptist
Kentucky Wesleyan College, Owensboro	Methodist
Lees Junior College, Jackson	Presbyterian
Lindsey Wilson College, Columbia	Methodist
Loretto Junior College, Nerinx	Roman Catholic
Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary	Presbyterian
Nazareth College of Kentucky, Nazareth	Roman Catholic
Pikeville College, Pikeville	Presbyterian
St. Catherine Junior College, Springfield	Roman Catholic
St. Mary's College, St. Mary	Private
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville	Southern Baptist
Sue Bennett College, London	Methodist
Transylvania College, Lexington	Private
Union College, Barbourville	Methodist
Ursuline College, Louisville	Roman Catholic
Villa Madonna College, Covington	Roman Catholic

LOUISIANA

Public

Delgado Trades & Technical Institute, New Orleans	City-State
Francis T. Nicholls State College, Thibodaux	State
Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge	State
New Orleans Campus	
Alexandria Campus	
McNeese State College, Lake Charles	State
Northeast Louisiana State, Monroe	State
Southeastern Louisiana College, Hammond	State
University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette	State

Non-public

Immaculata Minor Seminary, Lafayette	Roman Catholic
Loyola University, New Orleans	Roman Catholic
New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary	Southern Baptist
Notre Dame Seminary, New Orleans	Roman Catholic
St. Mary's Dominican College, New Orleans	Roman Catholic
Tulane University, New Orleans	Private
Sophie Newcomb (Women's Undergraduate) College	

MARYLAND

Public--16 (all)

Non-public--25 (all)

MISSISSIPPI	LEGAL CONTROL
Public	
University of Mississippi, Oxford	State
Non-public	
St. Augustine Catholic Seminary, Bay St.Louis	Roman Catholic

MISSOURI

Public--14 (all)

Non-public--40

NORTH CAROLINA*

Public--11 (all)

Non-public	
Atlantic Christian College, Wilson	Disciples of Christ
Belmont Abbey College, Belmont	Roman Catholic
Black Mountain College, Black Mountain	Private
Brevard College, Brevard	Methodist
Catawba College, Salisbury	Evangelical Reformed
Davidson College, Davidson	Presbyterian
Duke University, Durham	Private
Elon College, Elon College	Private
Gardner-Webb Junior College, Boiling Springs	Southern Baptist
Greensboro College, Greensboro	Methodist
Guilford College, Guilford	Society of Friends
High Point College, High Point	Methodist
Lenoir Rhyne College, Hickory	Lutheran
Louisburg College, Louisburg	Methodist
Mars Hill College, Mars Hill	Southern Baptist
Meredith College, Raleigh	Southern Baptist
Pfeiffer College, Misenheimer	Methodist
Piedmont Bible College, Inc., Winston-Salem	Private
Queens College, Charlotte	Presbyterian
Sacred Heart Junior College, Belmont	Roman Catholic
Saint Andrews Presbyterian College, Laurinburg	Presbyterian
Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest	Southern Baptist
Wake Forest College, Winston-Salem	Baptist
Warren Wilson Junior College, Swannanoa	Presbyterian

OKLAHOMA

Public--23 (all)

Non-public--11 (all)

* In Salisbury, Catawba College (white) and Livingston College (Negro) will operate a student exchange program through which students at one school may get credit for classes taken at the other.

SOUTH CAROLINA	LEGAL CONTROL
Public	
Clemson Agricultural College, Clemson	State
University of South Carolina, Aiken Center, Beaufort Center, and Columbia Center	
Winthrop College, Rock Hill	State
Non-public	
Lander College, Greenwood	Private
Newberry College, Newberry	Lutheran
Our Lady of Mercy Junior College, Charleston	Roman Catholic
Presbyterian College, Clinton	Presbyterian
Wofford College, Spartanburg	Methodist

TENNESSEE	
Public--6 (all)	
Non-public	
Bethel College, McKenzie	Cumberland Presbyterian
Carson-Newman College, Jefferson City	Southern Baptist
Christian Brothers College, Memphis	Roman Catholic
George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville	Private
King College, Bristol	Presbyterian
Madison College, Madison College	Private
Martin College, Pulaski	Methodist
Maryville College, Maryville	Presbyterian
Scarritt College for Christian Workers, Nashville	Methodist
Siena College, Memphis	Roman Catholic
Southwestern at Memphis	Presbyterian
Tennessee Wesleyan College, Athens	Methodist
Tusculum College, Greeneville	Private
Union University, Jackson	Southern Baptist
University of Chattanooga, Chattanooga	Private
University of the South, Sewanee	Episcopal
Vanderbilt University, Nashville	Private
William Jennings Bryan, Dayton	Private

TEXAS	
Public--50 (all)	
Non-public	
Abilene Christian College, Abilene	Private
Austin College, Sherman	Presbyterian
Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Austin	Presbyterian
Baylor University, Waco	Southern Baptist
Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas	Private
DeMazenod Scholasticate, San Antonio	Roman Catholic
East Texas Baptist College, Marshall (to desegregate after January 1965)	Southern Baptist
Episcopal Theological Seminary, Austin	Episcopal

TEXAS, continued:

	LEGAL CONTROL
Hardin-Simmons University, Abilene	Southern Baptist
Incarnate Word College, San Antonio	Roman Catholic
Lutheran Concordia College, Austin	Lutheran
McMurry College, Abilene	Methodist
Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio	Roman Catholic
Rice University, Houston	Private
St. Edward's University, Austin	Roman Catholic
St. Mary's University of San Antonio	Roman Catholic
Southern Methodist University, Dallas	Methodist
Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth	Southern Baptist
Texas Christian University, Fort Worth	Christian
Texas Lutheran College, Seguin	Lutheran
Trinity University, San Antonio	Presbyterian
University of Corpus Christi, Corpus Christi	Southern Baptist
University of Dallas, Dallas	Roman Catholic
University of St. Thomas, Houston	Roman Catholic
Wayland Baptist College, Plainview	Southern Baptist
Mary Hardin-Baylor, Belton	Southern Baptist

VIRGINIA

Public--10 (all)

Non-public

Bridgewater College, Bridgewater	Brethren
Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg	Mennonite
Emory & Henry College, Emory	Methodist
Mary Baldwin College, Staunton	Presbyterian
Presbyterian School of Christian Education, Richmond	Presbyterian
Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary, Alexandria	Episcopal
Randolph-Macon College, Ashland	Methodist
Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg	Methodist
Roanoke College, Salem	Lutheran
Union Theological Seminary, Richmond	Presbyterian
University of Richmond, Richmond	Baptist
Washington & Lee University, Lexington	Private

WEST VIRGINIA

Public--9 (all)

Non-public--10 (all)

A P P E N D I X

	MARCH 1963		DECEMBER 1964	
	PUBLIC	NON-PUBLIC	PUBLIC	NON-PUBLIC
ALABAMA	1	1	3	2
ARKANSAS	7	3	7 (all)	10
DELAWARE	1	0	1 (all)	2 (all)
D. C.	1	8	3 (all)	10
FLORIDA	8	4	13	6
GEORGIA	3	4	11	5
KENTUCKY	12*	28	7*	30
LOUISIANA	5	6	7	6
MARYLAND	17	14	16 (all)	25 (all)
MISSISSIPPI	1	1	1	1
MISSOURI	14	9	14 (all)	40
NORTH CAROLINA	10	19	11 (all)	24
OKLAHOMA	23	7	23 (all)	11 (all)
SOUTH CAROLINA	1	1	3	5
TENNESSEE	9*	10	6* (all)	18
TEXAS	40	21	50 (all)	26
VIRGINIA	9	5	10 (all)	12
WEST VIRGINIA	10	6	9 (all)	10 (all)
	172	147	195	243

* Difference in count due to administrative consolidation by some state colleges so that some now are listed as "branch," "center," or "campus" of state university.

Report L-24
February 16, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

(From an address by Malcolm Bryan, President of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta; Mr. Bryan was speaking before the Rotary Club of Atlanta, January 23, 1961.)

"Let me now turn to another subject of some delicacy on which I wish to be heard.

"In the postwar world the South has made spirited, almost miraculous progress. We have come from a per capita income of less than half the nation to a per capita income of 69 percent of the national average. This is an accomplishment that comforts us all. It is particularly gratifying to me and to you. For I, as have most of you, have given almost my entire adult life to this state and region.

"Our progress has been partly by our own effort. But we shall be ill informed and stupid if we do not realize that a considerable part of the accomplishment of which we are so proud has come from the importation of capital and skills and management from outside this state and outside this wonderful Southern region. We shall also be ill informed and, I think, stupid if we do not realize that we are still a deficit area for capital and for skills and that, if we are to continue to outrace the nation, we shall need continuing aid and inspiration, so to speak, from abroad.

"Now, I am concerned that this point be thoroughly understood. In this Sixth Federal Reserve District there is a state that has definitely begun to lag, and there is some evidence that other parts of the region have slowed down, relative to the nation, in their onward economic march. If that slowing down, which I now see as the faintest tendency, should continue and be augmented and, if we do anything to assist or increase the slowing down, or to diminish the importation of extra-regional capital and skills, then we shall have struck ourselves a blow from which we will be generations in recovering. Remember, a plant that does not come here does not eliminate employment opportunities and the wealth we might have had for a day or a month or a year but for decades.

"Let me simply add that in my judgment foreign nations or foreigners seeking plant locations or opportunities to invest their capital--and there is much offshore capital invested in the South--or other Americans from outside our area seeking the same opportunities are not much concerned with our social opinions. But they <u>are</u> concerned with our ability to govern

ourselves and to maintain law and order. And any individual or corporate management contemplating the investment of capital or the location of a plant in this place knows one thing full well. If the governments of our states are so ill advised and so oblivious to reality as to fail in their responsibilities to maintain law and order, the investment of that capital or the location of that plant with us is dangerous; for all rational men know that a mob turned loose on one man, or on one class of men, or on one property, or class of property can also be turned loose on another man, or other men, or other properties. I trust that no one here will be under the slightest illusion on this score. A failure in the South to maintain law and order can cost bitterly in the job opportunities and the wealth that we so much need to increase if our citizens are to be well served.

"If we behave like a banana republic we shall get and deserve the economic rewards characteristic of a banana republic."

(From an address by Councilman Fred J. Cassibry of the New Orleans City Council, December 29, 1960.)

"Our city has only begun to realize its potential. Our capacity for economic growth is limitless. We have the necessary leadership both in and out of government to take us on to new heights. We have heard lately of a new frontier proposed by President-elect /John F./ Kennedy. I suggest to you that all Louisiana is a new frontier.

"Our abundance of natural resources should be like a beacon toward which all the great industrial concerns of the nation should pilot their ships. We won't attain this goal however by being listed with Little Rock, Ark., as the most bigoted and hate filled community in the nation. We can hardly expect the industrial giants of the nation to risk capital in a state which handles its problems (regardless of our personal feelings) as ineptly and inexpertly as we have handled the school problem.

"But there is yet time. No lasting damage has been done. No charge of communism or integrator should deter those political, business, civic and labor heads of our community from leading us through this trying crisis. Demagogues have been the spokesmen of our people. It is high time their destructive and irresponsible mouthings are replaced by voices of responsibility and decency."

(From the year-end report of New Orleans's
Mayor deLesseps S. Morrison, December 29, 1960.)

A "...serious consequence of the federal court order and subsequent events has been the damage, irrespective of cause, which has been done to the reputation of our city both nationally and internationally. The citizens of New Orleans have devoted years of time, hard work and money to advertise our community and its business, industrial, convention and tourist attractions.

"And now there is a very real danger that much of the results of our dedicated effort could be swept away in the months to come through irresponsible actions. Because of this, it is more than ever necessary that we remember our individual and collective responsibility to protect and promote the welfare of our beloved city."

Report L-24A
March 24, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W., #201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

NEW SCHOOL LAWS IN GEORGIA

By three laws passed at the 1961 session, the Georgia legislature has removed the prospect of conflict between federal and state power when the schools of Atlanta desegregate in September, 1961. Brief summaries of these laws, all enacted January 31, are set forth below, along with a fourth measure which proposes a constitutional amendment that will be voted on in 1962.

Following these summaries, Governor Vandiver's speech of January 18 before the legislature is reproduced.

* * *

Res. Act No. 1: Freedom from compulsory association; a proposed constitutional amendment

Proposes, for ratification by the voters, an amendment to Article VIII, Sec. 13 of the Georgia Constitution (which provides for tuition grants for private school attendance) a new paragraph to read:

> Paragraph II. Freedom from compulsory association at all levels of public education shall be preserved inviolate. The General Assembly shall by taxation provide funds for an adequate education for the citizens of Georgia.

Act. No. 13: Suspension of operation and reopening of school systems

Provides for local elections on the question of suspension of public schools. At any time a local school board may call such an election; an election must be called upon petition of 15% of the registered voters within a local system. If a majority favors suspending operation, the schools must be closed. Contracts of principals, teachers, and other personnel shall not, however, be affected and they shall continue to receive salaries until other suitable employment is found or until end of contract term. Obligations under any other indebtedness incurred prior to suspension will not be impaired. The system shall continue to receive its share of state educational funds.

At any time, a local school board may call for an election on the question of reopening public schools under its jurisdiction. It must call such an election upon petition of 15% of the registered voters.

If for the same school year there has already been an election on the question of suspending or reopening schools, the board may or may not, at its discretion, call a second election when petitioned to do so.

When schools have been suspended, the compulsory school attendance law becomes inoperative in that system and no child shall be entitled to attend a public school therein or elsewhere.

Act. No. 14: Grants for education; powers of county school boards.

Every child, age 6 to 19, who has not finished high school is entitled to receive state and local funds to attend a non-sectarian private school. The amount of each grant shall be determined by dividing the total state and local funds for each school year by the number of pupils in the local school system. The local board may set differentials between grants for elementary pupils and high school pupils. Capital outlay funds may be included if not obligated under bonded indebtedness or as rentals to the State School Building Authority. The Governor and the State Board of Education may also make additional state funds available to supplement the education grants. These grants shall be paid to the parent or legal guardian of the child.

The Georgia Code is amended to omit the requirements that separate schools be provided for colored and white children and that teachers may not be compensated for teaching racially mixed classes.

Act No. 15: Hearings by and appeals from local boards; duties of State Board of Education

Provides for appeal of decisions of local boards, regarding the school law, to the State Board of Education; also, makes a number of other technical revisions of law regarding school administration. The intent of this Act is to establish and clarify procedure for the appeal of pupil assignments from local boards to the State Board, and to make the responsibilities of the State Department of Education consistent with the situations possible under Acts 13 and 14.

* * *

TEXT OF GOVERNOR VANDIVER'S ADDRESS TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Lieutenant Governor Byrd, House Speaker Smith, gentlemen of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, fathers, mothers, children, teachers, and citizens of Georgia:

This evening, you and I meet together in this joint session on an occasion history will judge.

I am addressing you not only as your chief executive, but as

a devoted father of one son and two daughters in the classrooms of our public schools.

I am speaking to them about their future, as much as I am speaking to you and your children about yours.

We meet together to proclaim to the whole world that:

PUBLIC EDUCATION WILL BE PRESERVED!

OUR GEORGIA CHILDREN WILL BE PROTECTED!

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION AND AUTONOMY WILL BE MAINTAINED!

GRANTS WILL BE AUTHORIZED!

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, THE VERY CENTERS OF OUR COMMUNITY LIFE AND ACTIVITY, WILL BE STRENGTHENED!

THE RIGHT OF YOUR CHILD AND MINE TO AN ADEQUATE EDUCATION TO FIT THEM FOR AN INCREASINGLY COMPETITIVE WORLD WILL BE ENRICHED AND GUARDED AS ARE OTHER SACRED RIGHTS!

I have summoned the Assembly here in this unusual and emergency session in order that what I will have to say can go into the living rooms of as many Georgia homes and reach as many mothers and fathers as I can.

May I extend my warmest and heartfelt gratitude to the ownership, management,and staffs of Georgia radio and television stations for responding so quickly and generously to bring this message to the people.

The fate of public education in Georgia rests with me, as governor, with you, as members of the General Assembly,and with state and local educators.

Moreover, its ultimate fate rests with that great body of Georgians that go to make up our citizenry.

These past few days have been trying ones for all of us--days of shock, frayed tempers, anger, shouting, even violence, but, over in the distance, through it all shone a steady light--the light of Georgia character, the innate, inbred integrity of our people.

We hold fast to a common heritage and share a mutual destiny.

Our minds, our hearts, our roots grow deep in Georgia's sandy soil, in her rolling plains,and in her red clay hills.

On her landscape, we have felt the joys of youth, the experiences of growing,and on her ground we have shed our tears.

Ingrained in each of us, is the deep, personal, unchangeable conviction that separate public education--segregated facilities--not only are best but are mandatory, under the circumstances existing here, if peaceful relations are to continue between the two races as they have in the past.

From talking to the members of the Assembly and studying various bills already introduced, I believe that it is the sense of this body that its faith in separate education remains unshakeable:

--That it deplores in the strongest terms the raw exercise of federal might, applied by sweeping judicial decrees, seeking to bring the injunctive process to bear upon thousands of our people.

--That this hand of federal force moving into Georgia's hallowed halls is repugnant to practically every person in this chamber.

--That many of Georgia's existing laws, though valid when enacted and having served a good purpose, have been transformed by

recent decisions and events from possible instruments of defense to instruments of doom at the outset.

--That these very laws have been so interpreted by the federal courts in such manner as to no longer support the principle for which they were enacted and, indeed, have been utilized to accomplish just the opposite and to justify federal intervention in purely local affairs.

This General Assembly recognized, as do I, unless some new laws, some new weapons, are sought now, our public schools in the future will be taken over and run by federal injunction and policed by federal troops.

This governor--this General Assembly--are not willing to sit by and let the federal courts take over the prerogatives of state and local governments.

We are determined to do everything we can--take every action we can--to prevent it!

The crisis is upon us.

I must tell you quite frankly that a failure to resolve it will blight our state.

Like a cancerous growth, it will devour progress--consuming all in its path--pitting friend against friend--demoralizing all that is good--stifling the economic growth of the state--and denying the youth of Georgia their proper educational opportunity.

We have seen the destructive forces which can be loosed upon us.

We have seen reason give way to emotion.

We have seen destructive violence--even mob rule.

That is too big a price to pay for inaction.

The time has come when we must act--act in Georgia's interest --act in the future interest of Georgia youth.

AND WE MUST ACT WITHOUT DELAY.

I say this, for in the past few days we have seen events move so swiftly that it was hard to keep them in their true perspective.

My friends, under Georgia's present statutes, it has been demonstrated that it is futile even to send a lawyer into the court room to defend them.

The question is--are we going to have safeguards or not?

The answer is obvious.

We have had a preview of what will happen.

We have seen the results of our attorneys being handicapped without new laws appropriate for the time and the occasion.

We have seen the results of being denied the right to defend a cause on its merits.

Yes, in a single stroke of the federal judge's pen we have seen the state stripped of any protection whatsoever.

That is why I have summoned you here in this unusual emergency session.

There have been many meetings, many conferences, many discussions about this problem. I have consulted with members of the General Assembly, with members of my administration and with the people of Georgia--the industrialist, the businessman, the druggist, the educator, the minister--and, yes, even with the youth most directly affected.

I have asked each of them what solution they had, and if they had a solution, to come forward with it now.

Regrettably, no one has come forward with the perfect solution.

There is no perfect solution.

I reject, as I know you and the people of Georgia do, any thought, suggestion, hint or encouragement of defiance of lawful processes or the subjecting of the children of Georgia to the bodily hazard of violence and mob rule.

Having seen what can happen in the university system, we must move to protect the public schools and Georgia school children within the legal framework left to us. Developments in the university case raise the real peril that under certain circumstances state-funds support for the Department of Education and for the 159 county and 139 independent school systems might not be constitutionally permissible and might have to be withheld by the state.

In such circumstances there could be only one result.

All of the public schools in the state could be forced to close.

That is a possibility which you, I, and the people of Georgia are unwilling to contemplate, much less permit!

After seven years of political debate--after the enactment of many laws which have been put to successive tests in other states and have fallen--Georgia at this hour is confronted squarely with the inexorable hand of federal force, for the first time.

Her decision--public education or no education--how most effectively to protect the welfare of her children in view of the lawsuits affecting the university at Athens and the public schools, and others which may follow.

There is no--NO--sentiment in this state for a blind destruction of public education without offering an effective alternative.

There never has been.

Every legal means and resource to circumvent the effects of the decision, yes.

Defiance, no.

Private schools offered as a last resort, yes.

Destruction of education, no.

That has been the policy.

THAT IS THE POLICY TODAY.

There is no real sentiment in Georgia for integrating the classrooms of her schools and colleges.

We are the target of destructive forces beyond our borders, the evil effects of which must be neutralized by Georgians acting in concert for their best interests.

The great body of our people--the masses--white and colored alike--wish, are proud of and are content with our system of separate education.

Its preservation is the fundamental objective of Georgia people.

It is the fundamental objective of the Vandiver administration.

Separate education--segregated facilities--are our objectives, first, last, and always.

Giving our people an effective and legal means to protect themselves in light of present conditions, public sentiment will see to it in practically every community that separate education is continued in Georgia, on a voluntary basis.

Therefore, it is incumbent upon me, as governor, and upon you,

the members of the General Assembly, to act now to afford that protection.

It can be done.

We can preserve public education.

We can maintain separate facilities.

We can preserve the peace and good order of the State.

We can--we must--protect the children of Georgia.

We can do this, my friends, NOT by futile defiance of federal force and authority.

--not by allowing ourselves to come into irreconcilable conflict with superior federal armed forces, as a few would have us do, where abject defeat and a turn-over of education to the federal courts would be the ultimate catastrophe.

That is no strategy.

That is no plan.

Our course is to evolve a sensible plan; not to engage in emotional, futile moves which accomplish nothing but further aggravate an already bad situation.

Our course is lawful resistance--not defiance--not violence.

Our course is what is expected of a government of laws.

Our course is what is expected from responsible men.

Our course is the only effective remaining means and solution.

Georgians have maintained their position by acting with intelligence, with foresight, with initiative, and with courage.

We will continue to do so.

The decision of the federal Supreme Court, rendered Sept. 29, 1958, in the Little Rock case, and those which followed, have made it necessary that we revise our education plan as envisioned in 1956.

I am sure that those who opposed the grants-in-aid amendment in 1954 will join now with those of us who voted and worked actively for its adoption in proclaiming it a farsighted act of statesmanship and leadership.

Proposed by the then Gov. Herman Talmadge, it was the basis of our defense then.

It forms the basis of our defense now.

Implementation legislation for the 1954 grants amendment was adopted in 1956 and in 1959. Since that time decisions have rendered it ineffective, in that, conditions which these statutes envisaged cannot now legally come into operation. Therefore, for the state to make grants, new implementing legislation is necessary.

Also, in 1956 and in 1959 the Legislature enacted statutes providing for school closure when integrated. Recent decisions dealing with identical laws have resulted in their being stricken.

In order to authorize the suspension of public schools and their reopening, consistent with the wishes of their patrons, a new law covering this subject must be passed.

At its last session, the General Assembly created a commission --the General Assembly Committee on Schools--to make such a study.

The committee made a constructive contribution in setting forth our present legal position.

Though the report was not unanimous, while varying views were expressed, in those conclusions, where there was unanimity, the report is most enlightening and helpful.

In these areas the combined reports express the will of the people--the will of the people of Georgia.

After studying these reports, I find that there are striking similarities in their recommendations.

These are the points that every member of the committee agreed on:

1. The people of Georgia are overwhelmingly in favor of both segregation and public education.

2. An overwhelming majority of the people of Georgia hold a deep conviction that separate facilities for the white and colored races are in the best interests of both races.

3. Compulsory association of the races through enforced integration would be detrimental to the peace, good order, and tranquility of the state, and detrimental to progress, harmony, and good relations between the races.

4. The vast majority of the people prefer tax-supported, segregated public schools rather than private schools.

5. The right of freedom of choice of one's associates is in violation of no laws, state or federal, and is the foundation stone of all society and is the base upon which progress, happiness, good order, and good feeling among people are built,

6. Both majority and minority reports favor the adoption of an amendment to the State Constitution guaranteeing this same freedom of association under which no child would be compelled to attend a school wherein intolerable conditions exist.

7. That legally effective, implementation legislation be enacted authorizing tuition grants under the 1954 amendment.

8. That public education be preserved in Georgia.

Finally, most important of all--

9. That the best interests of the children of Georgia be held paramount and above all other considerations.

In the final analysis, the question--the issue--presented to me and to you, is whether we want to rest our defenses entirely upon existing statutes, many of which are identical to those which have fallen in other states; or whether we shall rebuild our defenses to withstand these onslaughts in the courts.

Gentlemen, in laying a breastworks, it is elementary tactics not to rely on a single, already vulnerable line, which when once pierced, the hordes would be upon us.

All of us remember the famed French Maginot Line vaunted as invincible prior to World War II. But we remember also how it melted before the onslaught of the Blitzkreig.

The time is at hand, therefore, to seek new and better defenses --to perfect alternative plans--to act with courage and resolve--to act decisively--to determine to carry on legal resistance with every means available to us.

We must discard rusty and defective safeguards.

We will follow the principle laid down by the General Assembly of Georgia and the people of Georgia in 1954 at the beginning of this struggle, that, in our common weal, we will utilize to the fullest--

EVERY LEGAL MEANS AND EVERY LEGAL RESOURCE AT OUR COMMAND TO MAINTAIN SEPARATE EDUCATION IN GEORGIA!

That is our policy.

Let us pursue it with everything we have.

Let us proceed now to examine our position and to act with immediacy to strengthen it absolutely and with purpose.

The administration will present to you a freedom of association child protection defense package at this session, composed of a proposed constitutional amendment and three bills.

The amendment would guarantee freedom of association.

One bill would provide for an effective system of grants-in-aid based upon valid premises rather than upon contingencies which are legally impossible under existing laws.

Another would provide adequate legal machinery, which does not now exist, for suspension and reopening of public schools.

Another bill relates to new and effective appellate procedures of the State Board of Education.

The amendment and bills are intended to be cumulative to all effective and subsisting school legislation for our constitutional provision authorizing grants-in-aid.

Their passage is an additional and necessary step in Georgia's efforts to avoid the harmful effects of the decision in the Brown case and those which have followed.

That is our task.

We live in times and face problems that appear almost unsolvable.

But we must take heart.

We have a great state here and the finest citizens on earth.

Praying for Divine Guidance in all that we do, rededicating our faith in education, young Georgia eyes will look deeper into the world of the future.

An educated youth will discover broad new horizons for the betterment of mankind.

And a people, armed with knowledge, will be easy to lead, difficult to drive and impossible to enslave.

Report No. L-25
April 20, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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Sunday, March 26, 1961 THE WASHINGTON POST

New Census Look at Cities and Race

By Jack Eisen
Staff Reporter

A SEVERE CASE of "hardening of the boundaries" during a period of massive population growth has moved large American cities, Washington among them, into a sort of statistical limbo.

This was emphasized last night by the release of new Census Bureau data showing that the Nation's metropolitan communities are not as racially unbalanced as earlier figures indicated.

In contrast with the earlier statistics, which covered only areas within cities' political boundaries, the new figures are based on entire metropolitan areas—or, as the Government calls them, "standard metropolitan statistical areas."

FOR METROPOLITAN WASHINGTON, the new census figures show that Negroes make up 487,183 of the 2,001,897 total population, or 24.3 per cent—a figure that has remained fairly stable for half a century. Before that, it was higher.

This new tabulation recognizes that virtually all cities have spilled large numbers of urban-oriented families—city-dwellers in every modern sense of the word—across their invisible boundaries into the adjacent suburbs. These families maintain strong social, economic and cultural ties with the central city.

In fact, Richard M. Scammon, director-designate of the Census Bureau, regards today's city as little more than an enlarged downtown for the metropolitan community.

"In fact, we must develop a new concept of a city to replace one that has ceased to have real statistical meaning," he says.

THE MAPS on this page provide a graphic demonstration. They depict, in identical scale, the Nation's 10 most populous metropolitan communities. Solid areas are the central cities — the enlarged downtowns Scammon referred to. The outer lines are the boundaries of the cities' standard metropolitan statistical areas. Shaded areas show the relative size of Washington and its suburbs.

Within the metropolitan boundaries, of course, land remains for development—just as there was space for Washington to grow

within its political boundaries in 1910, when the census described the District as "essentially urban or suburban in character," with rural pockets.

In the Nation's earliest days, when most Negroes were slaves working as field hands or body servants, the nonwhite population of this area approached half of the total. It reached a peak of 48.6 per cent in 1810.

During the Civil War, many freed men fled to the protection of Washington, tilting the proportion of Negroes upward for two decades. It dwindled slowly until the World War II and postwar population surge ballooned the size and shape of the metropolitan community.

IN THE PAST 10 years, Metropolitan Washington gained 545,293 population, of which 145,440 were Negroes. Of the latter, 127,706 moved into the central city. The District's population now is 763,956, with Negroes accounting for 411,737, or 53.9 per cent.

But Scammon holds that there is "no essential difference" between such developments in American cities today and what occurred a century ago in urban centers along the Eastern Seaboard. Low-income Negroes have tended to cluster in the center of the metropolitan area, he observes, just as the poor immigrant found a place to live in the much smaller downtown of yesteryear.

Then as now, new development in most cities lapped outward. When a municipal boundary was reached, annexation was easy—something not true today.

Washington of a century ago provides an example. The District had been shrunk one-third in 1846 by returning its original Virginia portion, yet the northern city limits reached only to Florida ave. nw. Beyond lay the farms, villages and estates of Washington County, D. C., extending to the Maryland line drawn in 1801.

Philadelphia attained its present size in 1854, San Francisco in 1856, St. Louis in 1876, New York in 1898. Scammon notes that all 10 cities depicted by the maps on this page are similarly straitjacketed.

In all these cities, as in all other large metropolitan communities on the Census Bureau list, the proportion of Negroes in the central city thus is much higher than that for the total metropolitan area. Frequently it is double.

SCAMMON ALSO NOTES that there is little apparent relationship between the Nation-wide "flight to the suburbs" and a community's racial patterns. He cites Minneapolis, which has 2.4 per cent Negroes—the smallest proportion among the top 25 cities—which lost 38,846 population between 1950 and 1960. Its metropolitan area gained 323,096.

During the same period, Washington lost an almost identical 38,222 persons while the area-wide gain was 537,808.

The Census Bureau's new figures show that two cities among the top 25 have metropolitan populations with higher proportions of Negroes than Washington. Metropolitan Memphis has 36.3 per cent and metropolitan New Orleans has 30.8.

Closely following Greater Washington's 24.3 per cent are metropolitan Atlanta with 22.8 and metropolitan Baltimore with 21.9.

Population Division In 25 Metropolises

THE FOLLOWING table, prepared from 1960 Census Bureau data, shows the total population and Negro population of the metropolitan areas centering on the Nation's 25 largest cities. Heavy type indicates data for the entire metropolitan area; italic type for the central city or cities and the outside communities (suburbs).

	Pop. Rank	Total Population	Negro Population	Per Cent Negro
New York	**1**	**10,694,633**	**1,227,625**	**11.5**
New York	1	7,781,984	1,087,931	14.0
Outside		2,912,649	139,694	4.8
Chicago	**3**	**6,220,913**	**890,154**	**14.3**
Chicago	2	3,550,404	812,637	22.9
Outside		2,670,509	77,517	2.9
Los Angeles	**2**	**6,742,696**	**464,717**	**6.9**
Los Angeles	3	2,479,015	334,916	13.5
Long Beach	35	344,168	9,531	2.8
Outside		3,919,514	120,270	3.1
Philadelphia	**4**	**4,342,897**	**671,304**	**15.5**
Philadelphia	4	2,002,512	529,240	26.4
Outside		2,340,385	142,064	6.1
Detroit	**5**	**3,762,360**	**558,870**	**14.9**
Detroit	5	1,670,144	482,223	28.9
Outside		2,092,216	76,647	3.7
Baltimore	**12**	**1,727,023**	**378,575**	**21.9**
Baltimore	6	939,024	326,589	34.8
Outside		788,099	51,986	6.6
Houston	**16**	**1,243,158**	**246,351**	**19.8**
Houston	7	938,219	215,037	22.9
Outside		304,939	31,314	10.3
Cleveland	**11**	**1,796,595**	**257,273**	**14.3**
Cleveland	8	876,050	250,818	28.6
Outside		920,545	6,455	0.7
Washington	**10**	**2,001,897**	**487,183**	**24.3**
D. C.	9	763,956	411,737	53.9
Outside		1,237,941	75,446	6.1
St. Louis	**9**	**2,060,103**	**294,873**	**14.3**
St. Louis	10	750,026	214,377	28.6
Outside		1,310,077	80,496	6.1
Milwaukee	**17**	**1,194,290**	**63,170**	**5.3**
Milwaukee	11	741,324	62,458	8.4
Outside		452,966	712	0.2
San Francisco	**6**	**2,783,359**	**238,754**	**8.6**
San Francisco	12	740,316	74,383	10.0
Oakland	33	367,548	83,618	22.8
Outside		1,675,495	80,753	4.8
Boston	**7**	**2,589,301**	**77,781**	**3.0**
Boston	13	697,197	63,165	9.1
Outside		1,892,104	14,616	0.8
Dallas	**19**	**1,083,601**	**155,488**	**14.3**
Dallas	14	679,684	129,242	19.0
Outside		403,917	26,246	6.5
New Orleans	**27**	**868,480**	**267,478**	**30.8**
New Orleans	15	627,525	233,514	37.2
Outside		240,955	33,964	14.1
Pittsburgh	**8**	**2,405,435**	**161,499**	**6.7**
Pittsburgh	16	604,332	100,692	16.7
Outside		1,801,103	60,807	3.4
San Antonio	**35**	**687,151**	**45,314**	**6.6**
San Antonio	17	587,718	41,605	7.1
Outside		99,433	3,709	3.7
San Diego	**24**	**1,033,011**	**39,397**	**3.8**
San Diego	18	573,224	34,435	6.0
Outside		459,787	4,962	1.1
Seattle	**23**	**1,107,213**	**28,261**	**2.6**
Seattle	19	557,087	26,901	4.8
Outside		550,126	1,360	0.2
Buffalo	**15**	**1,306,957**	**82,910**	**6.3**
Buffalo	20	532,759	70,904	13.3
Outside		774,198	12,006	1.6
Cincinnati	**20**	**1,071,624**	**128,121**	**12.0**
Cincinnati	21	502,550	108,754	21.6
Outside		569,074	19,367	3.4
Memphis	**41**	**627,019**	**227,445**	**36.3**
Memphis	22	497,524	184,320	37.0
Outside		129,495	43,125	33.3
Denver	**25**	**929,383**	**31,548**	**3.4**
Denver	23	493,887	31,066	6.3
Outside		435,496	482	0.1
Atlanta	**22**	**1,017,188**	**231,474**	**22.8**
Atlanta	24	487,455	186,464	38.3
Outside		529,733	45,010	8.5
Minneapolis	**14**	**1,482,030**	**20,702**	**1.4**
Minneapolis	25	482,872	11,785	2.4
St. Paul	40	313,411	8,240	2.6
Outside		685,747	677	0.1

D. C. Population Changes

THE FOLLOWING table, prepared from original Census Bureau figures, shows the total population and Negro population of the communities that now make up Metropolitan Washington. Comparable figures are given for the area of the present District of Columbia.

	METROPOLITAN AREA			DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA		
Year	Total Pop.	Negro Pop.	Per Cent Negro	Total Pop.	Negro Pop.	Per Cent Negro
1790	51,667	22,343	43.2	No figures available.		
1800	63,653	29,698	46.7	8,144	2,116	26.0
1810	75,703	36,796	48.6	15,471	5,126	33.1
1820	81,059	34,358	42.4	23,336	7,599	32.6
1830	89,328	37,083	41.5	30,261	9,109	30.1
1840	88,077	35,329	40.1	33,745	9,819	29.1
1850	109,786	39,457	35.9	51,687	13,746	26.6
1860	141,215	41,545	29.4	75,080	14,316	19.1
1870	203,108	72,210	35.6	131,700	43,404	33.0
1880	262,405	94,070	35.8	177,624	59,596	33.6
1890	318,909	108,772	34.1	230,392	75,572	32.8
1900	378,615	120,744	31.9	278,718	86,702	31.1
1910	445,399	126,871	28.5	331,069	94,446	28.5
1920	571,882	141,545	24.8	437,571	109,966	25.1
1930	672,198	167,409	24.9	486,869	132,068	27.1
1940	967,985	229,225	23.7	663,091	187,266	28.2
1950	1,456,604	341,743	23.5	802,178	284,031	35.4
1960	2,001,897	487,183	24.3	763,956	411,737	53.9

Report L-26
July 25, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

(From an address by General Lucius D. Clay, Chairman of the Board, Continental Can Company, Inc.; the General was speaking before the Governor's Conference on Trade and Commerce in Atlanta, Georgia, May 22, 1961. General Clay's background as a Southerner adds special significance to his remarks on the industrial climate in Georgia. With the exception of some remarks on problems of state and local taxes, his speech is reproduced here in full.)

"It is good to be home again and particularly to return to participate in the Governor's Conference on Trade and Commerce. I have been assigned my subject; to reply to the question, 'Does Georgia Have a Truly Favorable Industrial Climate'?

"In part answer to this question, I ask your indulgence to refer briefly to the industrial investment which my company, Continental Can, has in Georgia. In 1950, when I joined the company, we had only a sales office in Atlanta. Today, we have four manufacturing plants, two of which are large, modern paper making complexes, and more than 330,000 acres of land. We could not replace our plant and equipment for less than 100 million dollars. Moreover, we have designed and built our paper mills for further expansion. Our Georgian investment is larger than in any other state in the Union.

"Obviously, we would not be here if we did not believe the climate to be favorable to industrial development. However, climates are never static and we do see changes and trends which cause us concern and, therefore, are apt to disturb other companies contemplating the establishment of manufacturing facilities in Georgia.

"Before we examine these problems, it might not be amiss to tell you something of what our company brings to Georgia in purchasing expenditures and in payroll. I do this because these are important considerations for Georgia to weigh in determining its real attitude to industrial growth and the extent to which it desires to encourage such growth. Certainly industrial growth beyond the average can come about only because of 'better than average' climate, and this climate can be created only when the return from industry compensates for the advantages which it has received. A one-way street can only lead to a dead-end.

"This year, we expect to employ about 1400 people in our Goergia operations with a payroll of more than $9 million dollars. Further, we will purchase pulpwood from Georgia owners at a cost in excess of $9 million dollars, much of which is for labor. Our general operating expenses for our Georgia operations will exceed

$11 million dollars. This represents a total expenditure of about $30 million dollars annually in Georgia, a figure much in excess of what we sell in Georgia. In addition, almost every year we spend substantial capital funds for expansion which provides additional employment. In 1960, these expenditures exceeded $20 million dollars. Our direct taxes are in the hundreds of thousands of dollars and the indirect taxes as a result of our activities are certain to be even more. This is why we believe Georgia wants us and industry in general to invest in Georgia and why we believe Georgia stands to benefit from a favorable climate.

"During the decade in which we have expanded so rapidly, there has been an encouraging expansion throughout the State. In this decade, manufacturing employment in Georgia increased at double the national rate, and per capita income increased at a rate 20% in excess of the national average. Even with this latter increase, per capita income was still less than 3/4 of the average for the country as a whole. However, Georgia enjoyed a 67% increase in retail sales as compared with 54% for the United States; a better than average increase in capital expenditures, a growth in the number of manufacturing establishments which sums up impressively to prove that industry was attracted to Georgia in the 1950's. Although Georgia had long been regarded as primarily an agricultural state, it now has 8.2% of its population employed in manufacturing as compared to 8.9% for the nation.

"These are impressive figures and, indeed, Georgia has been on the march. However, the 1958 census indicated some slowing down in the rate of growth. Even in the 1950's as industry expanded, Georgia's population growth was only 2/3 that for the nation as a whole. In point of fact, since 1830, except for one census year, Georgia's population at each census has become a lesser percentage of the nation's population.

"These statistics are not alarming. In fact, the manufacturing statistics which show a decline in growth could have resulted from other causes, such as recession and automation. Still, they do suggest the advisability of a fresh look at the factors which create an industrial climate.

"There are many favorable factors. First, there is the real climate of the state. Georgia is one of the few states to offer the advantages of the changing seasons in transitions which are never harsh and which seldom, if ever, interfere with outdoor living. Nor do weather conditions offer a threat to the continuity of plant operations. Moreover, there is adequate water for industrial use and an adequate supply of energy at reasonable cost. Employees reluctant to move to Georgia in the first instance become even more difficult to transfer out of the state as they feel its charm. The soft beauty of the Georgia countryside, the gentle but continuing change in its topography as we move from sea to mountain, the unbelievable opportunities for outdoor activities quickly capture the newcomer. Spring in Georgia with the flowering shrubs on the hillside and in the stately forests with the

scent of budding fruit trees in the air and Bob White calling everywhere; the play of color as the leaves turn in the fall, the long stretches of sandy beaches, the broad forests, the high mountains with their lakes and streams and waterfalls; all combine to make Georgia a lovely place in which to live and work.

"Secondly and perhaps of equal importance, Georgia has an adequate supply of labor, independent in thought, eager for self-improvement, and basically conservative in attitude. I grew up with these people and I know they can be led but not driven, and that within their very intense but never expressed pride there is the desire to move upward and forward. Our compnay did not come to Georgia to get cheap labor. We are not looking for cheap labor; we are looking for productive labor. Most of our labor in Georgia is unionized and our wage rates are industry-wide rates; no less nor no more in Georgia than elsewhere. In paying these rates, we must have full productivity to compete and this we get in Georgia. It is true that in the initial start-up of our plants, we have had to bring in specialists from other locations. However, we have found local labor intelligent and responsive to training and we shall soon be sending specialists trained here to start up other facilities. We would like to see more vocational training at the high school level and we have been impressed with the plan for a new Vocational High School in Augusta. We are very happy with the management-labor relations in our Georgia operations. Statistics show that time lost in work stoppages in Georgia is 1/4 the average rate and we have found this to be true. In general, the quality and quantity of this labor available in Georgia is a very favorable factor in its industrial climate with one exception which I shall discuss later.

"In our particular industry of forestry, pulp, and paper, we find Georgia progressive. We work closely with the Forestry Commission which we believe to be efficient and effective. We are satisfied with the fire protection system in which private companies work hand in hand with state and local systems.

"We believe existing taxes on forest products to be fair and equitable although we are often disturbed by annual local efforts to impose new burdens, ...

"If these favorable factors -- the physical climate, the character of the labor supply and the present tax structure -- exist, then why has industrial growth in Georgia not been even more rapid, why does its rate of growth appear to have declined? Are there other factors which perhaps in some degree offset these advantages? If so, what are they and what can be done about them?

"In speaking to you of these factors, I assure you I shall not try to tell the people of Georgia what to do about them. I recognize these factors to be solely their concern. But what they do about them is most certain to influence the industrial growth of the State.

"If I speak of controversial matters, I have no solution to offer. I was born and raised in Georgia in the then small town of Marietta and no one anywhere could have had a happier childhood. We had little industry and less concern for its problems. No one had money, at least in cash. Each spring, some friendly owner gave us his pasture in which to set stone bases for our baseball field; each spring we would rebuild the earthen dam on Glover's Creek or Brown's Creek for the summer swimming pool; always some neighbor would have a tennis court which was ours to use for the most part. Today, that kind of childhood is impossible. It was the friendly atmosphere which made Georgia a wonderful place to be born and raised.

"Today, there seems less assurance that the atmosphere is so friendly; there is apprehension that there is tension in Georgia which retards its progress. Part of this comes from the general understanding that the county unit system assures control of the State by agricultural interests to the dissatisfaction of the city and industry. Of course, there are some who say that this system has given Georgia a more conservative government, more favorable to industry than would have resulted with urban control. Away from Georgia, the Atlanta banker and industrialists are well known and highly respected. Atlanta is regarded as a modern, progressive business center. Thus, outside industry can not understand why it has such a relatively weak voice in the political life of the State. Specifically, no one would give this as a reason not to locate in Georgia; rather, it creates a feeling of uncertainty as to the future political atmosphere in the State, and industry is always apprehensive of political uncertainties.

"Then too, for those of us who depend on pulpwood and who believe that this industry can still expand in Georgia, there are some fears as to the extent of local taxation in those counties which continue as political sub-divisions although losing much of their population to urban areas. Perhaps there is a real need to consolidate local sub-divisions of government. In any case, any increase in population in these areas is dependent upon attracting decentralized industrial operations to the smaller cities and towns and, here again, there is need for a sound and reasonable local tax structure.

"Another problem which can not be ignored is the desegregation issue. Employees being transferred to Georgia worry about the school conditions for their children. Manufacturers worry about the conditions which could develop within their plants. Today, almost every major manufacturing company is engaged to some extent in contract operations for the government subject to the anti-discrimination laws. Most of us like to feel that we are a part of the community where we are located and that accordingly we must respect and accept local customs and traditions. None of us want to locate in areas where there is serious risk of conflict between local custom and Federal law. We need the good will of the community, and yet we must obey the law.

"One of the principal attractions to industry is the availability of labor, both skilled and unskilled. However, we have long learned that unskilled labor not capable of upgrading is not really good labor. Hence, our training programs are designed to upgrade our labor. These training programs and the resultant upgrading must not be discriminating in their selectivity.

"Moreover, the situation does not make economic sense to the national manufacturer who relies on national statistics to help form his judgments. I spoke earlier of Georgia's loss of relative position in population size. I am often told that this has resulted from the heavy migration of Negro workers to other areas as if this movement was of no economic significance. Likewise, I am told that the lower than average per capita income in Georgia results from the lesser earning power of the Negro worker. Statistically, both statements may be correct but that does not prove the economic conclusions. While much of the Negro labor force may be relatively unproductive now, it represents a potential important to industry which can be made increasingly productive with in-plant training. Moreover, as this labor becomes more productive, its earning power increases as does the capacity of the State as a whole to absorb more products and to attract more industries to manufacture these products. So far, the desegregation issue has not affected our operations. We find much understanding of the problem in our plants and an enlightened approach to the problem from our own employees. Nevertheless, we cannot dismiss it as non-existent. Whatever and whenever the solution, until it is solved, it does create some disquiet, some apprehension in the minds of those who otherwise look favorably on Georgia for industrial expansion.

"Finally, there are the problems which prevail in different forms and degrees everywhere, the problem of state and local taxes ... /Here follows in General Clay's address nearly three pages of discussion of state and local taxes in Georgia/ ... .

"Obviously, I have not covered my subject fully or in detail. To sum up, I would say that the physical factors, the character and quantity of the labor supply, and the general stability of state government do provide a favorable industrial climate in Georgia. To some degree, these advantages are offset by lack of knowledge of Georgia; fear that its basic interest is agriculture, not industry; uncertainty as to the desegregation problem; and changes in the tax structure which threatens its stability.

"I would like to add that our own company has made its decision. We are in Georgia in a big way and we came to stay and to grow. We know that we can progress and grow only as Georgia progresses and grows. We have confidence that the good conscience and common sense of the majority of the people of Georgia will find solutions to the problems we see today which will assure continuing growth and progress."

Report L-27
October 5, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE HARD OR THE EASY WAY?

In Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas there are 147 counties which have a Negro population of five per cent or less. Florida and Mississippi have only one county each, and Tennessee with 52 has the largest number. These counties of small Negro population are mainly located in the Appalachian mountain chain or, as in the case of Arkansas, in the Ozark mountains. Of the 147, there are 18 which have no Negroes living within their boundaries; of the remaining 129 there are 31 which have a Negro population of less than one per cent.

Schools have been desegregated in only 13 of the 129 counties where there are Negroes. Three of these are in Virginia, where two county systems, Floyd and Grayson, desegregated on court order; another, Fairfax, was desegregated when Negro pupils were assigned to previously all-white schools by the State Pupil Placement Board. In North Carolina, there is one, Yancey County, which also has the dubious distinction of being the first school district of that state to have been desegregated under court order. In Tennessee, the Anderson County system desegregated by court order; Washington County in August, 1961 announced a policy of non-segregation, but as yet no "eligible" Negroes have applied for entrance to white schools. The city system of Kingsport (in Sullivan County) has desegregated voluntarily, as has the city system of Elizabethton (in Carter County), which has also had no applicants since its change of policy. The county schools of both Sullivan and Carter remain segregated. This pattern also appears in Arkansas, where the city systems of Charleston, Fayetteville, Hoxie, and Bentonville desegregated voluntarily, and that of Van Buren under court order; these places are located in, respectively, Franklin, Washington, Lawrence, Benton, and Crawford counties, and in each case the county system continues segregated.

In summary, out of 129 counties six county systems and seven city systems have desegregated; of the 13 systems, seven have desegregated voluntarily, five by court order, and one under a pupil placement plan. There are 116 counties which still maintain a dual school system.

The 1954 Supreme Court decision left to individual school systems no choice in regard to the inevitability of desegregation; it did leave to the schools considerable freedom to make their own choice of how this ruling should be implemented. What happens, however, when a system chooses to fight the Court's decision is dramatically illustrated by the experience of Yancey County, North Carolina.

Yancey County's population of 14,008 includes 140 Negroes; in a school population of 4,000, there are 30 Negro children. Before 1958 there was no school at all for Negro children of high school age, and a two-room clapboard, cinder block building with no inside plumbing for elementary age children. Negro high school students were sent to Asheville, a round trip of 80 miles, for their education.

In the summer of 1958 two events occurred, which were to have both local and national repercussions: The county went heavily into debt to complete two new high schools for white pupils; and the Negro elementary school was condemned, and ordered closed by the State Board of Education. Upon the promise of the Yancey County School Board that a new elementary school would be built for their children, Negro parents permitted the children to make the daily 80-mile round trip to Asheville for the 1958-1959 school year.

But for reasons financial and political the county failed to keep its promise to build the new Negro school, and the Negro children were again assigned to the Asheville schools for the 1959-1960 school year. The Negro parents refused to accept this order and boycotted the Asheville bus. Education was provided for the elementary children through the help of the Burnsville Education Project, an organization of volunteers, the majority of whom lived in Asheville, which set up a makeshift private school in a Negro church near Burnsville, with 27 students in attendance. The seven Negro high school students were boarded in a private Methodist school in Asheville.

The first of the court cases to solve the impasse was filed on November 11, 1959. While the case was still pending, the Board of Education voted, in late 1959, to build the new Negro school in Burnsville. In the Spring of 1960, the State Board loaned the county $30,000 with which to construct the building. In spite of a taxpayer's suit to restrain the county from proceeding with construction, the new school was completed in August, 1960. When school opened for the 1960-1961 term, only four Negro children registered for classes.

The other children, 17 elementary and eight high school pupils, turned again to the Burnsville Education Project for help, and classes were once again set up in the Burnsville church. On September 13, 1960 a federal court judge ordered the Board to admit the high school students to the white high schools and to assign the elementary pupils either to the Negro elementary school or to one of the other schools in the county. The eight high school students began attending the white high schools (without incident or friction), and the elementary children were assigned to the new Negro school.

In August, 1961 Negro parents renewed their efforts to have their elementary school children admitted to the white schools.

There were the very real fears on the part of the parents that the elementary school would become a union school (i.e., one with grades one to 12) or, if it remained elementary, that the 17 students currently assigned there would not be a sufficient number to allow the State Board to assign more than one teacher for the eight grades. However, applications for admission to white schools were denied, and the children were once again assigned to the Negro elementary school. The parents plan an appeal to the Board, and, if again denied, will take the matter back into the federal district court.

For all involved in Yancey's dilemma the experience has been an expensive one. The costs in the court cases are difficult to determine. The Burnsville Education Project raised and spent around $6,500. The actual cost of the new Negro school (to house 17 pupils) has been $45,000; tuition and bus expenses to the county and state in sending the Negro children to Asheville amounted to approximately $3,000. Thus, a conservative estimate would indicate that the total cost, so far, to the county and state alone is in the neighborhood of $50,000.

The Winston-Salem Journal in a cogent editorial on August 10, 1961 clearly stated the question which must be answered by Yancey County--and by the other counties of the South which, like Yancey, have but a few Negro residents.

Not a Question of Numbers

In September, 1960, after a prolonged and bitter controversy, Yancey County's two high schools were desegregated by federal court order. Now an effort is under way to desegregate the county's elementary schools.

Last Monday night the Yancey County Board of Education refused to approve requests that four Negro children be assigned to the previously all white Burnsville elementary school. In all probability, this decision will result in further litigation in federal court.

Yancey County is typical of many of our mountain counties in that its desegregation problem results from public attitudes and not from numbers. The county has a total population of just over 14,000. Of these, less than 150 are Negroes. Of the 4,000 youngsters in Yancey County schools, only about 30 are Negroes.

Much the same sort of thing exists in other mountain counties.

There are no Negro schools in Clay or Mitchell counties. Alleghany, Madison and Transylvania have elementary schools for Negroes but no high schools.

In these counties, therefore, at least some of the Negro children are being sent to school in other counties - if, indeed, they are receiving any

education at all.

That is the same pattern that triggered the court action in Yancey County. Negro children were being sent to Asheville, a round-trip of 80 miles, for their education.

The Yancey County decision makes it plain that the federal courts will not tolerate such an arrangement.

In such counties, logic would indicate that a graceful acceptance of desegregation would be the course of wisdom. For in these counties numbers are no problem. The Negro children make up less than one per cent of the school age population. Moreover, in the light of the Yancey County decision, fighting desegregation can lead to only two results: (1) piling heavy costs on the backs of counties which cannot afford these costs and (2) certain defeat when the matter is decided in federal court.

In its fight to keep eight Negroes out of two high schools with a combined enrollment of more than 1,000, Yancey County spent almost $70,000.

The county lost that fight. Now it appears that Yancey County is prepared to go to court and fight again - this time to keep 17 Negro children out of elementary schools which have a combined enrollment of about 3,000.

There is no logic in this pattern. But, then, logic rarely has a place in race relations.

In Yancey County the attitude has been, "We'll fight until the federal court tells us we're whipped. Then we'll accept the court's order." And that occurred in Yancey. Once the court handed down its decision, the people of the county accepted it and the desegregation of the county's two high schools proceeded without friction or incident.

It can be hoped that Yancey County will adopt this same attitude now that the question of desegregating the elementary schools is headed into the courts.

In North Carolina Yancey provides a guide for other mountain counties with minimal Negro populations and inadequate or non-existent Negro school facilities. In these counties, where the number of Negro children presents no real problem, the question must be, "What price are we willing to pay to try to maintain the traditional attitudes?"

The Yancey County story indicates that the price tag is high, and it buys only a little time.

Report L-28
November 30, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORTING THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT

The first sit-in (February, 1960 at Greensboro, N. C.) touched off a South-wide movement by Negro college students. Many local and national organizations soon gave commendation. At least 25 national religious organizations, representing the large denominations, publicly indicated their approval of and agreement with the methods followed and the objectives sought by the students in their sit-ins, kneel-ins, read-ins, stand-ins, and wade-ins; they were joined by local church groups (13 of which are listed here), church-related organizations (12), and religious publications (8). National labor unions and local affiliates (16) issued supporting statements and/or donated funds to the students. Student and faculty groups (66, and probably more), colleges and universities endorsed the protests and the manner by which they were conducted. Students from many all-white or predominantly white student bodies participated in the protests. In some cases these students were joined by faculty members and administrators also. Other organizations listed here are drawn from professional, service, and human relations groups and represent support by public statement, fund contribution, or active participation.

This list does not purport to be complete but contains only the names that have come to our attention in news stories, organizational news letters and bulletins, and press releases.

The impact of the sit-ins upon the American conscience is measured to some extent by the stature, breadth, and scope of the organizations that supported the students through active participation, financial aid, public statements and published resolutions.

Religious Organizations

National.

American Baptist Convention
American Baptist Home Mission Societies
American Rabbis and Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Board of Christian Education and Publication, Evangelical and Reformed Church
Board of Christian Education, United Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)
Board of Home Missions, Congregational Christian Churches, College of Bishops and General Board, Christian Methodist Episcopal Church
Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations, United Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)

Council of Social Action, United Church of Christ
Division of Racial Minorities and Division of Christian Citizenship, Protestant Episcopal Church
Executive Committee of National Newman Club Federation (Catholic)
Five Years Meeting of Friends
General Assembly of United Presbyterian Church
General Executive Board of the A.M.E. Church
General Board of the National Council of Churches
General Brotherhood Board, Church of the Brethren
Methodist Church Board of Social and Economic Relations
Methodist Church National Conference
Methodist Church National Youth Organization
National Association of College and University Chaplains
National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church
North American Area Council of World Presbyterian Alliance
Roman Catholic Interracial Council
United Christian Missionary Society, Board of Trustees, Disciples of Christ
Unitarian Fellowship
United Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)

Local or Regional.

Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Church
Chapel Hill (N. C.) Ministers (Protestant, Jewish, Catholic)
Chicago Board of Rabbis
Church Federation of Greater Chicago
Community Church of New York (Unitarian)
Greensboro Ministers' Fellowship
North Carolina Council of Churches
Oklahoma Roman Catholic Women
Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends
Portsmouth District Conference of the Virginia Annual Conference, A. M. E. Churches
Presbytery of Southern Virginia of United Presbyterian Church
United Presbyterian Synod of New York
Westminister Fellowship Council of the Presbyterian (U.S.) Synod of North Carolina

Church Related Human Relations Organizations.

American Jewish Congress
Canterbury Association Conference (Episcopal students from 11 Texas colleges and universities.
Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago
Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity
Jewish Community Relations Council of Minnesota
Interdenominational North Carolina Christian Student Council
Lutheran Human Relations Association, Board of Directors
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
National Student Christian Federation
National Board of the YWCA
Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice

United Christian Youth Movement

Religious Publications.

Campus Christian Life (staffworkers)
Christian Century
Christian Education News
Cumberland Presbyterian
Community
Concern
Presbyterian Outlook
The Catholic Worker

Labor

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees AFL-CIO
American Federation of Building Service Employees
AFL-CIO News
Chemical and Atomic Workers' Union
Department Store Employees, of the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union, AFL-CIO
Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
International Ladies Garment Workers Union
Jewish Labor Committee
Negro American Labor Council
New York City Central Labor Council
New York District 65 of the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union
North Carolina AFL-CIO
United Automobile Workers of America
United Packinghouse Workers of America

Campus Groups at these Educational Institutions

Antioch College
Bennington College
Bethel College
Boston University
Brandeis University
Brooklyn College
Brown University
Bryn Mawr College
Bucknell University
Catholic University of America
Central Missouri College
Chatham College
College of St. Elizabeth
Columbia University
Cornell University
Douglass College
Drexel Institute
Fairleigh Dickinson University
Ferris Institute
Flint College
Goddard College
Hamilton College
Hamline University
Harpur College
Harvard University
Howard University
Hunter College
Lafayette College
Lehigh University
Macalester College
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Marygrove College
Muhlenberg College
New York City College
New York State University

Newark State College
Oberlin College
Princeton University
Queens College (N. Y.)
Reed College
Rutgers University
Saint Benedict's College
Saint Catherine College
Simmons College
Skidmore College
Smith College
Swarthmore College
Temple University
Trenton State College
University of California (Berkeley)
University of Chicago
University of Colorado
University of Connecticut
University of Michigan
University of Minnesota
University of New Mexico
University of Pennsylvania'
University of Washington
University of Wisconsin
Vassar College
Washington State College
Wayne State University
Wesleyan University (Conn.)
Wheaton College
Xavier University
Yale University
Yale Divinity School

Other.

American Association of University Professors
American Civil Liberties Union
American Council on Human Rights
American Federation of Teachers
Atlanta Council on Human Relations
Jewish Community Relations Council of Minnesota
Nashville Community Relations Conference
National Association of Colored Girls
National Bar Association
National Federation of Catholic College Students
National Newspaper Publishers Association
National Scholarship and Service Fund for Negro Students
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
South Carolina Human Relations Council
Southern Conference Educational Fund
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
U. S. National Student Association
U. S. Young Adult Council
Virginia Council on Human Relations
Young Democrats of Houston, Texas

Report L-29
December 4, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

(In Report L-8 of this series, issued August 10, 1959, there was reproduced a statement on the subject of race and intelligence, prepared by 18 of the country's leading psychologists and anthropologists. The Southern Regional Council believes that the statement now reproduced below ought to be made available to a wide audience. The statement includes a resolution passed at the recent annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association held at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania during the week of November 13, 1961.)

Association re-affirms its position on race.

At the meeting of the Council of the Association, which included nearly all of the professional Fellows of the Association in attendance at the meeting, the following resolution was adopted unanimously by a vote of 192 to 0:

> "The American Anthropological Association repudiates statements now appearing in the United States that Negroes are biologically and in innate mental ability inferior to whites, and reaffirms the fact that there is no scientifically established evidence to justify the exclusion of any race from the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. The basic principles of equality of opportunity and equality before the law are compatible with all that is known about human biology. All races possess the abilities needed to participate fully in the democratic way of life and in modern technological civilization."

The statement was interpreted by those present as a strong reaffirmation of positions which have been taken on the subject of race differences by qualified scientific societies for many years. In introducing the resolution to the Council, President Gordon R. Willey of Harvard University (Boston papers) stated that "the concern which I wish to lay before you is I think a grave one--one worthy of careful thought and strategic action. It arises from recent press statements

and certain publications on race and racial differences as a basis for social and political action. Many of you have seen such statements. Some of you have called these to our attention. The Board deliberated on this matter which concerns use of the name 'anthropology' and 'anthropological science' in a way we believe to be false and misrepresentative of our profession by persons who are not recognized by the American Anthropological Association as professional anthropologists." The statement on the racial issue concluded with this warning by Dr. Willey: "Clearly we do not consider this statement as the only thing we as anthropologists can and should do in this matter, but we look upon it as a basic statement of position and a resource which our officers and all of us may draw upon in the future. For be assured that the several items in the press and elsewhere which have come to your attention...are but the beginning. We must be prepared to persevere in what we believe to be the truth."

Report L-30
December 28, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

The Southern Regional Council believes these two editorials, from centers of Deep South resistance to civil rights, are thoughtful and important expressions from states recently troubled by race violence and faced with desegregation court rulings. The STATE TIMES *editorial is one of a series on Mississippi race problems, inviting public discussion, which appeared also in the* McCOMB ENTERPRISE JOURNAL.

The editorial from the BIRMINGHAM NEWS *appeared shortly after a court decision had been handed down. However, the city of Birmingham may respond to this decision, the editorial is still pertinent and deserves thoughtful study throughout the Deep South.*

State Times

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A Positive Plan To Help Solve Our Racial Dilemma

By OLIVER EMMERICH

The citizens of the State of Mississippi are confronted with this question: Do we want to be constructive in coping with our disturbing racial situation?

If the answer is in the affirmative then two conclusions appear to be reasonable. First, the racial dilemma in Mississippi will grow worse, not better, unless we meet it with a forthright sense of maturity. Second, positive action, not mere negation, is essential if our conflicts are to be met with mature judgment.

Twice within this decade the State of Mississippi applied positive action and reaped the benefits of success. Positive action was evinced in the legislative decision to equalize white and Negro teachers' salaries. Positive action was applied in the legislature's decision to spend 150 million dollars for needed class rooms—95 millions going to Negro schools and 55 millions to white schools.

★ ★ ★

Herewith we submit four additional positive steps—steps which if taken by the State of Mississippi can contribute much to the solution of our impending problems.

—I—

The sword of Damocles that dangles over Mississippi is the threat of what can happen as a result of the mass voting of illiterate and untutored individuals. Our people are as apprehensive over this threat as were the citizens of Galveston on the eve of hurricane Carla. This fear stems from earlier Mississippi history when Negroes, untutored in the responsibilities of citizenship, voted en masse and became easy prey of unscrupulous white men—politicians who used them for selfish designs and bankrupted our government.

★ ★ ★

The negative pattern applied generally in Mississippi today is stimulating rather than inhibiting this ominous threat. Anti-franchise efforts founded essentially in race serve only to stimulate bloc voting. The positive step is to remove the impediments to qualified Negroes who want to vote. Qualified voters, regardless of race, recognize the handicap to good government through the unrestricted voting of the unqualified. By removing the impediments to qualified Negroes we reduce the danger of mass voting of the unqualified.

★ ★ ★

Where shall we start with this emphasis on qualified voters? The answer: Our school boards of trustees at the local level, sanctioned by the State Department of Education at the state level, should at the time of employment make it clear to all teachers, white and colored, that they are free from impediments to franchise—and that if a teacher is not qualified to vote he or she is not qualified to teach.

—II—

The abundance of unskilled labor in Mississippi, white and colored, constitutes a tragedy. This is why our state has the lowest per capita income of any state in the Union.

The mechanization of Mississippi farms and the switch from row crops to pastures have thrown thousands of farm workers out of employment. This has been partially offset in this decade through Mississippi's acquisition of 927 new and expanded industries which has created 75,901 new industrial jobs.

The positive step in this area is for Mississippi to make an all-out, sympathetic effort to find gainful employment for our white and colored people.

Where shall we start? It is suggested that the Mississippi Agricultural and Industrial Board appoint a committee of its membership to earnestly survey this situation. It is a problem of education, planning and dedication—but progress can be made in a state-wide effort, substantiated with research, and purposed to improve upon the job opportunities of our people, white and colored.

—III—

A third positive step should be made in the field of court justice. There are many excellent jurists in Mississippi, men who preside over our courts with dignity and justice. Never-

theless, there are recorded cases of injustice resulting from the pressure of racial feeling.

★ ★ ★

The positive approach to this problem demands that our courts abandon the double standard of justice—one standard for whites, another for Negroes. Admittedly, this double standard of justice has worked two ways. It has caused injustices to some Negro defendants. On the other hand many judges have been lenient with Negroes and after taking many factors into consideration, have given them lighter sentences as compared with similar offenses by white defendants.

How shall Mississippi initiate this positive step? The answer: The Mississippi State Bar Association is an ethical and respected professional organization. It is suggested that the Mississippi Bar Association name a special committee to survey this situation. If the field is properly explored an answer can be found by which court justice can be enlarged upon for Negro people.

—IV—

The emotional reaction to racial disturbances has caused many of our people to view one another with distrust and suspicion. Frustration is general—and we cannot solve our problems in an atmosphere of frustration.

Communications must be established between the white and Negro leaders of Mississippi. This positive step is necessary because our problem is not of short duration. Long after the courts have handed down their legal opinions in this field the problems will still be with us. As the years unfold Negro people will recognize that their future is tied closely to the white citizenry of our state and our white citizens will recognize that the Negro is an essential factor in our economy.

★ ★ ★

This fourth positive step will not be easy It will require a wealth of patience, courage and wisdom.

And where shall we start? It is suggested that Gov. Ross Barnett use the prestige of his office and cooperate with the mayors of our municipalities and other local leaders—and that unofficial bi-racial committees be named at the local level to work with these problems. Vital to the success of this step is that sound-thinking, level-headed people be appointed to these committees.

★ ★ ★

Time and understanding are the ingredients essential to the adjustment of negation. And so far negation has plunged our state deeper into misunderstanding and frustration.

The editorial below confronts a question before many cities of the South. Although Southern Regional Council does not agree with some of the opinions in it, we regard this as an honest, able statement which should be widely read.

COURT RULING MEANS—

Birmingham Faces A Hard Decision

Editorials

The Birmingham News

Victor H. Hanson, *Publisher, 1910-1945*
Clarence B. Hanson, Jr., *Publisher*
Victor H. Hanson, II,
Vice President, Assistant to Publisher
Vincent Townsend,
Vice President, Director of Sales
E. L. Holland, Jr.,
Editorial Page Editor
John W. Bloomer,
Managing Editor

Thursday, October 26, 1961

DESEGREGATING, PERMITTING "a little mixing" if Negroes insist on intruding, or closing public facilities is no longer Atlanta's or Nashville's or New Orleans' problem. It is now Birmingham's, too.

The ruling of Judge Hobart Grooms of federal district court here affecting parks, swimming pools and a number of other specifically defined facilities, was expectable.

Judge Grooms seemed to go out of his way to emphasize that his ruling was not something over which he had judicial latitude. He cited previous rulings of both the U. S. Supreme Court and the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Ruled unconstitutional was section 859 of the Birmingham City Code. It embraces a number of facilities "to which both white and Negro persons are admitted."

The city has said it will appeal. If the appeal is carried through, it will go to the Fifth Circuit Court, decision of which Judge Grooms cited as a basis for his ruling. In short, the appeals court has already made a decision in a similar case.

IT WILL DO no good to try to find a rosy side to the issue. It is entirely likely that if the appeals court elected to review the case, judgment would uphold Judge Grooms. It is hardly conceivable otherwise when Judge Grooms himself cited the appeals court as basis for his own decision.

Some aspects of the case remain unclear in the public mind and may be unclear in the minds of legal authorities. These could involve the matter of such as Legion Field or the Municipal Auditorium, which are leased for specific games or presentations.

The legal question of leasing in connection with publicly-owned facilities is arguable. There have been previous cases elsewhere involving leasing. Outcome of further contest on the leasing aspect could be open to legal debate. In the last, courts have sought to assess relationship of use of the facility leased to its public ownership. Leasing to avoid race mixing has not stood up. But leasing over many years with such aim not even considered is something else. The right of private management has entered into debate in some such cases, and has been upheld in instances even though private leasing was of publicly-owned facilities. Here a great deal depends on the nature of the leasing.

IF IT IS assumed that Judge Grooms' ruling will stand, and that is a reasonable assumption in light of similar cases, no matter how much the ruling is regretted it has to be faced.

Birmingham citizens are up against a very real question in their own front yards. Anger at a small group of Negroes pushing for such a court order is more than understandable. It is undoubtedly true, in *The News*' opinion, that very few Negroes really want to mix in swimming pools or on playgrounds, or elsewhere, with whites.

But passion or logic in judging what most Negroes may or may not want does not alter the need for Birmingham citizens to look closely at the matter. Decisions they now make may be long-lasting. They could seriously, and adversely, affect this city for years to come.

It is a time for the coldest kind of thinking. We can't afford anger at a mix move by an out and out Negro propagandist. We should not let ourselves come up with hasty, poorly-thought-out answers to the problem.

THE PUBLIC FACILITIES involved for both Negroes and whites have been built up in our city over many years. Parks, playgrounds, pools, auditorium, art museum—all cost enormous sums. If closed, what a terrible waste they would be—silent wastelands, or mausoleums shuttered and barred. Negroes would suffer along with whites.

The recreational, the cultural, the *normal* life of this active city would be drastically, painfully altered.

This is what Birmingham citizenry must think about before it makes a decision.

There is talk of the city selling facilities now affected, or which could be affected. Such sale could be contested. There is a possibility courts might not allow such sale if the purpose was to avoid compliance with previous order. This has come up elsewhere and there is basis for concern as to whether such a maneuver would, in the end, work.

Citizens of Birmingham finally must face a simple enough question: Do they want their public parks, playgrounds, pools, the auditorium, possibly the art museum and a number of other facilities closed in order to prevent compliance with the court order?

CITY OFFICIALS in some utterances have seemed to assume that this is the wish of a majority of the people. This may be a correct assumption. It is obvious a vast majority of Birmingham residents want to preserve segregation. But they have not yet had to face the question whether they want to prevent *any* integration at cost of closing public facilities.

It is certain that absence in Birmingham of public parks, playgrounds, pools, an auditorium and other facilities for recreation and cultural development would enter consideration of business enterprises in the future which might be considering this city as a location. Birmingham citizens already are feeling the bitter lack of business growth and job dislocations.

It is certain that we would, possibly for years, have to live with the decision which now must be made—and it *must* be made, there is no longer any escaping it.

AT PRESENT the three elected city commissioners and the mayor-elect have this terrible burden solely on their backs. It would be helpful if in this time of trouble these officials could have the fullest expression of public opinion. They need to know how Birmingham citizens feel.

Some have suggested a referendum might be a desirable method of learning what is Birmingham public sentiment—both white and Negro—as to closing of parks, etc. Such action might help Birmingham officials in deciding issues before them.

The matter is no longer something for abstract thought. Opinions which do not specifically help come to wise decisions are a luxury we cannot afford. Passion is no good. Anger leads nowhere.

Birmingham has to think as coldly and as precisely as does the surgeon at the operating table. A life may be at stake. It could be Birmingham's.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

REPORT NO. L-31
FEBRUARY 6, 1962

5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

(Reprinted from The Wall Street Journal, January 16, 1962, with permission)

Slipping Segregation: Negroes Win Lowering of More Barriers in South

Negro Demonstrations Weaken Dixie Whites' Battle Against Mixing

Macon Integrates Library, Golf Course; More Lunch Counters Open to Negroes

Pockets of Deep Bitterness

By DAVID KELSEY
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MACON, Ga.—"We've been watching these freedom rides and boycotts in other cities, and we're getting the picture. Even Robert E. Lee finally had to surrender, didn't he?"

Thus Edgar Wilson, crew-cut mayor of this Deep South city, assesses the impact of the spreading Negro campaign to speed up integration through public demonstrations. Coming as they do from the top municipal official in this segregation stronghold, his words point up an important shift now developing in the attitudes of many Southern whites toward the question of segregation. After a year of often intense racial strife—climaxed by the recent arrest of more than 700 marching and praying Negro demonstrators in Albany, Ga.—a growing number of Dixie whites are resigning themselves to the inevitability of integration. Some whites once adamantly opposed to any integration are even assuming active roles in efforts to make the transition as smooth as possible.

This change in Southern attitudes was made abundantly clear in recent days in Wall Street Journal interviews with scores of businessmen, government officials, Negro and white leaders, students and men-in-the-street in six Dixie states. Though the sit-ins, freedom rides, boycotts and mass marches have churned up fresh bitterness in race relations in some communities, such as Jackson, Miss., and New Orleans, the demonstrations more often have convinced Southern whites that the segregation fight is futile and the time for compromise has arrived.

"The demonstrations have caused a thinning in the ranks of the hard-core opposition to integration," declares A. P. Tureaud, legal counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Louisiana. "Many whites who had opposed integration on the grounds that more time was needed are gradually coming to the realization that it's here and it should be handled in the best way possible. The significant thing is that a middle ground is developing for those whites who are ready to accept integration, however reluctantly."

A Texas Town Acquiesces

Marlin L. Brockette, white superintendent of schools in the southern Texas industrial city of Orange, voices much the same sentiment. "Generally, our folks have accepted integration as a fact," the school official declares. Orange so far has not been the scene of any integration demonstration, but "if the local Negroes felt integration was just marking time, a push would probably be made and most of us wouldn't be indignant at all," says Mr. Brockette.

The signs of compromise are often subtle. For example, in Orange, where about 25% of the 26,000 residents are Negro, the "colored" signs on service station restrooms have come down in recent weeks without incident. The Orange Memorial Hospital is preparing to integrate its staff dining rooms Feb. 1, and some lunch counters in town are starting to serve Negroes for the first time.

Despite the fervent segregationist views prevailing in Mississippi, in Greenville, the bus and train depots have been voluntarily integrated without the pressure of a court order. A variety store in the city recently announced it would begin accepting applications from Negroes for sales jobs, though the move didn't come until Negro leaders protested to the manager about job discrimination.

In Columbus, Ga., county commissioners a few months ago ordered the local airport desegregated, and about the same time the city's bus line decided to end segregation on its vehicles. Businessmen now are quietly laying plans to integrate the town's lunch counters within the next month or so.

Changes in Macon

Perhaps nowhere in the deep South has desegregation been carried out at a more rapid pace than here in Macon—only 100 miles from the strife-torn city of Albany. Since last May residents of the one-time capital of Georgia have watched racial barriers ripped down at the local golf course and the public library, and they have seen Negroes eat for the first time at 19 formerly segregated lunch counters. In addition, five Negro women, formerly employed as cleaning women at local department stores, have become sales clerks, the first of their race to hold such jobs here. Negro leaders here are confidently planning to seek a start on school desegregation next September.

For a town which until two years ago was the home of the Grand Imperial Dragon of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Macon has had surprisingly little trouble in the course of its moves toward desegregation. Robed Ku Kluxers formed a motorcade last October to protest the steps toward integration, and later shots were fired into an empty Negro home. But most Macon citizens appear to have tacitly approved the lowering of segregation barriers.

"Most of us didn't want any part of the trouble that cities around us have been experiencing," says a white member of a secret Macon businessmen's committee which spearheaded the integration drive. "We contacted cities like Atlanta and Savannah which have had trouble in the past, and we found out quickly what it could mean. In Savannah we learned a Negro boycott cut retail sales as much as 50% in some places. Stores weren't the only ones hurt, either. Bankers, insurance men, small loan companies—all of them felt it."

With these facts fresh in mind, the committee of businessmen acted quickly when local Negroes took seats at a lunch counter last July to open their campaign to integrate such facilities. "As soon as they began seating themselves at the counter, I walked up to one I knew well and asked him to talk things over," recalls one businessman. The Negro agreed, and the demonstration was halted. "Later we formed a committee of leading Negro and white citizens and before long we had things worked out."

Impact of Demonstrations

Macon Negro leaders are convinced the Negro demonstrations and agitation in other Southern cities played a major role in speeding desegregation in Macon. "There's no question that the action in other cities has accelerated our progress here," declares William Randall, a Negro building contractor and director of the Macon chapter of the NAACP.

In Memphis, Negro and white leaders alike point to demonstrations as the key to the rapid integrating pace being set in that city. "Every advancement we've had can be attributed at least in part to demonstrations of some sort—sit-ins, marches, stay-at-homes," says the Rev. H. C. Nabrit, a prominent Negro leader.

Rev. Nabrit is a member of a biracial committee set up on an informal basis some months ago to ease racial frictions quietly, sometimes secretly. He and other Negro leaders confirm that an agreement has been reached with merchants to desegregate downtown store facilities—eating places, restrooms, drinking fountains—on or before next Feb. 20. Memphis newspapers have made no comment on the plans, and white leaders are also keeping mum about them.

The agreement to integrate store facilities was based on a compromise. The Negroes agreed to stop sit-ins during the Christmas rush and January sales events provided they were promised action by Feb. 20, says H. T. Lockard, state NAACP president. Explains Rev. Nabrit: "There are a goodly number of outsiders from Tennessee, Arkansas and Mississippi who come in for Christmas shopping

and the January sales. It was the consensus that we should wait until February to avoid trouble." Before we began talks we had had sit-ins for 18 months, but we agreed to desist in November." Though Rev. Nabrit is convinced the white merchants acted in good faith, he asserts demonstrations would be redoubled if the deadline passed with no action.

Desegregating the Zoo

The move to relax segregation rules at Memphis stores has been preceded by a whole series of desegregation steps in other fields, often traceable, at least in part, to public agitation by Negroes. "We try first in the courts, but it usually takes demonstrations to get action," says the NAACP's Mr. Lockard. A suit was filed in 1956 to integrate city buses, he notes, but it wasn't until Negroes started sitting where they pleased and several arrests were made that integration was finally carried out in mid-1960. Demonstrations also preceded the integration of the Overton Park Zoo in the fall of 1960 and public library facilities early last year.

The pace of desegregation in Memphis has picked up in recent months. After the fall term of school started, 14 Negro students quietly entered previously all-white schools. Then two weeks ago the city desegregated three municipal golf courses. Last Tuesday the Memphis Park Commission proposed a plan of "gradual desegregation" which would integrate all the city's parks and playgrounds over the next 10 years. Negro leaders, however, indicate the plan would move too slowly to suit them.

While there's ample evidence that public demonstrations have softened white resistance to integration, it's also clear that in some communities the marches and sit-ins have made whites more determined than ever to maintain the status quo. This is particularly true in Mississippi and Alabama, where segregation forces are the strongest. Most white leaders in these states maintain the Negro tactics will lead only to further racial friction in factories, business dealings and wherever else whites come in contact with Negroes.

"White people around here are growing more resentful about this whole business, and I've never seen them so determined to resist," states Everette G. Truly, a Natchez, Miss., attorney and treasurer of the local White Citizens Council, a segregationist organization. "Those Negroes don't realize what they're doing. They're breaking down all lines of communications between the two groups, and they've made the whites suspicious of every move. A few years ago when a Negro bumped into you, you didn't think anything of it. Now you look to see if it was deliberate."

A Restaurant Is Closed

For an idea of Natchez whites' determination to resist Negro integration efforts, one only has to walk through the bus station there. A "closed" sign hangs across the door of the station's only restaurant. The restaurant was shut down two months ago in what white leaders describe as a "precautionary measure" against Negro efforts to integrate the station. The restaurant shutdown has worked a hardship on Negro riders. Previously they could eat in a segregated section of the station restaurant, but now they have to go five blocks to the nearest Negro restaurant. Whites, on the other hand, just have to go down the block to grab a bite to eat.

In Clarksdale, Miss., race relations are tense because of a boycott being conducted against white merchants by Negroes. The boycott began in early December when Clarksdale's mayor, W. S. Kincade, ruled that bands from the town's two Negro schools couldn't march in the annual Christmas parade.

The boycott failed to produce a reversal of the mayor's decision, though some white merchants in the northern Mississippi town saw volume plummet. "At the height of the boycott before Christmas our sales were 35% to 40% below a year earlier," says Ray Brake, manager of Braber's department store on Yazoo St.; Negroes normally account for about half the store's sales. Mr. Brake, says, however, that sales in recent weeks have picked up markedly and are now running ahead of a year earlier "partly because of an influx of new white customers and partly because the boycott is weakening."

The Christmas parade has passed, of course, and the original goal of getting permission for the Negro bands to march in the parade has given way to newer demands. For one thing, the Clarksdale Negroes want local merchants to begin hiring members of their race as sales clerks. "This would have the same effect as cutting my throat," says one Clarksdale merchant who is determined to resist the Negro demand.

New heat recently has been added to the controversy. Two weeks ago five Negro leaders were sentenced to six months in jail and ordered to pay $500 fines for their part in the boycott. They were convicted under a state law against conspiring to commit an act injurious to trade or commerce. The Negroes have appealed the convictions, however, and are now free on $2,500 bonds.

Despite these sometimes sizable pockets of strong resistance to integration, there is little question that Southerners generally are wearying of the fight. Standing on a street corner in Macon, Barbara Brickle, a 19-year-old bookkeeper who describes herself as "against integration," says bitterly: "Negroes ought to keep their place. I know they have to improve themselves, but they don't have to eat with us to do that. And I'd hate to see my little brother have to go to school with them." Then as an afterthought, she adds: "I guess its going to come sooner or later, though."

In his small fifth floor office in Monroe, La., lawyer Robert C. Downing takes note of recent demonstrations in New Orleans and Baton Rouge, where singing Negro students picketed business establishments and marched on state and municipal buildings. Such demonstrations have been anything but beneficial in improving race relations in his town, he declares.

"How can they help when it means the Negroes have declared war on us?" He asks. Nonetheless, the attorney looks upon the struggle as a losing one for the whites. "The white majority here strongly favors segregation and will do everything they can to maintain it. But we've got no weapons, and the Negroes have the strongest one of all—the U.S. Supreme Court."

Report L-32
March 9, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Carleton Putnam's book, Race and Reason: A Yankee View, has been widely circulated in the South. The following commentary by Dr. William P. Sullivan, Assistant Professor of English, McNeese State College, Lake Charles, Louisiana, is reproduced without change from the Southwest Louisiana Register, published in Lafayette, Louisiana.*

Dear Editor:

Carleton Putnam's Race and Reason: A Yankee View (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1961) deserves some comment because the State Board of Education has purchased 5000 copies for distribution to Louisiana schools. The wisdom of this action is questionable, for the book is fundamentally evasive.

Putnam's overt purpose is to embolden the anthropologists of the South to combat the "pseudo-scientific hoax" of "modern equalitarian anthropology." His vision of timid southern anthropologists, fearful of revealing the truth, cowering in their studies, are too much for Putnam. He knows that the Negro is inferior to the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) and to anyone else, too. He knows because the "character-intelligence index" - a wobbly term he may have invented - "forms the only possible index of the capacity for civilization as Western Europeans know it," and the Negro has never had a decent civilization.

Putnam's qualifications for revising a science to conform to a political platform (better known as Lysenkoism) appear to be a degree in "science" from Princeton, the ability to round up four men with science degrees more formidable than his own who disapprove of the trend of modern social science, and an unusual confidence in the authority of his own opinion. He is, for example, able to write, with the trump of finality, "I say it with sadness, for every argument he advanced I was obliged to refute." To give either the argument or the attempted refutation does not seem to him necessary.

*Other reports on this subject are: Report L-8 (August, 1959); a reproduction of a statement on the subject of race and intelligence by 18 of the country's leading psychologists and anthropologists; and Report L-29 (December, 1961); a reproduction of a resolution passed by the American Anthropological Association reaffirming its position on race.

Putnam attacks prominent anthropologists because they have, he feels, conspired to conceal the inferiority of the Negro. Not being WASPs, men from central and southern European races like Boas and Herskovits are bent on proving their equality with the majority group, thus elevating themselves and the Negro in theory. Putnam proves how irrational, emotional, or arrogant these anthropologists and other conspirators are by saying they are and he has letters from them (not quoted) which show this. He gives the impression of a wide-ranging, daring scholarship:

"Either from their silences or their comments, I had or sensed the thinking of Kluckhohn and Handlin of Harvard, Murdock of Yale, Herskovits of Northwestern, and Fosdick of Union Theological Seminary. There were dozens of others, from Richard Nixon to Eleanor Roosevelt, from Nelson Rockefeller to Billy Graham, from Allan Nevins to Ralph McGill."

He attacks northern newspapers for not printing his letters and some (he names eight on one occasion) for not accepting a full-page ad; this he deems a conspiracy against the truth. He writes to the Attorney-General, the President, the Supreme Court, and so forth (during the Eisenhower administration). Failure to reply is taken as proof of their silence before his rational superiority. Everywhere he looks, like a peacock in a room full of mirrors, Putnam finds confirmation of his superior posture.

He answers any question, his tone and the make-up of the book suggest; he takes on all comers. Here is how he handles one question:

"But would Christ have discriminated according to race? Was it not always with him a matter of individual worth? Of course, I have never maintained anything to the contrary. In all matters involving dealings between individuals, where the question of intermarrying is not involved, I think individual worth alone should be the criterion. But there is nothing un-Christian in facing the fact that, as individuals differ in merit, so averages differ among races in those attributes involving specific cultures. Judgments as to the average have to be made accordingly. I must repeat that there are few perfect systems in this world, we have to deal with practical realities, and when we are confronted with a situation where a race must be considered as a race, there is no alternative to building the system around the average. The minor handicap to the exceptional individual, if such there be, is negligible compared to the damage that would result to a society as a whole."

His answer to this question goes on and on, to the treating of Negroes as a group. From this excerpt, however, anyone can see the contradiction between, "Of course, I have never maintained anything to the contrary," and his contrary willingness to sacrifice the individual. He answers another question by obviously ignoring the commandment to love your neighbor; perhaps the story of the Good Samaritan (of that despised race of men) has been revised in his Bible. First thing you know, those Samaritans will be wanting to marry our daughters.

Apart from the queasiness of his response to the Christian questions, the essential contradiction within this book lies in the pretended openness and thoroughness of debate and the actual suppression of opposing facts and opinions, even when immediately relevant. A striking instance of this suppression turned up during a check of Putnam's references to articles by Frank McGurk, a Villanova University psychologist who has a Ph.D. from Catholic University. In "A Scientist's Report on Race Differences" (U.S. News and World Report, Sept. 21, 1956), Dr. McGurk explained how his tests showed the Negro to be inferior to the white. This professional article was answered in kind in the Harvard Educational Review (Spring, 1958) by William McCord and Nicholas J. Demerath, III, who concluded:

"In our sample of 612 northern urban boys, we found no significant differences in intelligence between Negroes and Whites. Not surprisingly, however, we found that intelligence is significantly related to socio-economic status, parental education and general home atmosphere... Even if most Negroes were not as intelligent as most Whites, this fact would not deprive them of the rights granted by the American Constitution."

Putnam omitted any mention of McCord's and Demerath's article, even though he printed the second McGurk reference, "Negro vs. White Intelligence - An Answer," (Harvard Educational Review for Winter, 1959), which cannot be understood without reading the attack which it purports to answer. In this method of reasoning Putnam omits the opponent's answer and asserts that the opponent is demolished. Like a champion of old returning alive from combat with a dragon, the existing Putnam is to be taken as proof that the enemy is defeated.

William P. Sullivan
McNeese State College
Lake Charles, La.

Report L-33
March 9, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

A STATEMENT OF RECOMMENDED POLICE POLICY RESULTING FROM THE NEW YORK UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION CONFERENCE ON: "THE CHALLENGE OF DESEGREGATION FOR THE AMERICAN POLICE EXECUTIVE"

It is the obligation of the law enforcement officer to lawfully protect life and property, peace and order in his community. He should extend to all a consistent interpretation of the law and equal treatment and protection under the law. Every person acting in the community has an obligation to assist in this function and to shape his conduct so as to minimize unnecessary interference with the achievement of this obligation.

GUIDELINES FOR POLICE EXECUTIVE CONDUCT REGARDING DESEGREGATION PROBLEMS

1. In matters relating to desegregation the police executive should assert leadership towards, and accept responsibility for, a consistent and proper policy and its execution.

2. The police executive should attempt to maintain full and honest communication with the leaders of organizations acting for or against segregation in his community. Complaints of improper police conduct from any group should be freely accepted and fully investigated.

3. Non-violent demonstrators should be expected to establish communication with law enforcement to determine what are the pertinent laws and administrative regulations and to clearly state their immediate anticipated course of action. They should follow agreements mutually made with the police and at least those police regulations which would be considered reasonable for any group engaging in a similar, though not desegregation-related activity.

4. Mass demonstrations have long been held as subject to reasonable police regulation. When there is a rejection of such regulation, as would be considered proper for any other group using the same roadways, it should be recognized that there is an element of illegality not present in many desegregation tactics which may or may not be illegal on other grounds.

5. The public and public information media should be given the maximum possible information about desegregation-related events with particular emphasis on clarifying police policy and action.

6. Police personnel should be of high quality, well trained, adequately directed and supervised strictly to enable them to carry out actions consistent with the general provisions previously enumerated.

7. Police executives should - within the bounds of proper police conduct - cooperate with lawful and reputable agencies or institutions working to maintain or establish the peace of the community and should expect similar cooperation in return.

8. Unlawful force or violence by any person or group is seriously prejudicial to the welfare of the community and the professional reputation of its law enforcement agency. It should be clearly and unequivocally forbidden, and if it does arise, met with all proper force.

CITIES REPRESENTED

Albany, Georgia
Atlanta, Georgia
Baltimore, Maryland
Birmingham, Alabama
Charlotte, North Carolina
Chicago, Illinois
Cincinnati, Ohio
Dallas, Texas
Detroit, Michigan
Houston, Texas
Kansas City, Missouri
Knoxville, Tennessee
Lexington, Kentucky
Little Rock, Arkansas
Louisville, Kentucky
Memphis, Tennessee
Miami, Florida
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Newark, New Jersey
New York, New York
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
St. Louis, Missouri
Washington, D.C.
Wilmington, Delaware

Report L-34
May 30, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

DESEGREGATION OF SOUTHERN PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

The integration of Negro students into Catholic schools in the South* has followed no announced or discernible plan. Elementary and high schools have in some cases, as early as 1952, acted at the parish level to admit Negro students to previously all-white schools. In some dioceses, explicit instructions to desegregate went out years in advance of the current order of Archbishop Rummel in New Orleans.

A summary of status, as we have been able to learn of it, in each southern diocese follows.

Diocese of Mobile-Birmingham (Alabama). There has been no parochial school integration in the state, although there is one example of desegregation in Catholic higher education: Spring Hill College in Mobile.

Diocese of Little Rock (Arkansas). In Little Rock proper Catholic High (for boys) admitted three Negroes this year for the first time. In Fort Smith, St. Scholastica, an all-girl high school, has been integrated since 1952. At present 18 Negro students are enrolled there. The pastor of St. Peter's Catholic Church in Pine Bluff has announced that when a new elementary school is ready in 1963 it will be non-racial.

Archdiocese of Atlanta (Georgia). There is no desegregation here nor in the Diocese of Savannah. (In February 1961, the Bishops of Atlanta, Charleston, and Savannah announced jointly that parochial schools in their states would be desegregated "not later than the public schools.")

Diocese of Miami (Florida). Here there has been considerable integration both in elementary and high schools. The Bishop has given explicit instructions for the admission of students "without exception" as to race and there is willingness to discuss openly. One high school received prominent local press attention because of a star Negro basketball player. Another has an enrollment approximately half white and half Negro. Elsewhere in Florida, in the Dioceses of St. Augustine and West Florida, there seem to be no integrated parochial schools.

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* The 11 southern states of the Confederacy.

Archdiocese of New Orleans (Louisiana). In the fall of 1962, all (more than 150) Catholic schools, both grammar and high, will be integrated. The Bishop of the Diocese of Lafayette has said schools there would be desegregated eventually but not for the next school year. There has been no information that the Diocese of Alexandria has desegregated schools.

Diocese of Natchez-Jackson (Mississippi). There has been silence on school integration and no known instance. There is one example of desegregation in higher education: the seminary at Bay St. Louis.

Diocese of Raleigh (North Carolina). Segregation was ordered ended here before May 1954, and all the elementary schools of the diocese are integrated.

Diocese of Charleston (South Carolina). For six years, St. Anne's, a co-educational elementary school at Rock Hill, has admitted Negro students. This year there are 19, of whom there are five each in grades one, two, and three.

Diocese of Nashville (Tennessee). Schools in Nashville and Jackson are integrated in principle but not always in enrollment. There are at least 25 Negro students in grade schools and 40 in high schools. Father Ryan, a boys' high school in Nashville, desegregated in 1954 prior to the opening of public schools to Negroes. Cathedral High School (for girls) in Nashville is now in its third year of desegregation. In Knoxville, Immaculate Conception is reportedly open to all. Parochial schools in Memphis and Chattanooga remain segregated.

Diocese of San Antonio (Texas). Desegregation of the entire parochial school system in this diocese went into effect in the 1954-55 school year. In the Diocese of Dallas-Ft. Worth, Jesuit High School in Dallas admitted two Negro students in 1955. In other high and grammar schools there has been some desegregation since 1956. In 1961, the Diocese of Galveston-Houston integrated elementary schools. In the four other dioceses in Texas (those of Amarillo, Austin, Corpus Christi, and El Paso) there are, so far as is known, no desegregated schools.

Diocese of Richmond (Virginia). Integration was announced for schools in this area before the Supreme Court decision in May 1954, and went into effect the following September.

REPORT L-34-A (Revised)
August 19, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

DESEGREGATION OF SOUTHERN PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

The integration of Negro students into Catholic schools in the South* has followed no announced or discernible plan. Elementary and high schools have, in some cases as early as 1952, acted at the parish level to admit Negro students to previously all-white schools. In some dioceses, explicit instructions to desegregate went out several years in advance of the 1962 order of Archbishob Rummel in New Orleans. In other dioceses, the integration order from the bishop has followed local desegregation of public schools by a year or more.

In some areas where the schools are desegregated in policy, there has been no actual integration due to lack of applications by Negro Catholics. And in many dioceses, records are not kept by race, so it is not always possible to ascertain, from official reports, how many schools are actually integrated. There remain only four southern dioceses out of the total 25 which have either not announced a policy of desegregation or have not had it in effect for some time.

A summary of desegregation in each southern diocese follows.

Diocese of Mobile-Birmingham (Alabama). There has been no parochial school integration in Alabama, although Spring Hill College in Mobile has been desegregated for several years. The Catholic schools of Pensacola (included in this diocese) will be open to all races this fall.

Diocese of Little Rock (Arkansas). In Little Rock proper, Catholic high school (for boys) admitted three Negroes and Mount St. Mary's Academy, a high school for girls, desegregated in 1962. In Fort Smith, St. Scholastica, an all-girl high school, has been integrated since 1952 and St. Anne's Academy, a co-educational high school, has integrated. New Subiaco Academy (boys high school) in Subiaco has been integrated since 1959. St. Joseph's elementary school in Paris and Sacred Heart elementary school in Charleston are integrated; St. Peter's elementary school in Pine Bluff opened on an integrated basis in early 1963.

Archdiocese of Atlanta (Georgia). Catholic high schools desegregated the eighth grade in April 1962. On June 10, 1962, the Most Reverend Paul J. Hallinan, Archbishop of Atlanta, ordered all Catholic schools in the archdiocese to admit "Catholic children regardless of race or color." In September 1962, six previously white elementary and high schools were quietly desegregated by 17 Negro Catholic students. There are 18 elementary and high schools within the archdiocese, which comprises a 71-county area in North Georgia. Of the elementary schools outside Atlanta (in Rome, Marietta, Fort Oglethorpe, Griffin, Athens, and Washington) only St. Joseph's elementary school

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*The 11 southern states of the Confederacy.

in Athens and St. Joseph's school in Marietta in fact desegregated. No applications from Negro Catholics were received in 1962-63 in the other schools, which continue to have a policy of open enrollment. The Diocese of Savannah announced June 24, 1963 that Catholic schools in the diocese will be integrated effective September 1, 1963. The policy will apply to all grades of both elementary and high schools. Diocesan enrollment in 22 elementary schools and eight high schools is about 9,000. In Chatham County, under the present segregated system, one high school and three elementary schools are for Negroes with an enrollment of 1,000. Chatham County public schools are under court order to desegregate at least one grade in 1963.

Diocese of Miami (Florida). Here there has been integration both in elementary and high schools. The Bishop has given explicit instructions for the admission of students "without exception" as to race. One high school received prominent local press attention in 1962 because of a star Negro basketball player. Another has an enrollment approximately half white and half Negro. Elsewhere in Florida, in the Diocese of St. Augustine Negroes were admitted in September 1962 to the only Catholic high school in Jacksonville, and to Blessed Sacrament (elementary) School in Tallahassee.

Archdiocese of New Orleans (Louisiana). In the fall of 1962, all (more than 150) Catholic schools, both elementary and high, were integrated in policy. Orleans Parish integrated 26 schools with an enrollment of 154 Negro children. Outside the city of New Orleans, Jefferson Parish enrolled 33 Negro students in six schools, St. Tammany Parish enrolled two Negroes in one school, St. Charles and St. Mary Parishes each enrolled one Negro in one school. In Plaquemine Parish, Our Lady of Good Harbor School in Buras was first in the state to integrate, then closed because of disorder on the third day. The school reopened on Labor Day with approximately 18 white and four Negro children in attendance. After picketing and reports of economic and other pressure, the white and two of the Negro children withdrew. In March of 1963, it was reported that the school remained open but no pupils were in attendance. East Baton Rouge Parish will begin desegregation of four high schools in 1964, in the 11th and 12th grades. The diocese has about 165,000 members with about 9% Negro Catholics. The Lafayette and Alexandria dioceses remain segregated.

Diocese of Natchez-Jackson (Mississippi). There has been silence on school integration and no known instance. There is one example of desegregation in higher education: the seminary at Bay St. Louis.

Diocese of Raleigh (North Carolina). Segregation was ordered ended here before May 1954, and all elementary schools of the diocese are integrated.

Diocese of Charleston (South Carolina). Our Lady of Mercy Junior College in Charleston is integrated. For six years, St. Anne's

a co-educational elementary school at Rock Hill, has admitted Negro students. In 1962 there were 19, of whom there were five each in grades one, two, and three.

Diocese of Nashville (Tennessee). Schools in Nashville and Jackson are integrated in principle but not always in enrollment. There are at least 25 Negro students in grade schools and 40 in high schools. Father Ryan, a boys' high school in Nashville, desegregated in 1954 prior to the opening of public schools to Negroes. Cathedral High School (for girls) in Nashville is now in its fourth year of desegregation. In Knoxville, Immaculate Conception is reportedly open to all. In Memphis and Shelby County, all Catholic elementary schools will desegregate the first four grades in September 1963 as part of a four-step plan to extend through 1966. Two colleges, Christian Brothers and Siene, are already desegregated. Parochial schools in Chattanooga remain segregated, but there are some indications they may desegregate in 1963-64.

Diocese of San Antonio (Texas). Desegregation of the entire parochial school system in this diocese went into effect in the 1954-55 school year. In the Diocese of Dallas-Ft. Worth, Jesuit High School in Dallas admitted two Negro students in 1955. In other high and elementary schools there has been some desegregation since 1956. In 1961 the Diocese of Galveston-Houston integrated elementary schools. In the Diocese of Amarillo, all Catholic schools are theoretically integrated. Actually, there are about 40 Negro students in three Catholic schools; none have been rejected but there have been no applications to the other schools. In the Diocese of Austin, school integration is a local pastoral decision. There are known to be Negro children in St. Mary's Cathedral and Dolores Schools; enrollment forms do not show race, so there may be other Negro students in other schools. The Diocese of Corpus Christi reports that all schools in the diocese are integrated; there is no report on the number of Negro children enrolled. There is still one school, Holy Cross, which is all-Negro, but students there may enroll in any Catholic school in the city. The Diocese of El Paso has followed a policy of open schools for a considerable length of time; there was never any public announcement.

Diocese of Richmond (Virginia). Integration was announced for schools in this area before the Supreme Court decision in May, 1954 and went into effect in September, 1954.

Report L-35
June 20, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

STATE COMMISSIONS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

A variety of official commissions has been set up to combat discrimination in a score of states having substantial Negro populations. Four such state commissions, those of Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, and West Virginia, should be of particular interest to states farther south which may contemplate taking this progressive step.

The Southern Regional Council has assembled comprehensive information on these four commissions (legislation establishing them, their organizational pattern, procedures, activities, etc.) which is available to any individual or group desiring to study the matter in detail. These commissions are biracial, and generally bi-party in membership, representing also the principal religious groups. They have no enforcement powers, but they receive complaints, hold hearings, conduct investigations and seek by education, consultation, and conciliation to remove friction, eliminate discrimination, and promote friendship and understanding among all racial and religious groups. At least one report annually is submitted on the work of the commission and the state of race relations. Further information regarding each state commission is given briefly below.

Delaware

The State Human Relations Commission, which is the newest of the five, has just begun to function. It consists of 28 members, appointed by the governor, who also names its chairman. The 28 members must include seven from each county and seven selected without regard to the county in which they reside. The commission is authorized to engage an executive secretary and such other personnel as is required.

The commission's powers and duties are set forth under Section 1, Title 31, (approved December 28, 1961) of the Delaware Code as follows:

> The Commission shall cooperate with the Governor, the General Assembly, public agencies, officials, firms, corporations, civic groups and individuals in promoting amicable relationships among various racial and cultural groups within the State. To

this end the Commission may:

(1) Act as conciliator in matters involving race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry.

(2) Make such investigations, surveys and studies as are pertinent to the performance of its duties.

(3) Make recommendations to the Governor and General Assembly concerning needed Legislation.

Kentucky

The very active body in Kentucky, established under a general assembly act of March, 1960, is called the Commission on Human Rights. Its 11 members are appointed by the governor, one from each Congressional District and three at large. Two of the present members are Negroes and two are women; they include one Catholic, one Jew, and nine Protestants.

The powers and duties of the commission are set forth under the act as follows:

(1) To employ an executive director and other necessary personnel within the limits of funds made available.

(2) To conduct research projects or make studies into, and public reports on, discrimination in Kentucky.

(3) To receive and investigate complaints of discrimination and to recommend ways of eliminating any injustices occasioned thereby.

(4) To hold public hearings and request the attendance of witnesses.

(5) To cooperate with other organizations, public and private, to discourage discrimination.

(6) To encourage fair treatment for all persons regardless of race or national ancestry.

(7) To make an annual report to the Governor of its activities under this Act.

The legislature appropriated $12,500 for the expenses of the commission during each of the first two fiscal years.

Mr. Galen Martin, executive director, writes:

"While the Commission has had an operating program only a year, we feel that encouraging progress has been made. This is particularly true of efforts to make people aware of the public policy of the Commonwealth of Kentucky to discourage discrimination and to implement this policy in the activities of the various departments of state government."

Maryland

The Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations is the oldest of the state commissions under study, having been established under a general assembly act of 1951. It is composed of nine members appointed by the governor, with the advice and consent of the senate.

Of its present members five are white and four are Negro, seven are men and two, women; they include one Catholic, one Jew, and seven Protestant members. The commission operates on an annual budget of $15,892 and employs an executive secretary at a salary of $5,778, a full-time secretary at $4,610, and a part-time secretary at $1,513.

The act states:

> It is the duty of the Commission to make surveys and studies of problems affecting the Negro population of the State to promote the welfare of the colored race and for betterment of interracial relations. The Commission shall submit an annual report to the Governor and the General Assembly together with recommendations, if any, for additional legislation.

The commission's 1961 report lists its objectives as follows:

1. To broaden the scope of operation in order to study each county more thoroughly.

2. To establish through an educational program a better understanding of the varied facets of Maryland's population.

3. To encourage and implement wise adjustments to social and economic problems.

4. To study and analyze the nature, extent and causes of discriminatory practices in Maryland and make recommendations for improvement.

5. To identify the areas of tension in Maryland communities and to offer guidance in reaching judicious solutions.

6. To establish and maintain continuous agency contact for information and consultation in each county seat and each community experiencing major difficulties.

7. To establish an educational newsletter for distribution to related agencies and availability to the public.

West Virginia

The Human Rights Commission is in its first year of operation, having been established under an act of the legislature, approved July 1, 1961.

The nine members of this commission are appointed by the governor "by and with the consent of the Senate" and they must be "broadly representative of the several racial, religious and ethnic groups residing within the state." The act provides further: "Not more than five members of the commission shall be members of the same political party...." The present membership includes one woman, two Negroes, and one Jew.

The appropriation for the fiscal year 1961-1962 is $15,500, with the salary of the executive director fixed at $8,000 and that of the secretary at $3,600. For the fiscal year 1962-1963, $22,327 has been appropriated, with these salaries fixed at $8,700 and $3,840 respectively.

The act contemplates for the commission a broad field of research, consultation, conciliation, etc., looking toward "the advancement of tolerance, understanding and the equal protection of the laws for all groups and peoples." It is to "enlist the cooperation of racial, religious and ethnic units, community and civic organizations, industrial and labor organizations and other identifiable groups."

Governor William W. Barron, in an executive order of January 16, 1962, referring to the legislation establishing the Human Rights Commission, said: "The Legislature by this clear mandate has requested the elimination of all discrimination in employment...." He ordered the elimination of such discrimination in all agencies and departments of the state government and called for full cooperation with the Human Rights Commission.

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Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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Sunday, July 29,1962 The Washington Post

Richmond Quietly Leads Way in Race Relations

By Robert E. Baker
Staff Reporter

RICHMOND—In 1957, Editor Virginius Dabney of the Richmond Times-Dispatch wrote with accuracy and a heavy heart: "The tragic fact is today that hardly any liaison remains between the white leadership and the Negro leadership."

A year later, Editor James Jackson Kilpatrick of the Richmond News Leader wrote with his typical fiery zeal: "Speaking for those of like mind, let us say this: We do not yield. We do not expect to yield ever."

Dabney's lament and Kilpatrick's proclamation were voiced in the troubled days of "massive resistance" in Virginia and general defiance in the South of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision. Their views reflected the situation then in Richmond, where traditional moderation, understanding and well-mannered discussion in race relations had been shelved.

Yet today, the progress that has been made in desegregation and non-discrimination in Richmond is one of the exciting racial stories in the South. Its pace astonishes many Richmonders, white and Negro.

Key to the Council

THE NEGRO VOTE, once the kiss of death, now is an asset; no candidate for City Council can afford to offend it and expect to win. The City has adopted a fair employment policy in municipal jobs, unique in the South, and Negro Richmonders have better job opportunities than ever before.

Negroes may stop at several formerly white-only hotels and dine at several formerly white-only restaurants. Some 130 Negro children, probably more, will be attending formerly white-only classes when the public schools reopen this fall.

Perhaps nowhere else in the country, certainly nowhere else in the South, do Negroes use their vote with more sophistication than in Richmond. It wasn't always so.

Not many years ago, the Negro vote in Richmond was a commodity to be purchased on the sly by white politicians from Negro salesmen who claimed they could deliver the goods. Public endorsement of a candidate by Negroes meant disaster, a fact used cleverly by more

than one politician who would circulate a spurious Negro endorsement of his opponent.

During the days of massive resistance and accompanying racial rancor, Negroes tried "single-shot" voting for Negro candidates in City Council campaigns. But these candidates got only that vote and went down to defeat.

The Heberle Case

BUT THINGS changed in 1960 with the emergence of the Crusade for Voters, headed by intellectual Negro leaders. Abandoned was the single-shot technique. Instead, the Crusade examined each candidate for City Council and endorsed a full slate of nine candidates. The change was dramatic, as the case of Councilman Robert J. Heberle shows.

In 1957, Councilman Heberle urged Richmond to withdraw its financial aid to the Virginia National Guard in retaliation for the federalization of the Arkansas National Guard during the Little Rock crisis. In 1958, when President Eisenhower requested public officials to comply with the Supreme Court's school decision, Heberle, as Vice Mayor at that time, fired back a letter of refusal. In 1959, Councilman Heberle advocated that Richmond cut off local funds to any school that became desegregated.

By 1960, therefore, the Crusade for Voters viewed Heberle as an ardent segregationist and he was not among the slate of candidates it endorsed in the City Council elections that year. The 37 per cent of the vote that Heberle got wasn't enough for his re-election.

A Shrewd Demonstration

AFTER TWO YEARS out of office Heberle announced his candidacy for City Council in the June elections this year. He promised to serve and work for all the citizens. He gave his wholehearted support to the City Council's fair employment resolution, which had been approved unanimously shortly before the election.

With a touch of political genius, the Crusade for Voters endorsed Heberle and he led the field of 25 candidates with 51 per cent of the vote. The lesson was clear. The Negroes had bounced a segregationist from the Council, then returned him when he repented.

Lack of the Crusade's support in 1960 also knocked veteran Councilman Phil J. Bagley, Jr. from office. He was returned to the Council this June, however, without the Crusade's endorsement. Yet he still was to feel the influence of the Negro vote.

In Richmond, a new City Council elects the mayor from among its members, and the new Council in June was deadlocked: four votes for Bagley, four votes for Heberle and one vote for Eleanor P. Sheppard. The Crusade leadership said the Negroes would be displeased if Bagley were elected mayor.

On the 25th ballot, Mrs. Sheppard became the first woman mayor in the city's history. She had been endorsed by the Crusade.

Some Clever Timing

LED AND EDUCATED by the Crusade's leadership of Negro professional and businessmen and faculty members of Virginia Union College, about 8000 Negro voters went to the polls in June, two-thirds of the qualified Negro voters in the city. Some 14,000 white Richmonders voted, perhaps one-third of the qualified white voters.

The Crusade didn't announce its endorsements until just before election day, so the candidates worked to win the Negro vote right up to the deadline. The Crusade's selections included members of the two rival tickets, so one ticket wasn't tempted to use Negro support as an issue against the other.

Seven of the nine Council winners had received the Crusade's endorsement. The two losing endorsees came in 10th and 11th. No. 10 was a Negro. Another Negro candidate without the Crusade's endorsement came in 20th.

Negro Richmonders have matured as a political force. They also have matured in the use of their economic power.

The Richmond Citizens Advisory Council was formed by representatives of 36 primarily Negro organizations 18 months ago to help Virginia Union students who had participated in sit-in demonstrations in Richmond department stores and restaurants. Even before the RCAC asked for funds, the Negro community raised $14,000 for that purpose.

The responsibility of the RCAC leadership was shown early when some Negro pickets at a department store carried signs offensive to Jews. RCAC leaders told the Negroes to remove such signs at once or the RCAC would withdraw its support of the picketing. Down came the signs.

Boycotting of the Miller & Rhoads and Thalhimer's department stores undoubtedly was effective. Shopping excursions to Washington stores were organized by the Negroes.

One of the RCAC leaders is J. Rupert Picott, executive secretary of the Virginia Teachers Association (Negro). He advised a Richmond hotel that teachers attending a VTA meeting would try to register at the hotel. The hotel management said it would prefer that the registrants be integrated rather than all-Negro —so some white teachers from northern Virginia came to Richmond and registered at the hotel, too.

Last year, the RCAC went into negotiations with the Virginia Transit Co., a private company with a municipal franchise that operates Richmond's buses, over the hiring of the first Negro bus drivers. Progress was slow. Finally, the Negroes indicated that a bus boycott might be called.

The transit firm then agreed to hire Negro drivers if the RCAC would postpone any action until after the company took up a new rate schedule with the City Council. The RCAC waited.

On March 5, four Negro applicants supplied by the Richmond Urban League began their training with the VTC. They began driving buses April 1.

Negotiations also have gained Negroes jobs as food checkers in chain supermarkets. The RCAC was surprised to learn that meat cutters in the back rooms, jobs sometimes available to Negroes, paid more than the food checkers, but they wanted Negroes as checkers because they are visible to the buying public, a symbol of progress that can be seen.

One of the remaining uncracked fields of segregation in Richmond is the motion picture theaters. Here the Negroes have no ready economic weapon because they haven't been admitted to the white-only theaters in the past and thus can't withhold their patronage now.

Negotiations are under way. It is felt that the theater owners are awaiting the outcome of a pending suit by Negroes against the Mosque and Parker Field.

The colorful Mosque is the city-owned auditorium which is leased to sponsoring organizations. The lease calls for adherence to the state law requiring segregated seating.

In fact, segregation at the Mosque is spottily enforced. Some "Twist Nights" in the Mosque ballroom have been integrated; operatic and symphonic presentations are generally segregated. In any event, Negroes are contesting the state segregated seating law.

Also segregated is Parker Field, the city-owned baseball park leased to the Richmond Virginians, the International League farm club of the New York Yankees. Negro baseball fans must sit in Section 16.

Negroes are testing the state law to force desegregation at Parker Field and it is likely that the baseball management hopes privately that they win. It would nourish the boxoffice if the fans now easily accommodated in Section 16 swelled to such numbers as to overflow several sections.

Negro leaders good-humoredly tell the story of an injured Negro player on the Virginians' team who didn't suit up for a recent game and sat in a white section to watch it. The player refused to move at the request of an attendant who then called a policeman. Recognizing the player, the policeman said he would have to move to the Negro section unless he put on his uniform.

THE PROGRESS of the Negro in Richmond must be credited in part to the rise of firm, responsible and sophisticated Negro leadership which speaks softly and carries a big stick of political and economic power by commanding the support of the Negro community. But white Richmond and its leadership must also be credited for its good will and understanding.

The top academic senior this year at the Medical College of Virginia was Charles Fletcher Christian, 37, a Negro. But neither he nor the five other Negroes in the graduating class of 88 were sent invitations to the social functions of graduation week-end.

MCV President R. Blackwell Smith Jr. said the exclusion policy was designed "to conform

to the social customs of the community." When MCV professors heard about it they voted 70 to 14 against such exclusion. The senior class petitioned the college administration to change the policy.

THE RICHMOND Times-Dispatch said editorially that it was only right for the Negroes to be invited. It also asked understanding of the MCV officials involved. "Like most other Virginians, they have had to adjust their thinking to the changing times," it said.

The Richmond News Leader, while noting that it wasn't yielding in its opposition to school desegregation, said that the Negroes should be invited. "Any other policy is indefensible," it declared.

The MCV executive committee ruled that the Negroes wouldn't be denied admission if they appeared. The policy now is under study and it's unlikely that Negroes will be excluded in the future.

COMPARISON OF the Negro Richmonder's lot today with that in the period of "massive resistance" causes astonishment in observers and participants alike. Yet the progress is not surprising in the light of Richmond's history of race relations before massive resistance.

The city led the South in bus desegregation and the employment of Negro policemen. A Negro won election to the City Council in 1948 with the help of white voters. City officials kept their offices open on Saturdays in 1947 to cooperate with a voter registration drive by the NAACP.

In 1951, the Virginia NAACP held an integrated convention at the Mosque and the city said, well, it's a private organization, and looked the other way. Back in 1925, the city suspended segregation ordinances and Jim Crow regulations when the Negro Elks held their national convention in Richmond.

SOME OBSERVERS see an end to the new political status of the Negro Richmonder if the city succeeds in annexing huge chunks of neighboring Henrico and Chesterfield Counties, reasoning that the white suburbanites would dilute the influence of the Negro vote. The annexation proceedings now are in court.

But others believe that the racial relations progress and the present era of increased racial understanding now have too solid a foundation to crumble. The 225-year-old city, a symbol of Virginia and the South, has turned a historic corner in race relations after a five-year detour.

It was in August, 1958, that the Richmond News Leader urged stubborn resistance to school desegregation as the zero hour neared in "massive resistance."

"Virginians," said the editorial, "are about to have an opportunity to demonstrate to the whole country—indeed, to the whole world—what it means to be a Virginian."

Today, Richmond is demonstrating what it means.

Report L-37
October 15, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

A STATEMENT ON THE "ECONOMIC COSTS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT" PRESENTED TO THE JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS IN SEPTEMBER 1962 BY THE COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS

The Council of Economic Advisers has prepared an estimate of the "economic loss to the United States resulting from racial discrimination in employment." This estimate is at best tentative and approximate. In the nature of the case, it is not possible to calculate with certainty what the full effects of non-discriminatory employment practices would be, since they would bring about a substantial reshuffling of jobs and occupations among non-whites and whites. But we believe that the order of magnitude of the figures presented here is roughly correct. It should be kept in mind that they are intended to measure only the economic cost of racial discrimination, and this is only a minor part of the damage done to the social fabric by a deplorable practice.

That there are economic losses resulting from discrimination is clear. These losses result from: (1) inefficiencies in the use of the labor force resulting from failure to utilize fully the existing skills of our population; (2) failure to develop potential skills fully. This memorandum attempts to provide rough quantitative estimates of the gains that might accrue if various types of racial discrimination were eliminated. All the estimates herein are based upon a definition of "economic loss" as "amount of national product that is foregone." Measurements, therefore, relate to how much greater Gross National Product (GNP) could be if discrimination were eliminated (or had been eliminated in the past). Because of the legacy of past discrimination affects today's occupational, geographic, and capital structure, and the skills, training, and education of the labor force, the gains would only accrue over time as the economy adjusts and the labor force is upgraded.

Part of the gain in output is attributable to increased employment of non-whites. The calculations assume that in the absence of discrimination, the unemployment rate among non-whites would be the same as among whites. Thus there would be a net reduction in unemployment, which could be achieved only if the level of demand in the economy were high enough to provide employment for whites and non-whites on the same basis.

One of the economic gains not measured here is the likelihood that the disappearance of discrimination in employment and education would mean a reduction in the volume of structural unemployment, and would therefore permit higher levels of output and employment without inflationary pressure.

In measuring the increase in output we have been concerned with two questions:

(1) By how much would GNP increase if the non-white were able to utilize his present potential (as measured by years of education) as fully as is the white?
(2) By how much would GNP increase if the non-white were able to develop his capacities as fully as is the white?

Our answers to these two questions do not permit treatment of those forms of discrimination, e.g., housing, which have little, if any, direct employment effects. To the extent that removal of such discrimination may affect the economic performance of whites as well as non-whites, it would have economic implications. The effect on economic performance does not, however, lend itself to measurement.

On the other hand, there exists a type of discrimination in employment which has little direct effect on output. This is the discriminatory practice in employment sometimes identified as "exploitation," i.e., paying the non-white less than the white is paid for equal work. This type of discrimination results in a redistribution of income favoring the white at the expense of the non-white, but with no necessary reduction in total output. The data do not permit separating out the loss to the non-white due to "exploitation" from the loss to the nation in the form of decreased output.

Gain from Full Utilization of Present
Educational Attainment of Non-whites

A measure of the contribution that an individual makes to production by his labor is given by his wage and salary income. The income of non-whites is lower than that of whites and this is the case for persons with the same number of years of education. In large part this is true because discrimination restricts the non-white to positions of lower productivity than he is qualified for. The elimination of such discrimination would make it possible for non-whites to move from lower-productivity to higher-productivity occupations, thus causing an expansion of total output.

If non-whites had the same labor force participation and employment rates as the whites and if they were distri-

buted geographically and occupationally (and thus in terms of wage and salary income) as whites with the same educational attainments -- if, in other words, non-whites were able to make the same contribution to production, given their present educational attainment, GNP could be increased by about 1.8 percent.

There are several considerations that lead us to think that the gain would be somewhat higher. The shifting of non-whites to new work roles would probably lead to the creation of additional plant and equipment (for it is assumed that on the average white workers are equipped with more capital than non-whites). Simultaneously the creation of this new capital would be facilitated by the increased output and income of labor indicated by the 1.8 percent estimate. The income earned by this new capital should in principle be added to the gain.

Furthermore, the 1.8 percent estimate relates only to wage and salary income and does not attempt the difficult measurement of the change in the labor component of entrepreneurial income. Gains will occur in the labor productivity of the self-employed adding further to the 1.8 percent increase in GNP.

The above considerations suggest that the gain in Gross National Product might well be as much as 2.5 percent (about $13 billion at today's levels of GNP).

It is worth noting that today non-whites represent 11 percent of the labor force and 10 percent of the civilian population 14 and over. Thus, it is not surprising that the estimated GNP gain is not a larger percentage of present GNP. Nevertheless, the loss does mean that we are wasting about one-third of the potential contribution of the non-white workers. The shift to full utilization of the present capabilities of the non-white population (and the resultant GNP increase of about 2.5 percent) would assist significantly in meeting our economic growth objectives in the coming years.

Gains from Raising the Educational Level

The elimination of discrimination in employment opportunities can, however, be considered in a broader framework. Not only is the non-white discriminated against in seeking work which enables him to utilize fully his present education, but non-whites currently possess lower educational levels than do whites. This phenomenon -- in part the result of past and present discrimination -- limits the employment opportunities for the group as a whole. Furthermore, job discrimination itself contributes to lower educational attainment in a self-reenforcing manner. Thus it is relevant to ask not only how much higher GNP might be today if non-whites

were able to be as productive as whites given their present productive capacities (as measured by education), but also, how much higher GNP would be if non-whites had been educated as fully as whites. Because we did not accomplish this educational task in the past, we can only do so in the future and the gains, therefore, can not be realized today but only over a future time span.

If non-whites had the same educational levels as whites and if the economy fully utilized their education, GNP today might be perhaps 3.2 percent higher (inclusive of the 2.5 percent estimate reported above). This amounts to about $17 billion at today's levels of GNP.

Qualitative Gains in National Welfare

Elimination of racial discrimination would yield gains that raise national welfare while not affecting the level of total output. It would permit, by reducing the level of social costs, a reallocation of output to more fruitful uses or permit more equitable sharing of community responsibilities. At present the social cost of crime and poor health is differentially associated with the non-white population. The reduction of these social costs would free resources for other uses. This is also true of the resources now allocated to the construction and operation of separate facilities -- the result of discriminatory practices.

The elimination of discrimination would have an impact on the distribution of income among whites. Wage and salary incomes of whites in the lower paid occupations (with higher proportions of non-whites) would tend to rise while the opposite would be true in the higher income occupations. Thus the low income white population would also benefit and a more equal income distribution among whites would result.

Finally, the community responsibilities of tax-paying and of military service could be more equitably shared among all the citizens of the nation. The essential characteristic of such gains is that they are related to allocation and distribution problems rather than to output considerations. But by improving allocation and distribution they do increase the total welfare of the society. While they cannot be added to the GNP gain measured above, they are significant and should not be ignored.

Appendix
on
Derivation of Estimates

The key figures in the foregoing memo are the percentages by which wages and salaries are assumed to rise in the two cases of (a) no change in education, and (b) a change in education.

For (a) the following method was used, based on 1949 data for individuals. (The 1959 data will not be available for several months, and only decennial census data give the necessary breakdown of income by educational level by age and sex by color.) For each age-sex group the income of non-whites was changed to the income of whites having identical education. These changes amounted to a 3.1 percent rise in total money income. This 3.1 percent figure was applied to wages and salaries. Since wages and salaries are 58 percent of GNP, this would mean a 1.8 percent gain in GNP. This estimate was raised to 2.5 percent for the reasons given in the text.

For (b) the following method was used, based on 1960 data for families and unattached individuals. Total money income per consumer unit for first, non-white families, and second, non-white unattached individuals, was assumed to change to equal that of the appropriate white groups. Then wages and salaries were assumed to rise by the same percentage that total money income rose, namely, 4.0 percent. Since wages and salaries are 58 percent of GNP, the rise in GNP is 2.3. The final GNP increase was estimated to be perhaps 1 percent higher, or 3.2 percent, because of the additional gains, discussed earlier, due to increasing capital and entrepreneurial income.

The income data required for this study are available in terms of the standard census classification, "white," "non-white." The non-white classification includes, in addition to Negroes, American Indians, Japanese, Chinese, and others. The Census Bureau estimates that, of the 20.5 million persons in the non-white category in the 1960 census, 18.9 million persons (or 92 percent) were Negroes.

Report L-38
November 1, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
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WHAT PRICE VIOLENCE?

While it is still too early to determine the long-range effects of the recent riots on Mississippi's economy, there seems little doubt that they will be profound, prolonged, and painful.

The heavy price Mississippi can be expected to pay for the violence at Oxford has been the subject of several recent newspaper and magazine articles. These excerpts are taken from a selection of those articles.

* * * * *

Wall Street Journal, September 26:

> "Many Mississippi businessmen are privately expressing concern that mounting racial strife may depress the state's economy.
>
> "In Jackson . . . state officials responsible for attracting new industry are privately apprehensive about whether this growth can continue if the racial conflict takes a violent turn. Although most are understandably reluctant to discuss their views, it is apparent they feel the university crisis is upsetting their plans.
>
> "A number of businessmen in Mississippi agree, as does a leading plant location specialist outside the state.
>
> "'In the past 15 years, we've put about 60 plants into Mississippi - that's roughly four a year. But in the last few years, the rate has been more like one or two a year.' To this specialist, the racial tension clearly is responsible for keeping the plants away."

Atlanta Constitution Business Editor Jim Montgomery in a column which appeared October 3:

> "Mississippi's bitterly violent defiance of law and order has failed in all respects save one.
>
> "It has succeeded only in committing economic suicide.

"It has in a single night of terror undone years of costly effort to lure new industry within its borders. It has, in effect, warned industry to stay away.

"Mississippi will no doubt continue to offer cheap labor, huge tax concessions and other give-aways . . . .

"But for most of the nation's industries, no amount of monetary inducement could offset the risk of moving into a state whose chief executive not only says but also shows that he cannot or will not preserve the peace.

"And even those major corporations who might otherwise be tempted to accept Mississippi's desperately proffered gifts would founder on personnel resistance, for it is inconceivable that the executives needed to run a new plant would agree to moving their families into a state whose law enforcement officers stand idly by as mobs riot."

Staff writer Rick Tuttle, who was on the scene at Oxford, in the Miami Herald, October 7:

"The State of Mississippi, her people and her future have been deeply wounded by the explosion here.

"It will be decades before the wounds heal.

"This is the grim outlook of moderates in Mississippi - the business and professional leaders who did not speak out against Gov. Ross Barnett until it was too late - until blood ran in the streets of this quiet university town.

"Now they are uniting and trying to put out the flames of hatred which they feel Barnett will continue to fan.

"But all agree the damage has been done. The words 'Oxford' and 'Mississippi' and 'James Meredith' for years will bring to mind death and hatred and racial prejudice.

"There are many ways Mississippi has been hurt by the explosion of violence, but the most severe is probably economic. Barnett has done a good job of attracting industry to Mississippi . . . . But Arkansas and Little Rock experienced a new-industry drought for years after federal troops protected Negro students there.

"'Only recently has industry started going back into Little Rock and the racial trouble has been blamed,' a Herald source said. 'And what happened at Little Rock was child's play compared with this.'

"Without industry Mississippi cannot pull itself out of the poverty and low educational stand-

ards that so often accompany agrarian economies. Now the outlook for industry is even blacker.

"Another serious injury to the state - very close behind the economic one - is to the University of Mississippi itself. It may retain its accreditation, but it will probably lose some of its high caliber professors and certainly stands a slim chance of getting any new ones.

"Academic freedom at Ole Miss has already been choked by the Mississippi Legislature, according to professors, and even a crisis as grave as the Meredith case did not bring a protest from the faculty.

"One can only guess what lies ahead for Mississippi now. But those who are willing to guess see a bleak future in which the moderate voice in the state faces years of struggle just to prevent violence, much less swing the elective leadership away from extremists."

In Business Week, October 6, an article titled "The Price of Defiance," with the sub-heading, "Mississippi's battle with the federal government over Negro college student seems to be simmering down, but the state may be paying an economic toll for years to come":

"James Meredith, Negro, was enrolled in the University of Mississippi and was attending class. The turmoil was not over. Ripples were spreading from Oxford - and rolling around the world.

"But thoughtful citizens were trying to read the future - and to many in business it seemed that Mississippi might be paying a price for years to come.

"For one thing, Arkansas' experience following the 1957 troubles in Little Rock indicates that industry may be reluctant to move to Mississippi.

"Mississippi is a poorer state to begin with - its per capita income was $1,229 last year, the nation's lowest - and its racial problem is more deepseated than that of most Southern states. It has the highest percentage of Negro residents - 45% - of any state. And, as the National Urban League, a 52-year-old interracial organization dedicated to Negro economic progress, points out, Mississippi is the only state in which it has never had any affiliates or activities.

"The Magnolia State enjoyed its biggest rush of new industry under BAWI /balance agriculture with industry/ last year, with 83 new plants and 68 expan-

sions of existing facilities announced. Most of these are small, but the total adds up to a considerable number of new jobs. The list includes: General Cable Corp., 400 employees; General Tire & Rubber Co., 60; Magnavox Co., 125; Normandie Mills, 380; Southbridge Plastics, 400.

"Two big plums were announced in 1961. The first is the Standard Oil of Kentucky refinery at Pascagoula, which will employ 700 and represents an investment of $125-million. Gov. Ross Barnett pointed out at the time of the announcement that total new plant investment for Mississippi for the three previous years came to only $113-million. Construction of the refinery is well under way.

"A second major plum for Mississippi is the 13,300-acre missile testing range in Hancock County also on the Gulf. Early estimates projected a $300-million-to-$400-million investment in Hancock.

"Only time will tell, of course, how seriously the pace of private and federal investment in Mississippi will be affected by the Oxford affair. But an indirect threat to the state's economy became apparent early this week when the Southern College Accreditation Board warned Gov. Barnett that unless he changes his tactics accreditation of 'Ole Miss' and other state colleges might be withdrawn. Such a move would be likely to discourage industrialists from moving their families to the state.

"Loss of accreditation would also mean withdrawal of federal and private grants for scholarships and research. The Health, Education & Welfare Dept. has already moved to withhold money until the 'situation is clarified.'"

Editorial in the Knoxville <u>News-Sentinel</u> October 6:

"Mississippi's drive to lure new industry - an effort which has met with some success up to now - is endangered by the riots at Ole Miss. Out-of-state businessmen have been reluctant to move into a state deeply troubled by racial strife.

"Take Little Rock, Ark., for example. In the two years before the riots at Little Rock's Central High School, 17 new plants moved into the city; they employed 1200 persons. But in four years since the troubles only 13 new plants have sprung up in the city. They employ less than 1000.

"If nothing else, practical business reasons alone should stir Mississippi leaders to restore and maintain order as rapidly as possible. The state lags behind its neighbors economically and further sociological upsets will make it harder for Mississippi to catch up."

Newsweek, October 22, in the Business and Finance Section:

"For 26 years, Mississippi has been luring industries into the state in an effort to boost its underdeveloped economy. But immediately after the recent riots at the University of Mississippi one state industrial salesman heard from eight Northern industrialists who had been considering moving in - and four of them said they were bowing out. The reason given by a Midwest furniture manufacturer: 'It looks like you people are being led by the wrong element.'

"In two terse words, William B. Selah Jr., director of the Southwest Mississippi Area Development Commission, expressed the reaction of a good many of the state's businessmen: 'Violence hurts.' A Jackson banker predicted gloomily: 'I don't think we're going to have much industry running our way for a while.' And a national manufacturer of hard goods told its Mississippi plant in bitter jest: 'From now on, put "Made in North Carolina" on our products.'

"Some of the state's recruiters reported business as usual; Barnett himself, in several speeches last week, read a number of pre-crisis testimonials he had received from industrialists. But most officials were apprehensive. One said: 'We don't need to be reminded of what happened in Little Rock.'

"The parallel was ominous. When Little Rock's school-integration crisis erupted in September 1957, the city and state were thriving. In the previous two years, industrial investment in the state totaled $248 million; Little Rock alone gained ten new plants, worth $3.4 million and adding 1,072 jobs to the city's payroll. In the two years after Federal troops marched into Little Rock, the state's investment fell to $190.6 million; for three years, not a single company employing more than fifteen people moved into the Little Rock area. Last year, with memories of the turbulence fading, one new plant was built for $1.6 million; this year another firm plans a $780,000 plant.

"Racial strife in Arkansas 'did have an effect,' Winthrop Rockefeller, leading financier and chairman of the Industrial Development Commission, said last week, 'but it would be extraordinarily difficult to put a price tag on it.'

"And, as Little Rock's case amply illustrates, the effects of racial strife can last a long time."

The New York Times, October 21:

"Mississippi, which has striven desperately since 1936 to reinforce its traditional cotton economy with a solid layer of industrial jobs, now faces an

uncertain future because of the tragic violence over desegregation at the University of Mississippi.

"The situation has already caused the Mississippi Agricultural and Industrial Board, the state's official industrial development agency, to cancel its Oct. 25 dinner in Chicago, where Gov. Ross Barnett was scheduled to play host to more than 200 Midwest industrialists.

"No public announcement has been made by the board, but an industrialist who was to have participated in the industrial junket said:

'We can't send Barnett out of the state at this time.'

"Governor Barnett had put himself in the forefront as the state's industrial salesman by making daily telephone calls to Northern industrialists and also visiting them at their home offices.

"Now it it felt he has become a symbol of racial violence at the univeristy because of his defiance of the Federal courts.

"When the case became a top national and international story, Governor Barnett received publicity that could hardly help the state's case for persuading the nation's business and industry leaders to build plants in Mississippi.

"One leader of that organization [Northeast Mississippi Industrial Development Council] said: 'I think the Ole Miss incident is going to affect us. Wherever you have violence, it's bound to hurt.'

"A south Mississippi regional industrial leader said he was 'very concerned and very upset over what it is going to do to us.' Even before the rioting, he said, 'several manufacturers had stopped putting "made in Mississippi" labels on their products,' which are marketed nationally.

"Some reaction has shown up in the channels of investment capital that Eastern and Northern financial houses make available to Mississippi bankers, but one Mississippi banker said 'it isn't anything serious at this point.'

"But he noted: 'I don't think we're going to have much industry running our way for a while. In fact, it could hurt us for a long while.'"

Report L-39
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Southern Regional Council
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NEGROES' PAY RISES BUT HALF AS FAST

(The following articles by Business Editor Jim Montgomery appeared in the Friday, December 14, 1962 Atlanta Constitution.)

White citizens who profess to be mystified by this year's vastly stepped-up campaign on the part of Atlanta Negroes to secure a better economic break, principally by attacking what the Negroes regard as discriminatory employment practices, may be enlightened by a look at some depressing long-term income trends.

Depressing, that is, from the Negroes' point of view.

These new facts of Negro economic life in Atlanta are offered here as a follow-up to last week's news reports on a comparison of local white and Negro family incomes in 1960.

A new U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) study published then showed that the average annual income of Negro families in Atlanta was $3,307, or only 48 per cent of the Atlanta white family average of $6,894.

It also showed that, on a per capita basis, Negro income here averaged only 45 per cent as high as white income here in 1960 - $1,002 versus $2,224.

The BLS has now made available comparable income figures by race for 1950.

And they show that in Atlanta during the past decade:

1. The average income of Negro families increased by only 31.86 per cent, or $799, from $2,508 in 1950 to $3,307 in 1960.

2. The average income of white families increased by 49.22 per cent, or $2,274, from $4,620 in 1950 to $6,894 in 1960.

3. Average per capita Negro income increased by only 23.86 per cent, or $193, from $809 in 1950 to $1,002 in 1960.

4. Average per capita white income increased by 44.4 per cent, or $684, from $1,540 in 1950 to $2,224 in 1960.

Thus, in terms of average annual family income, Atlanta Negroes lost ground to Atlanta whites during the decade of the city's most rapid growth.

At the same time, while consumer prices in Atlanta were staging a 22.8 per cent advance, Negro per capita income here barely kept up with the cost of living inasmuch as this income increased by only 23.86 per cent.

Little wonder, then, the intensified Negro efforts through "Operation Breadbasket" as well as federal coercive powers to break down discrimination barriers in the hiring and promoting of workers in all types of employment.

But the BLS figures also illustrate a related problem, that of educational credentials, a generally-acknowledged indicator of qualifications for the skilled jobs that bring higher pay.

From 1950 to 1960, according to BLS, the heads of white families in Atlanta maintained the same average in number of years of education - 11.

Among local Negro families, however, the average number of years of education of heads of families declined from only eight in 1950 to only six in 1960.

This is explained at least in part, according to some observers, by the continued influx into the Atlanta area of Negroes from rural areas who lacked either the encouragement or opportunity to get much education.

Another reason for Negroes' difficulties in getting or advancing to better jobs and higher pay, according to some major Atlanta employers who say they have eliminated racially-discriminatory hiring practices, is that Negro job applicants who have received vocational training in segregated schools often either fail to pass or fail to score as well on aptitude tests as white applicants.

And some employers here say Negroes are justified in complaining that Negro vocational schools here provide poorer quality training than white vocational schools.

And so efforts to speed school desegregation go hand in hand with moves to eliminate employment discrimination barriers as Negroes here and elsewhere strive to climb from the bottom of the economic totem pole.

Report L-40
February 13, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
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(From an address by the Honorable Terry Sanford, Governor of North Carolina; Governor Sanford was speaking before the North Carolina Press Association at the Carolina Inn in Chapel Hill last month.)

OBSERVATION FOR A SECOND CENTURY

"The American Negro was freed from slavery one hundred years ago. In this century he has made much progress, educating his children, building churches, entering into the community and civic life of the Nation.

"Now is a time not merely to look back to freedom, but forward to the fulfillment of its meaning. Despite great progress, the Negro's opportunity to obtain a good job has not been achieved in most places across the country. Reluctance to accept the Negro in employment is the greatest single block to his continued progress and to the full use of the human potential of the Nation and its States.

"The time has come for American citizens to give up this reluctance, to quit unfair discriminations, and to give the Negro a full chance to earn a decent living for his family and to contribute to higher standards for himself and all men.

"We cannot rely on law alone in this matter because much depends upon its administration and upon each individual's sense of fair play. North Carolina and its people have come to the point of recognizing the urgent need for opening new economic opportunities for Negro citizens. We also recognize that in doing so we shall be adding new economic growth for everybody.

"We can do this. We should do this. We will do it because we are concerned with the problems and the welfare of our neighbors. We will do it because our economy cannot afford to have so many people fully or partially unproductive. We will do it because it is honest and fair for us to give all men and women their best chance in life."

Report L-40
February 13, 1963

THE GOOD NEIGHBOR PROGRAM

"In North Carolina we will attempt to provide leadership for the kind of understanding America needs today.

"To carry out these hopes we will do five things right now:

"1. We have established the North Carolina Good Neighbor Council.

"It will consist of 24 outstanding citizens of the State. David S. Coltrane will be chairman; Dean James T. Taylor will be vice chairman. Coltrane is former Director of Administration and presently Special Consultant to the Governor. Taylor is former Dean of Men at North Carolina College.

"We will also name an additional advisory committee to reach more sections of the economy and the State.

"The Council will have a two-fold mission (1) to encourage employment of qualified people without regard to race, and (2) to urge youth to become better trained and qualified for employment.

"2. We are asking all Mayors and Chairmen of County Commissioners to establish local Good Neighbor Councils.

"3. We have issued a memorandum to heads of State agencies, departments, and institutions, asking them, if they have not already done so, to examine and formulate policies which do not exclude from employment qualified people because of race.

"4. Being aware that complete success cannot be achieved without wise and vigorous leadership from private business and industry, we will conduct a conference this spring, inviting leading industrialists and businessmen to participate.

"5. We call on church leaders, pastors, civic organizations, to support the objectives of the Good Neighbor Councils in their own effective ways.

"In addition to Coltrane and Taylor, the members of the North Carolina Good Neighbor Council are: J. Marse Grant of Raleigh, editor of the Biblical Recorder, official publication of the North Carolina Baptist Convention; John H. Wheeler, president of Farmers and Mechanics Bank at Durham; J. P. Strother, managing editor of the Kinston Daily Free Press; John W. Winters, Raleigh realtor and member of the

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February 13, 1963

Raleigh City Council; Roy D. McLaurin, Laurinburg businessman; Dr. Reginald A. Hawkins, Charlotte dentist; Bruce F. Jones, Edenton automobile dealer; Clark S. Brown, Winston-Salem funeral director; J. S. Stewart, president of Mutual Savings and Loan Association and member of the Durham City Council; Edward Loewenstein, Greensboro architect; and Dr. John R. Larkins, State Department of Public Welfare.

"Other members of the Council will be announced later."

Report L-41
March 22, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
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On February 24, 1963, Governor Burt T. Combs of Kentucky addressed the Chicago Conference for Brotherhood at Palmer House in Chicago. The following evening, Secretary of Commerce Luther T. Hodges spoke at the second annual Brotherhood Award dinner of the Memphis Round Table of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. This report consists of excerpts taken from these two speeches, both of which concerned the national need for what Secretary Hodges described as "the development of a deeper understanding of the meaning of practical human brotherhood."

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH OF GOVERNOR COMBS, FEBRUARY 24

"...The whole universe knows first-hand that while America attempts to provide food, comfort and protection for most of the distant peoples of the world, it still refuses to provide here at home the most vital of all constitutional rights -- first-class citizenship for everyone. But the time has come when the opponents of decency and right must recognize the inevitability of change. We stand at the dawn of a new day, on a new path toward full citizenship and personal dignity. At the beginning of our great nation, Americans assumed a mortgage on their freedom -- but after almost two centuries, we are in the throes of bankruptcy because we are behind in our payments to the United States Constitution.

"World Wars I and II were interest installments. The Supreme Court decisions of May 17, 1954, and May 31, 1955, and all of America's great achievements, scientifically and technologically, were but interest payments. But we are still behind on the principal . . . in spite of our tremendous bank account of friendly harmony without conformity. It is now time for everybody, every state to pay up.

"And the most delinquent of all are those who still persist in opposing law and order. No longer can America carry the total burden of freedom without reforming or dispossessing those delinquents. No longer can we be silent about those who would control our house and yet not contribute to its upkeep....

"A world unfinished and broken must be made whole. If American freedom is to live, then all segregation must die. There is no more important or basic advance that our country needs than complete liberation of all of our citizens, and the granting of their privilege 'of freedom to be free....'

"We must see to it that there are no second-class citizens in America. We must not only do this because it is morally right, but we must subdue all forces that would destroy by violence and master by fear the mind, souls, and bodies of the underprivileged. I submit that America and every one of our fifty states is richer today for the advancement the Negro has won. And our society is more mature for what it has had to learn in granting him, all too slowly, his freedom. But yet the task ahead poses significant challenges.

"As we embark upon the second century following the Emancipation, we observe that there are more forces working for the realization of civil rights for all Americans than ever before in history. And we of the South are happy to report that there are fewer resistant states than ever before, with the number dwindling to only a few. Much of the credit for this progress must go to the Negro himself, because he has demonstrated a remarkable capacity to work with his white neighbors for their common benefit, in addition to the ability to rise from slavery and become an educated contributor to himself and the community. ...

"The American Negro, while he seeks and has largely found identification with the main stream of American life, has suffered more than any other Americans from occupational and technological dislocations. And yet it is our nation that is the greatest sufferer, because without the spirit of brotherhood there can be no real solution of our economic, social or personal difficulties.

"Most of society's ills can be remedied only by the acceptance of responsibility and mutual cooperation to solve common problems. It is important in seeking to effect a living brotherhood of men that we begin by planting the seed wherever we are all over the nation. Because, as you and I know, there are always those among us who pay only lip service to civil rights, tolerance and brotherhood.

"Brotherhood needs constant working-at all over America. There is much the Negro can do for himself. In Kentucky, for instance, in the 1960 presidential election, only 59 per cent of the citizens of voting

age cast a vote. The average for the United States was 64 per cent. Illinois did remarkably well, comparatively, with 76 per cent of the voting-age residents casting their ballot.

"But that is not the whole picture.

"A large percentage of our citizens of voting age do not take the trouble to register. It is unfortunately true that in some communities, where Negroes are unhampered by voting restrictions, they do not take full advantage of the privilege to vote. In Louisville, for example, 44 per cent of the white population was registered to vote last fall, but only 28.6 per cent of the Negro population was registered....

"We are more likely to succeed in our efforts to correct injustices if we deal from strength rather than from weakness. Americans, more than most people, respect strength. The American Negro can move faster toward economic and social equality by making himself strong at his polling place.

"While President Lincoln by proclamation released the Negro from civil bondage, he left a great responsibility to the Americans who followed him. That responsibility -- resting upon all of us -- is to free ourselves of the bonds of prejudice which deny to the Negro his full citizenship rights.

"Let us always remember that democracy is never static. It is a constantly moving force that challenges us continuously to reach new and higher levels of achievement each day. There are many ways to meet the challenge of leadership in interracial matters. But I suggest quite simply that we begin anew in our own hearts and minds to strive to treat every man as an individual and never judge anyone in a general sense. Let us become more thoroughly aware of the very patterns of prejudice that yet exist on our jobs, in public accommodation, churches, in our neighborhood and nation, and resolve to use our every influence to eradicate them.

"Let us be willing to state intelligently and firmly at all times our own personal opposition to bigotry in all of its varied forms. Let us never acquiesce in discrimination. Let each of us in this audience tonight make the choice for complete freedom, not only for ourselves, but also for our fellow citizens and human brothers all over the world. Making this choice will become easier if we realize that as the spiritual inheritors of all of civilization's past, we are not only the trustees of its glorious present, but we are the architects for its boundless future.

"As the late Elmer Davis once said, 'Civilization is not what our ancestors have built, but our capacity to build intellectually and spiritually, as well as architecturally.' Therefore, the solution to the problems of brotherhood rests squarely on our own shoulders and our willingess to work full-time in quest of human dignity."

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH OF SECRETARY HODGES, FEBRUARY 25

"...History requires that Europe look beyond its borders and join with the United States in shaping a viable, prosperous world community of free peoples.

"This trend toward closer cooperation and more meaningful brotherhood in the world must be matched by a keener awareness of our responsibilities to our fellow men at home.

"That great Southerner, my fellow North Carolinian, Clarence H. Poe, pointed out more than 50 years ago that 'the prosperity of every man depends upon the prosperity of the average man.'

"'Every man whose earning power is below par,' he said, 'is a burden on the community; he drags down the whole level of life, and every other man in the community is poorer by reason of his inefficiency, whether he be white man or Negro....'

"This wise observation is as pertinent today as it was when it was made in 1910. It reminds us that what is done to the least of these, our brethren, is a matter of concern to all of us -- as practical men as well as humanitarians.

"Let me cite a few examples of how these shortfalls in earning power and economic opportunity affect our communities, our national economy, and even our capacity to compete in markets of the world.

"More than four million of our fellow Americans are currently unemployed for a variety of reasons. A prime reason is our slow rate of economic growth and the under-utilization of our industrial capacity. But there are other causes of unemployment that are just as serious, and some of them may be even more difficult to remedy.

"Last year, young people under 25 accounted for more than one third of our total unemployment, although they represent only one fifth of our total labor force. Many of these young people are being frustrated by the slow growth in the number of available jobs. But many thousands

of them are looking for work without success because they lack adequate education and marketable skills....

"The shortfall in earning power among Negro workers is especially large -- due both to inadequate education and to the pressures which tend to confine nonwhites to unskilled and low skilled occupations.

"On the average, nearly a million nonwhite workers were without jobs last year. And, again, the rate of unemployment for nonwhite workers was more than twice that for white workers....

"Instead of benefiting as a nation from the energies and innate abilities of these potential workers, we will have to bear the social and economic costs of their idleness, their frustration, and in many cases their bitterness and hostility to their communities and everyone around them.

"To avoid this social alienation and this waste of valuable human resources, we must step up our efforts to improve our educational system and, equally important, to strengthen the motivations for self improvement.

"This is a challenge to all of us, as private individuals, and as businessmen, as public officials, as people who care about their fellow men and women....

"This challenge to us as Southerners is especially great. We live in a region that has enormous natural and human resources. But we are not realizing the full benefits of these resources for ourselves or for the nation.

"We have made great economic progress in the South in the last few decades. This is reflected in the rapid increase in Southern per capita incomes.

"Since 1929, when it was only half the national average, per capita income in the South has increased by almost 400 percent. This compares with a 200 percent increase for the nation as a whole.

"But we cannot let this dramatic progress blind us to the fact that per capita income in the South is still only 75 percent of the national average.

"Today, our national economy is operating at about $35 billion below capacity. Our consumer demand and investment demand are this much below what is necessary for full utilization of our available manpower and productive facilities.

"Yet, if per capita income in the South were raised to the level of the rest of the nation, this would generate enough additional spending and investment to restore this country to full employment.

"The whole country suffers when any part lags in the development of its natural resources, in the education of its youth, or in the earning power of its people.

"The South has made substantial progress in its agriculture. The region, you know, has more cropland than all of the rest of the nation. But we are still hampered by generations of inadequate conservation which permitted the depletion of our soils. Southern farmers have had to pay more than half of the nation's fertilizer bill to overcome these deficiencies, and they have had to do it out of about one quarter of our total national farm income.

"The South has about three quarters of the nation's commercial forest land, and we have made striking progress in developing this great resource. But we have to overcome generations of chronic overcutting and inadequate fire protection and restocking which reduced our total timber stand to less than one third of the national total.

"Southern industrial progress in recent years has been a source of justifiable pride for us all. The trend of modern technology is running in the South's direction -- emphasizing wood pulp, petrochemicals, petroleum, and other Southern products as basic industrial raw materials.

"The South has all of the nation's reserves of natural sulfur and bauxite. It has 65 percent of the nation's petroleum; 75 percent of its natural gas, phosphate, and titanium; half of the nation's clay and coal; and it ranks very high in the rare-earth metals that are so important in this space age.

"Yet, value added per worker in manufacturing in the South lags behind the value added per worker in the nation as a whole. And this shows up in the comparable lag in incomes of Southern families headed by a year-round, full-time worker.

"This lag underscores the vital importance of improving the education and technical skills of our people -- to raise their productivity and their earning power, and consequently the level of per capita income in the South.

"We have made great progress in our public schools. But we can and we must do more. We have further to go than

other parts of the country to lift the educational level of our people to the standards imposed by a modern technological society.

"The latest Census figures show that the median number of years of schooling completed by Southerners is a full year below the national average and more than two years below the level of the Western States. Our school expenditures are only 71 percent of the national average --$265 per pupil, compared with $375 for the nation as a whole.

"We must invest more in education to overcome our deficiencies in classroom space, in teachers' salaries, and in teaching equipment -- to improve the quality as well as the quantity of our educational effort.

"We also must be concerned about the quality of the employment opportunities we make available to the young people we educate at such great cost.

"I want to be very frank about this last point:

"We cannot continue to waste the talents of our Negro citizens if we ever hope to raise the South to its full economic potential.

"We cannot afford to employ in menial jobs educated Negro men and women who are qualified for better jobs.

"We cannot let the talents of a Negro engineer be wasted in sweeping floors, in sorting mail, or in digging ditches. We cannot use trained stenographers as maids. We cannot make trained electricians rake yards, or use as construction laborers men who have the training to be draftsmen.

"One of the reasons our per capita income is so low is the widespread underemployment of Negroes in our labor force. Less than half of our Negro families are headed by persons with full-time, year, year-round jobs.

"Too many Negro men and women are confined to jobs which produce little for themselves or for those who employ them -- to jobs which in other parts of the country have been eliminated by machines, with a resulting rise in the average productivity and average incomes of the people in those areas.

"The right to seek a job in keeping with one's ability -- and have a reasonable prospect of finding such a job -- is fundamental to my concept of freedom and equality of opportunity in a free enterprise economy and a free society.

"For the South, this matter of better job opportunities for our Negro citizens is an economic necessity, as well as a duty imposed by our sense of fairness and right.

"With constructive local leadership such as you have been showing here in Memphis and with growing public awareness of the importance of developing our region's human resources to the fullest, we can make great progress in this area of better job opportunities in the next few years.

"The South has a great opportunity to demonstrate to the nation and to the world both its capacity for orderly change and the extent of its faith in its future.

"Those of us who know the South and love the South and its people cannot doubt that this region has a great destiny to lead both in our national economic growth and in the development of a deeper understanding of the meaning of practical human brotherhood.

"Challenging opportunities produce growth, and I am confident that the South has only begun its growth to greatness in our times."

Report L-42
April 1, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Edward J. Meeman, editor emeritus of the Memphis Press-Scimitar, made the following speech in acceptance of the National Human Relations Award of the National Conference of Christians and Jews at the Conference's Memphis Round Table on February 25, 1963.

This award means much to me, because I see it not as an honor given to one individual, but as an honor given to principles in which a great many people believe, principles which have brought us together this evening in this assemblage.

What are those principles? That Jews, Catholics and Protestants each find in faiths which are not their own, so much more which they hold in common with the other faiths than they find differences. We all believe in one good God, the same God, and that it is His will that all His children should live together as brothers, sharing harmoniously on the good earth he gave us.

We may have different theological reasons for being good and doing good, but our differences as to what is good are minor. At least there is a vast area of common agreement on what good needs to be accomplished. When the men and women of three faiths join hands to accomplish this good, they find joyous fellowship, brotherhood, and unity of spirit. Each reflects credit on his own faith by the fruits he shows in his contribution to such community action.

Memphis has had many examples of fine accomplishment when men and women, each inspired by the teachings of his own faith, have joined hands with those of other faiths to make our community an ever better place of abode. Most recent have been the changes in race relations, for which the time had come, which were brought about in Memphis peaceably and without violence, by men and women of the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths, all working together to practice the principles of each of those faiths. This accomplishment has made our community a happier place for those who live here, and brought us the generous envy

of other American cities, and the admiration of the world.

It is my faith, which has been proved to my satisfaction in both observation and experience, that what is good for one is good for all, and that what is good for all is good for each. Conflict is only in the erring human mind, not in reality. The solution of any problem, mathematical or human, always lies right alongside the problem. We can always find the solution if we will lay aside self-interest and prejudice, and discuss it in the spirit that our religious faith has taught us, whatever that faith is. We need to ask not "Who is right?" but "What is right?" and if we look for the answer in enlightened discussion, reinforced by meditation and prayer, we will find the answer. The answer will be found to be good for all concerned, and we will wonder why we did not see this solution in the first place, it will seem so obvious when it is found.

When we have that spirit, every problem will become an opportunity. I recall an illustration of this truth. When the New Deal, during the depression, issued a brochure saying that the South was the nation's No. 1 problem, the editors of the seven Scripps-Howard Newspapers which were published in the South met in Memphis to consider the brochure. Not in the spirit of criticizing the New Deal's pronouncement, but in order to strike a positive note, we editors issued our own pronouncement, declaring that the South was "the Nation's No. 1 Opportunity." And so it proved, when the success of the Tennessee Valley Authority created a vast new market for the goods of northern manufacturers.

We have come to the next phase in race relations in Memphis.

We have already accomplished more difficult tasks. We have desegregated buses, schools, libraries, and the art gallery, a university, parks and playgrounds, restaurants; what is now our task is less of a break with our traditions. Therefore it is easier. Our task now is to widen the opportunities for employment for our Negro citizens. It is to find more and better jobs for the men and women who constitute more than one-third of our population, jobs in both public and private employment. Everyone is now agreed that Negroes should have the opportunity to obtain an education as good as that which is available to whites. Having

been prepared to hold good jobs by this training, they should not be shut out from the opportunity to get them.

The great pioneer of Negro opportunity, Booker T. Washington, told the story of sailors from a wrecked ship, marooned in open lifeboats, who were dying of thirst. They had failed to see that they had drifted from the open sea to the estuary of the great Amazon River, and that the water around their boat was now fresh water. All they had to do was to let down their buckets where they were. He told this story to show his fellow Negroes, just emerged from slavery into personal freedom, that there was opportunity for progress all around them, if they but had the gumption to see it and use it. "Let down your buckets where you are," he told them.

This story has a moral, not only for Negroes then and now, but it has a moral for white people now. Let us "let down our buckets where we are." All around us is a great supply of competent, educated, trained Negro labor. Let us dip into it and use it fully. If we use it, the South will have a great increase of prosperity. There should not be Negro jobs and white jobs but a job for the one best qualified to hold it. Many Negroes now dependent and a drag on the economy, will become self-supporting. Those just getting along will have increased income and become better customers.

Let white labor not make the mistake of thinking that a job gained by a Negro is a job lost by a white man. The good God has not given us the kind of Universe in which the good of one man is at the expense of another. When we open wider the doors of opportunity to Negroes we shall have such an improvement in our economy that more jobs will be available to white men also.

Why are so many nations clamoring to get into the European Common Market? Because it is a wide, free trade area with a high standard of living.

When we upgrade a large portion of our population, the South will raise its standard of living, improve the labor supply, become an area with greater attractions to industry and distributive commerce, and provide a greater prosperity for all of us who live here, and the peace of mind that comes from friendship and cooperation between the races.

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Report L-43
June 17, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

BUSINESSMEN POINT THE WAY

Business groups in a number of southern cities have recently issued statements calling on all businesses serving the public to desegregate. The texts of these statements are reprinted below.

DIRECTORS OF THE RALEIGH MERCHANTS BUREAU:

"God-fearing people, as responsible citizens, and all people of good will, must face the fact that peace in human relations is essential.

"Being charged with the responsibility of offering leadership to business in the community of Raleigh, we are convinced we should, without further delay, remove all policies in both government and business which deny rights and services because of race.

"The overriding challenge now confronting every Raleigh business person is to do these things that would further human relations and the continued growth of Raleigh."

CHARLOTTE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE:

"We, the Directors of the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce, recommend that all businesses in this community catering to the general public be opened immediately to all customers without regard to race, creed or color."

GREENSBORO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE:

"The Board of Directors of the Greensboro Chamber of Commerce endorses the principle of equal treatment for all persons, without regard to race, color or religion and urges business firms to begin immediately serving all persons of the community.

"The Board also recommends cooperation of community organizations to muster support of Greensboro citizens for the principle endorsed by this resolution."

"Further, in the interest of public safety and to encourage the continued development of good community relationships, the Board urges that gatherings of large masses of people, which endanger public safety and disrupt the orderly movement of people and traffic, be discontinued along with unlawful activities of any kind."

ATLANTA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE:

"The Atlanta Chamber of Commerce has as its prime mission that of building a strong economy, one that all Atlanta citizens might share. This it has been able to do because of the climate of harmony and cooperation that has prevailed here, and it will be able to successfully continue its efforts only if this climate continues. The future of Atlanta is too bright and too sure to be tarnished by hatred, strife and discord.

"The Chamber of Commerce will never allow itself to be placed in the position of trying to tell any proprietor how he should conduct his business. This choice belongs to each proprietor. On the other hand, all Atlanta is dependent on a healthy climate for survival. All Atlantans share an equal responsibility for developing and maintaining that climate.

"Therefore, the Board of Directors of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce appeals to all businesses soliciting business from the general public to do so without regard to race, color or creed and to do so as expeditiously as good judgement will dictate.

"Atlanta has too much ahead of her that needs to be accomplished to allow her attention to be diverted to non-productive strife and conflict that can bring only chaos to the city and its people."

KNOXVILLE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE:

(A statement circulated for voluntary signatures in Knoxville; about 3500 citizens had signed this statement as of June 3, 1963).

"Believing in the equal rights of all people...

And, believing that what is morally right is economically sound...

And, believing in observing the law of the land...

We, the undersigned, pledge ourselves to work peacefully for the prompt and orderly desegregation of all public facilities in our community.

Report No. L-44
August 1, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

(Reprinted from *The Charlotte Observer*, July 14, 1963, with permission)
Sunday, July 14, 1963 The Charlotte Observer . . .

A DIFFERENT WAY

Charlotte Has Built Its Integration Road

While Negroes paraded, staged sit-ins, actually fought battles elsewhere in the country, many of Charlotte's public accommodations firms quietly desegregated.

It was done through a highly organized plan. The arrangements had been worked out carefully behind closed doors. Reporters were given few details.

White leaders and Negro leaders, prearranged schedule, began having lunch together. Negroes, on schedule, began going to downtown movies.

Far off in other parts of the country, people began reading about the Charlotte plan. How could it be done? Who did the arranging? Was this a model for the rest of the South?

A SPECIAL REPORT
By L. M. WRIGHT, JR.
Observer City Editor

Cool Heads Behind Closed Doors Thought, Planned And Convinced

Charlotte chose a different way.

In Birmingham, hundreds were marching in the streets.

Closer to home, protesters sat all day in the mayor's office in Greensboro and were carried out by police when the time came to close the office for the day.

In Raleigh and Durham they marched, and they were arrested. In Wilmington, in Fayetteville . . . in Lexington . . . they protested.

But Charlotte chose a different way.

"I was talking to the Mayor that Sunday, and we thought we'd get the executive committee together that week and see what we could do about it."

The man talking was J. Ed Burnside, Sr. He is president of the Chamber of Commerce of Charlotte. He is also president of one of the city's leading financial institutions and, incidentally, a former South Carolinian.

The Sunday he was talking about was May 19. The mayor he was talking to was Stan R. Brookshire. The executive committee was the central governing group of the 4,500-member Charlotte Chamber of Commerce.

First Steps Were Quickly Taken

The subject of their discussion? Race relations in general in Charlotte and, more specifically, the fact that virtually no public accommodations — hotels, motels, theaters and restaurants — accepted Negroes as patrons.

"We went into the meeting without anyone knowing what was coming off," Burnside said. "I had used no one for a sounding board. It went around the room. They all said how they felt. I was surprised. It was unanimous. . . . Finally, Dwight Phillips said, 'Why don't we go ahead and do it?'"

C. A. McKnight, editor of The Observer, Joe H. Robinson, vice president of Wachovia Bank and Trust Co., and J. M. Wasson, general manager of Southern Bell, were asked to write a brief resolution for the consideration of the full board of directors.

By this time, it was Wednesday, May 22. The executive committee, with 11 of its 15 members present, had already acted.

But other things had happened, too. On Monday, Brookshire had asked Charles Crawford, executive vice president of the Chamber, to invite a representative group of hotel, motel, theater and restaurant owners and managers to a meeting at the Chamber on Thursday, May 23. They were not told what the subject would be. They were asked to come to discuss a matter of vital concern to the city and its development.

When the invitation went out Monday, the original plan had been for the Chamber's executive committee to meet privately Wednesday, then meet privately Thursday with the business men to let them know that the Chamber stood ready to back them in a move toward desegregation.

But at the executive committee session Wednesday another idea developed. And promptly, a called meeting of the full board of directors with its 39 members was set for Thursday noon.

"If I had had to bet," said Burnside, "on the day before, I would have bet on some opposition. Maybe two or three votes, at least."

Twenty-four of 39 directors came. Reading the list is like reading a Who's Who of Charlotte: Beatty, Blythe, Broadrick, Brookshire, Burnside, Covington, Dickson, Duncan, Flintom, Gluck, Harris, Matthews, McKnight, Pease, Phillips, Robinson, Sloan, Smith, Vinson, Walker, Wasson, Wayne, Whelchel, Younts. Many of them names long associated with the leadership of Charlotte, all of them names of significance in the direction of the city's future and fortunes.

The committee that had gone out the day before to write the resolution came in with one sentence. Wasson read it: "We, the directors of the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce, recommend that all businesses in this community catering to the general public be opened immediately to all customers without regard to race, creed or color."

Burnside called for discussion. There was none. The voice vote was uanimous. "This means that every man in this room thinks we have taken the right step," said Burnside.

Later, he said he added that remark to encourage any possible dissent, to make sure that no one was cut off, to emphasize the importance of what he understood to be happening.

Still later, Burnside said again: "It was unanimous. I was shocked. I wanted to be sure."

Leadership Speaks

But the leadership had spoken. The public knew how these men felt. And with that, the public sessions were ended.

And, at that point, there began the real work: how, what, when and where to desegregate?

Within two hours of the luncheon session, the meeting to which representative businessmen had been invited began.

It's one thing to meet at lunch and pass a resolution. It's something entirely different to sit down in a private room with men who own the businesses and begin the task of discussing, persuading, negotiating—to begin to make the actual changes.

Three or four hotel and motel men were there. Four theater men had come. A spokesman for restaurants was present, too.

What is said at a meeting of this sort? Who moves first? What is the atmosphere?

Altogether, about 30 people sat around the table. Significantly, although no ministers had been closely associated with the decisions up to that point, there were at least four ministers at the first closed session.

"We wanted them to know that the business leadership of this community felt that this was the right thing to do," said Chamber Vice President Crawford, a man who observed many of the sessions.

An Obligation

Burnside told the businessmen simply that he thought it was "the right thing to do." He spoke of the economic consequences of not making a change. But he emphasized the moral obligations.

"These were Southern men," another participant recalled. "These were hard choices. But this was too good a town to have it ruined, and they just weren't going to have it. They thought the time was right. They thought the community was ready."

Every man at the session was asked to stand, identify himself, his business, and give his views. To a man, they said the change should be made.

"No one seemed to know how," it is recalled. "All of them said they would be willing. But no one was willing to do it alone."

How To Change?

How to do it? It was decided in that session—it lasted more than two hours—that the businessmen would meet in groups according to their business to see if specific plans could be made.

Two other things of importance came out, too.

So rapidly had the Chamber moved in that week that there had been no real coordination between the Chamber and the already existing and functioning Mayor's Committee on Community Relations. Dr. John R. Cunningham, chairman of the committee, did not know of the Chamber's plans until the day the resolution was passed.

The second thing was that the Chamber officials themselves made a commitment to participate in the desegregation personally. A restaurant representative had asked: "If I desegregate, will you come to my place and bring a Negro guest?" Ed Burnside had said yes, and so had the mayor and a councilman and an editor and a minister and a banker.

Hotel and motel men met again on Friday, May 24. There was some hesitancy, of course. No one denies that. But the idea was not totally strange. There had been a tentative agreement for some desegregation in some hotels and motels back in April in connection with the trade fair. Demonstrations had been threatened. The agreement had not lasted, however. Actually, most of the hotel and motel men were ready to go. Two or three never had considered doing anything else. But without some of the really big ones, the change would have less meaning.

Here, as in many other areas, concern about the possible loss of white customers, concern about a possible incident seemed to be the delaying factors.

The handful of hotel men went away to hold their own meeting, away from any outside committees. Seven establishments had been involved, at first. The hotel men invited 40 to their own meeting. And out of that group, one more joined the desegregation movement. The others would wait.

In A Week

In a week, the others moved. It was done, over and announced. The hotel men agreed to desegregate their dining rooms first. Five of them had dining rooms: the Manger, the Queen Charlotte, the Sheraton-Barringer Mo-

tor Inn, the Heart of Charlotte and the Downtowner.

On Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, May 29, 30 and 31, the white directors of the Chamber of Commerce and several other leading business, civic and government leaders went to lunch with Negroes as guests.

Ed Burnside and three other members of his firm took two Negroes. Dr. G. A. Lowe and James K. Polk, to lunch at the Sheraton-Barringer. Mayor Brookshire and Cunning had lunch at the Manger with Fred Alexander, manager of Double Oaks apartments, and Moses Belton, director of public relations for Johnson C. Smith University. On another day, Editor C. A. McKnight and Commissioner Charles M. Lowe sat across the table from Dr. R. A. Hawkins and lawyer Thomas H. Wyche. Councilman James B. Whittington and Bishop Herbert Spaugh were at the Queen Charlotte with funeral home owner Arthur Grier and businessman Bishop Dale.

There were others. For three days, in groups of two, four and six, they went by appointment. There was no publicity. Once, when an out-of-town newsman sought to take pictures for national television at one restaurant, Crawford of the Chamber, who planned the groups, switched them to another restaurant so that the agreement not to take pictures, not to create abnormal public attention would remain unbroken.

"Getting 12 to 15 people a day lined up for lunch isn't easy," Crawford recalled. What was the biggest problem? "They really didn't know each other," Crawford said. And the fact that a lot of these people didn't know each other came home quickly to Crawford when he and a Duke Power executive took banker A. E. Spears and Dr. E. L. Rann to lunch. Said Crawford: "I knew Mr. Spears, but I had never met Dr. Rann."

That phase of the effort went well enough so that on Saturday, June 1, the names of the five hotels whose restaurants had desegregated after the three-day test period were announced. Further, their rooms were desegregated, and so were those at the Coliseum Motor Court, the James Lee Motor Inn and the Alamo Plaza Hotel Courts.

Though not by design, nor really even by expectation, the theaters came next.

Theaters Different

Theaters, somehow, are different. From the beginning, those participating in the planning of the changes had thought the gravest problem would be here. The themes of some movies create tensions and emotions that are quite different from what is encountered, say, in a restaurant during lunch. Theaters are dark, too, while hotels, motels or restaurants are open, public, well-lighted.

Whatever fears there were about the other changes certainly existed for all concerned about the change of policy for theaters—and more so.

Like the hotel and restaurant men, the theater men wanted no publicity. They agreed to accept Negro patrons, by appointment and reservations, for a limited time to see how it worked.

While things had moved rapidly enough with the hotel and motel operators so that there had been little time for the members of the Mayor's Committee under Dr. Cunningham even to enter the negotiations and assist in the planning, the participants now began to shift, and the Chambers officials, as active participants in negotiating sessions, began to take a back seat and let the mayor's committee perform some of the functions for which it was intended.

For the theaters, though Cunningham personally participated, much of the negotiation was done by half a dozen Negroes, all members of the mayor's committee, and the theater owners. The Negroes included Fred Alexander, A. E. Spears, Rev. J. F. Wertz, Rev. K. Melvin Taylor, Moses Belton and James K. Polk.

A Beginning

It took a couple of meetings to work out a plan for the beginning. It came on Tuesday, June 11. The hotels and motels had begun accepting Negroes six days after the Chamber resolution and had announced that their doors were open to all nine days after the resolution.

The theaters took their first Negro patrons 19 days after the resolution. The trial period ran nearly three weeks, until July 1. Now, all major indoor theaters are following a policy of admitting Negroes who choose to come. The theaters are the Carolina, Center, Charlotte, Dilworth, Imperial, Manor, Plaza and Visulite. A couple of neighborhood theaters are not included in the agreement, nor are any of the half dozen or so drive-in theaters.

The task of arranging for theater trips during the test period was larger than had been Crawford's task at the Chamber during the trial period for the hotel-related restaurants.

"It kept two or three people a day busy getting people lined up," said Polk, the man who coordinated the effort for the mayor's committee and for the Negroes.

"You had to start by calling someone you thought would be interested, explaining that the control plan was in effect, and then asking if he wanted to go to the movie."

By Reservation

Negroes, generally, were admitted only by reservation, by name. At the end of the first week, some of the theater managers were letting in a few Negroes who did not have reservations while others were not.

At each weekly session, the mayor's committee suggested that reservations were no longer necessary, that all the phoning was an unnecessary bother. But some of the theater owners wanted a longer test period—and they got it.

Altogether, 30 to 50 Negroes a day were formally attending all-white movies at the eight Charlotte theaters. Usually they came in twos or fours. Usually there were Negroes at both afternoon and evening showings.

And while the experiment went on, with apparent smoothness, everyone aware of it watched closely.

"I think we all have some bias," said one theater man. "However, these things were not involved. A year ago, nobody thought they would do this in their lifetime. . . . I think a lot of people are staying away from the movies. . . . It depends on how the Negroes handle it."

As everyone thought, there was apprehension about the theaters beyond the apprehension encountered elsewhere.

Theater managers and all others involved have made it clear that they think restraint will be the best approach for some time. Attendance at some theaters has been as high as 20 Negroes on a single day, but these 20 were not in a group, and groups are not being encouraged.

"In the same way that they find out about desegregation (by word of mouth, at first), it should be made clear that they need to be even more circumspect than the whites," one owner suggested.

"White people are in the process of making up their minds whether they are going to like it or not."

Complaints have come, of course, though the number has been limited. "We must say we've already done it, we did it last week. Even though they object, they go in there and see two or three well-behaved Negroes. They think maybe they ought not to raise a stink about it."

Theaters are in, then. And on July 1—39 days away from the Chamber resolution—admission to eight downtown theaters was available without reservation or prior arrangement to Negroes.

"To tell the truth," said one man, "I'm right proud of this town, the Mayor's Committee and those Negroes we've dealt with.

"The town seemed to be ready for it."

Restaurant

The third area in which desegregation was being sought was one in which some had already taken place—some time ago. This was the restaurants.

There are 466 licensed food handlers and sellers in Mecklenburg County. They range from the city's finer restaurants to some that are no more than stand-up snack bars. Many of those who hold licenses from the Health Department do not serve the public; they are private clubs, food processors or cafeterias in private businesses serving only employes of a company.

It was two years ago that Charlotte's first sustained desegregation demonstrations came, and they were aimed primarily at restaurants in the downtown area and at theaters.

Students from Johnson C. Smith University, assisted and at times led by Dr. R. A. Hawkins, Negro dentist and political leader, demonstrated over a period of months in the spring of 1961. The mayor's committee did some of its first negotiating between demonstrators and business owners at that time.

As a result, most lunch counters in variety and drug stores in the downtown area desegregated. So did restaurants at Belk's and Ivey's.

There was a brief effort at demonstrating later in the summer of 1961, largely at theaters, but no gains resulted for Negroes.

Pressure

But those demonstrations probably contributed to a buildup of sentiments. In May and June of this year, when other cities got into trouble, these sentiments were strong enough to make many believe that the time had come for Charlotte to make some changes.

Demonstrations had been threatened here in April in connection with trade fair desegregation requests. There was a peaceful march of about 75 Negroes (again led by Dr. Hawkins) on May 20 (Mecklenburg Declaration Day; of this year. Though the march did not prompt the Chamber resolution that came three days later, few will deny that the continuing possibility of demonstrations was a factor, though perhaps not the mayor factor, in the moves made in late May and June.

Another significant factor, too, is that Dr. Hawkins, the identified leader of the demonstrators, has not been a party to the negotiations that have led to the changes.

Mayor Brookshire, in a recent public statement on the work of his Community Relations Committee, noted that he and others had made a deliberate choice to leave advocates of extreme points of view on either side off the committee in an effort to avoid any possibility of having the members of the committee in a position of bargaining among themselves.

Few Came

Restaurants, then, had made a start. But for nearly two years no significant changes had been made.

After the Chamber resolution of May 23, when the first negotiating session was held, there were representatives of theaters and hotels present, but only one restaurant operator. About half a dozen had been invited, but they did not come.

From that meeting the word went out, though there was difficulty in spreading it very far because of the large number of restaurants in contrast to the number of hotels, motels and theaters.

In any event, in a few days, 15 to 20 of the restaurant owners had been contacted. In general, they said the same thing: We will desegregate when Frank O. Sherrill desegregates the S&W cafeterias.

Sherrill, invited to that first meeting, had not come. But he was having demonstrations at his cafeterias in Greensboro and Durham.

After telephone calls to many operators, about 20 had given assurances that they would desegregate. But meetings, effective meetings with the operators to make specific plans to act together, were almost impossible. A typical situation: Of seven operators who said they would desegregate, four said they had no objection to a public announcement of that fact or to accepting Negroes immediately. But three others wanted no publicity. They simply agreed not to turn Negroes away if they came.

It is important here to understand the nature of the restaurant association through which the mayor's committee was attempting to deal. James W. Claiborne of the Barclay Cafeteria is president, and he is the first to admit that it is not an effective association for the 466 licensed food handlers in the county. Average attendance at a meeting is between 20 and 25.

Division Shows

About two weeks after the Chamber resolution, nine restaurant operators met one night to see how things were. The purpose of the meeting was to turn those operators present into a committee whose members would divide up the county and begin contacting other restaurant owners about desegregating. But four of those present didn't want to go in that direction and four did.

"We broke up in a state of confusion and shock," said one man who was present, for it had been assumed that some positive steps could be taken, at least among the leading restaurant owners.

By then, it was apparent that if all restaurants were to desegregate at one time it would take quite a long time to do the necessary organizing.

Meanwhile, meetings were continuing with representatives of the mayor's committee. They were asking for a list of desegregated restaurants.

"Why make up a list of some," asked one leader, "when you haven't even contacted the majority to ask them what they are doing?"

But things did happen.

Charles J. Edwards of the Plantation on Wilkinson Boulevard decided desegregation was the right thing to do. He was ready.

A Break Comes

And on one dramatic Monday morning, with the operator of Bailey's cafeterias and the Barclay Cafeteria sitting in his office, Sherrill of the S&W announced the desegregation of his chain as fast as individual community problems could be worked out.

Though there had been no evidence of it here, reliable sources elsewhere had reported minor attempts at sabotage in some restaurants. White pepper in mashed potatoes, salt in coffee, particularly during a rush hour, will play havoc with a restaurant's business for a day—and may cost it some customers permanently.

Working with an almost non-existent organization, then, restaurant owners were willing on June 19 to announce that they would accept Negroes. Eight leading restaurants said they would take Negroes under the previously used control plan for three days to see how it worked. These eight included three S&W cafeterias, two Bailey cafeterias, the Barclay, two Shoney's restaurants and drive-ins.

The plan went into effect. It worked, just as it had worked at theaters, at hotel and motel restaurants.

Thus, 27 days away from the Chamber resolution, a start had been made among restaurants that had not changed their policy two years earlier.

The Drive-Ins

Attention was turned, then, to drive-in restaurants. And the next few days were crucial.

Meetings and telephone calls had brought an agreement for 21 drive-ins to begin accepting Negroes, two groups a night, for three nights beginning June 24. After that, it was hoped, general desegregation would be announced.

In a letter to Dr. Cunningham of the

mayor's committee, Claiborne of the restaurant association gave a list of 18 drive-ins that requested Negro patrons under the control plan.

On Friday, June 21, Negro members of the mayor's committee again started making their reservation calls, lining up groups to go to the drive-ins.

But something that can never be predicted or planned for happened over the weekend. There was a big social affair on Sunday that involved several restaurant owners. Some of the dining-room owners chided some of the drive-in owners about their plans to desegregate.

And by Monday, June 24, several of them, with telephone calls going all over town, had changed their minds. When the Negro groups showed up that Monday night, they were turned away at 11 places.

Misunderstanding

And there was what some thought was an incident at one.

Negroes in one car had already been served. Two white boys walked by the car and one said to the other: "I think they are taking this integration too far."

The one Negro in the car who heard the remark did not believe it had been directed at him and continued to eat.

But a waitress did hear the remark. The word moved to the manager. The story got mangled. A police car showed up, drove through the parking area, saw nothing and left.

What is significant here, is that, despite a request for police protection made the previous Thursday, there is no indication that the police department had been informed in detail of what was to happen that Monday night at the drive-ins. Thus, when the patrol car did show up, police had no reason to make more than a routine check, for the police on duty did not know about the desegregation.

By morning the story had grown to include reports of guns in a car and an outright assault or serious threat of assault on the Negroes involved.

That story, though false, spread to many other restaurant operators, and doubts rose rapidly.

It was not until later that week, when a member of the mayor's committee took one of the Negroes that had been in the car to talk with the manager of the drive-in, that the record was straightened. Once that happened, the manager agreed to continue to serve Negroes, incidentally.

Meanwhile, more efforts were being made to hold a large meeting of restaurant owners. Invitations went out from the Chamber and the mayor's committee for a major meeting on July 1.

A Meeting

A total of 130 owners were invited. Seven came. Six of these had already desegregated. The seventh man there agreed to.

But it was a session at which some decisions were made by Mayor Brookshire, Dr. Cunningham and other members of his committee.

One participant of that session understood that those present had agreed to draw up a partial list of the desegregated restaurants. It would go in a formal letter to all restaurant owners and operators in the county who would be asked about their policy, asked to change it if they were still segregating, and asked to reply in writing to the committee. That was July 1.

The partial list has been drawn up. It includes:

Babe Maloy Drive-In, two Bailey's cafeterias, Bar-B-Q-King, Barclay Cafeteria, Belk's, two Bell's Hamburgers, Big Chief Drive-In, dime stores, Downtowner, Heart of Charlotte, three Howard Johnsons, Ivey's, Jerry's, McDonald's, Manger Motor Inn, Oriental, Plantation Grill, Queen Charlotte, three S&W cafeterias, Sheraton-Barringer Motor Inn, two Shoneys', three Stork restaurants.

That's the list. The letter to the restaurant owners has not been sent. Checks late last week at the Chamber and with the restaurant association disclosed no plans for a letter there. Cunningham was out of town for two weeks on a previously planned trip.

Thus it is not clear when such a letter may be sent.

Today is the 52nd day since the Chamber resolution. The best estimate of the situation among restaurants available from several sources is this:

Of the 466 licensed food handlers in the county, about 180 should be set aside from consideration because they are in private clubs, businesses or are food handlers who do not serve the public directly. This number also includes an estimate of the Negro restaurants.

This leaves a potential of 286 of what would be regarded as white restaurants that might change their policy.

About 110 restaurants are believed to be serving Negroes, and about 50 of these are believed to have changed their policy during the month of June.

Of the 176 left, about three-fourths have not been contacted in any way by any representative of the association, the mayor's committee or the Chamber.

Why? How?

These things, then, have been done. Eight major motels and hotels, eight major downtown theaters, more than 100 restaurants over town have desegregated. Why were these things done? How was it possible to do them in this town at this time with these people?

Many of the answers are here. Some observations by some more of the participants provide more insight:

"I think our consciences have been pricked," said Mayor Brookshire. "We've been close enough to some of the fires to feel the heat. It gives a sense of urgency. . . . Birmingham, Cambridge, Durham, Greensboro. . . . Are we going to recognize the pressures which are elsewhere and could come here and go do the things we think are just and right?

"The people have a tremendous pride in Charlotte. They believe that our people can do things which really are in the best interests of the city. It gives Charlotte stature and leadership among cities. People just didn't want it (trouble) to happen here. This city has gained. Its image has been developed all over the country . . . all over the world.

"I had no idea of the national significance of the situation here. People called me from Philadelphia, from Texas. I heard from them in California. 'I saw you on TV,' they said.

"Some of my friends just think I've gone overboard. But they accept it as the best alternative.

"But there is danger in moving too fast. Some of the protest leaders sometimes seem to be playing at a game. . . . Education and economic opportunity are next. I don't know whether we can move as fast. But protest leaders could jeopardize peaceful, friendly cooperation in this area."

Brookshire is especially concerned about the possibility of demonstrations and feels strongly that much of what has been done in this fast-paced month of June could be undone by demonstrations.

He hopes they won't come here.

Demonstrations

While possible demonstrations are always in the background, it is clear that the Negro leadership that has emerged in the changes in June is ready and willing to continue for a while to try the methods that apparently have worked peacefully.

Whether the entire Negro community will follow this pattern is, at best, a matter for speculation.

One Negro leader discussed the general situation:

"Without a resolution, it could not have come as fast. Any time the power structure speaks out, these changes can occur. Why did the change come here, now?: Birmingham and the others. Charlotte wants to be recognized as a forward-moving city. They are

willing to go ahead. I think they were wise in their decision. Things could have happened here. This could have been another Birmingham. It wasn't. This, to me, is just good, sound leadership.

"Leadership? In Charlotte, the Chamber definitely is it. A good many Negroes regard the Chamber as the power structure. Negroes learn about power fast. White people just don't know where you touch these people who can make a change.

"Negroes have a gap . . . nothing comes next under the leadership. It would make you sick on your stomach to see some of the conditions under which they live.

"These changes aren't helping anybody get a job. But it does make a lot of people who didn't, feel like somebody. They'll try, now. You can't go to the Imperial or the Carolina for the same price you can go to the Grand. A large number of Negroes just don't have the money to attend."

Are these things only status symbols? "Really, I think we are attacking the whole structure. We are going to have to change the whole pattern. But this is motivation for any Negro to do better. . . . To attend a movie, stay in a hotel, you need a better job and you have to prepare for that. You can't live down at the Manger making $30 a week. . . .

"I would like to say that there were moral motives (for the changes). I can't. There is some interested Christian leadership. But for most, I think they were looking at this thing in cold turkey, good business sense.

"Charlotte needs this good image to bring new industry.

". . . And Birmingham is in the back of all this. This is what could happen here. But what did is one of the greatest things that ever happened . . . it all continues to make America great."

There are other retrospective views:

Chamber President Burnside recalls that when the first meeting took place, a prominent minister was taken with surprise that the Chamber directors had already acted, that the question was how or when, not whether. "I was amazed at the national attention this thing got. People called me . . . all the way from Orlando . . . most of them to congratulate. . . . One local minister called. . . ."

C. A. McKnight of The Observer: "Pride in this community and its reputation is important . . . probably the most important single factor . . . as far as the Chamber was concerned. A dominating factor is hard to find. The moral issue . . . well, not lacking, but not dominant. . . . It's important that this community understand that there are Negro leaders, responsible and sober, like James K Polk and Moses Belton, who can do something in this area . . . who can get something done.

Cunningham: "A Miami banker wants to know how our committee is organized, how many employes, where it gets its budget. . . . I'll tell him. . . . There's no budget and it's all volunteer. . . . Why now? Why here? It was happening in Greensboro, Durham, Jackson, Miss., and all up in the East. . . .

"I believe Charlotte businessmen were impressed by the fact that that kind of thing hurts a city. . . . They travel a lot. They see Negroes in restaurants and hotels, eating on airplanes. Charlotte's leadership is big enough to see that it would be cutting off its nose to spite its face to let it happen here. . . . I believe that the moral obligation was stronger (than the economic pressures). . . . When the meetings started, we never had any question of whether, just how."

Why Charlotte? Why June, 1963? Why change?

There were men with moral obligations, the pricked consciences that the mayor mentions. There were men concerned about making a living, the cold turkey, good business sense that Polk, the funeral home president, mentioned. There were men proud of their community, the good reputation that Editor McKnight pointed to.

And together, they decided to see that "it won't happen here."

These men are Charlotte. They chose a different way.

Report L-45
August 19, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PUBLIC EDUCATION IN MISSISSIPPI

"Equalization of educational opportunities for the races" is the theme of a recent bulletin* published by the State Department of Public Welfare of Mississippi. "Highly skilled and clever propagandists" from outside the state, it continues, have endeavored to convey "to the world that the white people of Mississippi mistreat Negro citizens, deny them 'civil rights' and other benefits granted freely to Negroes by the white people of other states."

In defense of the separate educational system, the bulletin states that "63 per cent of the state's funds /for classroom construction/ is being spent for Negro classrooms, although they constitute less than 45 per cent of the state's population." The dates for this construction are not given.

For 1961-62, however, the bulletin cites figures from the tax supported public school census showing that there are 329,215 white school children in Mississippi and 337,871 Negro school children. Thus, Negro students, according to these figures, constitute 50.6 per cent of the state's school population.

A quite different picture of equal educational opportunities for Negro and white students emerges from the Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Education** (1959-1961) and the Mississippi School Bulletin.** **All figures in the tables which follow are from these publications**. They show:

- there are 7 high schools for Negroes in Mississippi accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools+ compared with 82 high schools for whites so accredited, and
  - 4 of the 7 Negro high schools are in one county, Hinds, the county in which Jackson, the state capital, is located;
- of Mississippi's 82 counties, 9 counties have no high schools for Negroes.

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* -Public Welfare in Mississippi, April-May-June, 1963, State Department of Public Welfare, Jackson.
** -Issued by the State Department of Education, Jackson.
\+ -The Association also accredits private and parochial schools: Negro - 0; white - 7.

- $46,205,113.34 was expended for instruction in white schools during 1960-61; $26,723,109.35 was expended for instruction in Negro schools during the same school year (compare with Negro percentage of school population, above);
- the Negro school census for one county, Bolivar, is 4 times that of the white school census, yet
  - the expenditure for Negro instruction is but $60,000 more than the expenditure for white instruction - $887,181.11 (Negro) and $827,397.59 (white), and
  - there is one fewer Negro high school than there are white high schools;
- in two counties, Noxubee and Tunica, where there are 5 times as many Negro students as there are white, there is no Negro high school;
- in counties where there are no Negro high schools, Negroes presumably attend high schools outside the county, thereby increasing the enrollment figure (as opposed to the census figure) of the county thus burdened; but in 54 counties of the 73 having Negro high schools, the number of Negro students per high school, as shown by the census figure, is disproportionately higher than the number of white students per high school;
- in 18 counties the expenditures for Negro instruction are higher than the expenditures for white instruction; in 40 counties the Negro school census exceeds the white school census.

Without making any reference to race, the National Education Association* ranks Mississippi lowest of the 50 states in estimated average annual salaries of instructional staff and of classroom teachers:

State	Amount	Rank
Mississippi	$3,560.00	50
Arkansas	3,600.00	49
South Dakota	3,750.00	48
South Carolina	3,775.00	47
Alabama	3,900.00	46

In estimated expenditure per pupil for public elementary and secondary schools the Association ranks Mississippi third from the bottom:

State	Amount	Rank
Alabama	$217.00	50
South Carolina	223.00	49
Mississippi	225.00	48
Tennessee	228.00	47
Georgia	236.00	46

* -As reported in The Book of the States, 1962-63, Council of State Governments, Chicago.

CORRECTION

School Census date should read

1959-60, not 1960-61, throughout tables.

COUNTY	TOTAL NUMBER OF HIGH SCHOOLS*		NUMBER OF ACCREDITED** HIGH SCHOOLS		1960-61 SCHOOL CENSUS***		1960-61 EXPENDITURES FOR INSTRUCTION	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Adams	2+	1+	1	1	5,264	5,505	$857,077.92	$545,283.75
Alcorn	5	1	1	0	6,208	1,114	691,385,50	124,626.99
Amite	1	2	0	0	1,814	3,500	286,898.88	299,994.37
Attala	5	2	1	0	3,301	3,373	426,898.37	283,737.23
Benton	2	1	0	0	1,152	1,248	137,984.20	92,922.36
Bolivar	5	4	5	0	4,831	12,404	827,397.59	887,181.11
Calhoun	3	2	0	0	3,909	1,898	385,598.81	144,210.82
Carroll	3	0	0	0	1,167	3,056	184,031.21	172,470.31
Chickasaw	4	1	2	0	2,893	3,268	355,487.26	190,940.71
Choctaw	2+	1	0	0	1,760	1,099	199,072.41	87,052.28
Claiborne	1	1	1+	0	693	2,703	120,690.63	267,174.60
Clark	2	2	1	0	2,731	2,361	389,167.54	239,997.36
Clay	2	1	0	0	2,462	3,690	321,002.64	278,195.31
Coahoma	3	2+	1	0	3,909	11,354	661,880.50	787,120.90

* -Accredited by the State of Mississippi.
** -Accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.
*** -All grades (elementary and secondary).
\+ -Private or parochial schools (++ indicate two private or parochial schools in addition to public schools numbered, +++ - three, etc.).

COUNTY	TOTAL NUMBER OF HIGH SCHOOLS		NUMBER OF ACCREDITED HIGH SCHOOLS		1960-61 SCHOOL CENSUS		1960-61 EXPENDITURES FOR INSTRUCTION	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Copiah	3	2	3	0	2,984	4,779	$477,597.46	$404,236.23
Covington	3	1	0	0	2,566	1,696	335,868.37	177,524.55
DeSoto	3+	0	2	0	2,525	4,172	353,664.41	318,519.13
Forrest	4+	2	3	0	9,162	4,568	1,446,419.68	563,664.56
Franklin	2	2	0	0	1,550	1,313	236,759.43	119,825.44
George	4	1	0	0	3,061	451	382,805.90	54,124.47
Greene	2	0	0	0	2,143	938	337,700.60	77,277.90
Grenada	1	1	1	0	1,824	2,812	339,016.43	268,886.47
Hancock	2++	1+	0++	0	2,875	908	327,896.57	59,673.04
Harrison	8++++	4	4+++	0	19,665	4,823	2,983,983.99	590,313.51
Hinds	9+	5++	6	4	25,014	21,423	4,313,685.45	2,655,084.34
Holmes	4	3+	4	0	1,950	7,502	370,606.35	494,290.61
Humphreys	3	2	1	0	2,459	6,298	297,555.91	267,050.97
Issaquena	0	0	0	0	397	842	0	0
Itawamba	3	1	1	0	4,019	291	396,175.05	33,896.83
Jackson	6+	3	3	0	11,033	3,256	1,706,486.56	326,045.11
Jasper	3	2	0	0	2,217	3,533	285,792.98	301,754.39
Jefferson	1	1	1	0	687	2,602	108,256.71	183,786.59
Jefferson Davis	2	2+	1	0	1,667	3,257	253,523.65	277,628.96
Jones	9	1	2	0	12,176	4,612	1,532,109.59	519,257.44
Kemper	2	1	0	0	1,349	2,923	170,642.50	234,422.07
Lafayette	3	1	1	1	2,706	2,721	380,710.38	223,246.14
Lamar	4	1	1	0	3,154	781	451,702.66	73,904.67
Lauderdale	5	1	1	1	10,396	5,968	1,699,219.97	685,690.42

COUNTY	TOTAL NUMBER OF HIGH SCHOOLS		NUMBER OF ACCREDITED HIGH SCHOOLS		1960-61 SCHOOL CENSUS		1960-61 EXPENDITURES FOR INSTRUCTION	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Lawrence	3	1	0	0	1,677	1,419	242,998.24	148,030.21
Leake	7	2	0	0	3,044	3,285	398,601.45	285,789.42
Lee	6	2	1	0	7,102	2,913	1,001,175.62	344,596.96
Leflore	2	2	2	0	3,912	10,072	789,866.56	895,632.93
Lincoln	5	2	0	0	4,662	3,048	635,541.20	326,874.51
Lowndes	3	1	1	0	6,061	5,366	1,013,378.07	553,377.94
Madison	4	4+	2	0	2,317	7,367	401,766.46	604,434.97
Marion	5	2	5	0	4,255	2,776	574,525.60	284,318.29
Marshall	4	1+	1	0	2,027	6,915	300,142.48	507,422.18
Monroe	5	1	2	0	5,488	4,316	655,155.11	303,189.91
Montgomery	3	2	1	0	1,826	2,162	157,800.81	178,475.04
Neshoba	2	1	1	0	4,321	1,915	430,481.09	142,629.66
Newton	5	1	1	0	3,572	2,425	486,122.25	204,109.83
Noxubee	1	0	1	0	1,210	5,505	230,458.48	216,668.51
Oktibbeha	3	1	1	0	2,334	3,855	399,848.54	339,734.60
Panola	3	2	2	0	3,402	6,657	470,045.52	454,831.40
Pearl River	3	2	1	0	4,912	1,281	687,793.01	179,684.14
Perry	5	2	0	0	2,078	836	288,438.43	86,833.28
Pike	3+	3	2	0	5,086	6,001	641,955.70	412,405.59
Pontotoc	8	1	1	0	3,582	1,380	485,485.92	94,260.88
Prentiss	7	1	0	0	4,887	1,056	550,917.85	90,200.18
Quitman	4	0	0	0	2,691	4,471	369,315.30	350,616.16
Rankin	6	0	0	0	4,483	3,604	728,312.21	324,643.27

COUNTY	TOTAL NUMBER OF HIGH SCHOOLS		NUMBER OF ACCREDITED HIGH SCHOOLS		1960-61 SCHOOL CENSUS		1960-61 EXPENDITURES FOR INSTRUCTION	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Scott	5	3	0	0	3,548	2,958	525,699.68	310,923.59
Sharkey	2	1	0	0	984	2,514	217,266.15	275,262.13
Simpson	4	0	0	0	3,409	2,781	423,133.52	250,632.10
Smith	5	2	0	0	3,431	1,404	410,268.42	143,821.20
Stone	1	1	0	0	1,271	575	241,553.06	55,547.46
Sunflower	6	3	4	0	4,395	11,020	667,139.99	680,731.25
Tallahatchie	2	2	2	0	2,652	5,618	363,695.65	373,017.68
Tate	3	1	1	0	2,505	5,294	272,690.76	265,379.03
Tippah	5	1	0	0	4,310	1,230	389,228.92	87,584.94
Tishomingo	4	1	0	0	3,901	240	406,454.77	21,301.21
Tunica	1	0	1	0	1,000	5,051	170,495.34	189,944.38
Union	5	1	1	0	4,410	1,090	510,078.21	102,275.00
Walthall	2	1	0	0	2,506	2,179	249,436.34	191,670.30
Warren	6+++	1+	1+	0	5,307	6,841	770,766.67	440,003.72
Washington	5+	4+	3	0	7,858	13,919	1,475,621.70	1,108,374.57
Wayne	4	1	0	0	2,938	2,129	388,744.01	163,036.41
Webster	3	0	3	1	1,885	948	259,154.52	56,023.39
Wilkinson	2	1	0	0	1,184	3,829	157,713.34	284,937.12
Winston	3	1	0	0	2,574	3,098	390,892.15	251,498.90
Yalobusha	3	3	0	0	1,998	1,927	236,356.93	199,798.46
Yazoo	5+	2+	1	0	3,866	7,987	606,815.35	482,638.71

Report L-46
November 15, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
JAckson 2-8764

Reprinted from The Birmingham News September 30, 1963.

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE—

'At This Very Late Hour'

The co-authors of this letter are citizens of Birmingham. James A. Head, President of James A. Head & Company (office furniture), is a former president of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, and the Birmingham Rotary Club. Charles Zukoski is a consultant to the First National Bank of Birmingham and a former vice-president of the bank, as well as president of a state committee to improve public schools.

The bombings continue. Birmingham drifts downward, amid heart-sick doubt at home and unrestrained, bitter censure abroad. Unless we can find the way to retrieve ourselves from this tragic state, our fate as a community is indeed sealed.

For almost a decade we have been listening to misguided prophets. Ever since the school cases, we have been told, day in and day out, that the Supreme Court has been guilty of unconstitutional violation of our rights, that the Federal Government is some kind of alien power seeking to deprive us of our liberty, and that if we would only hold fast, we could in the end maintain our traditional way of life. Even when, as the pressure grew, some few wise citizens were bold enough to face the inevitable and come out with a plea for law and order, there was no heart in their voices and their words were unaccompanied by any moral conviction.

This is no time for recriminations. At this very late hour, when Birmingham has been blazoned across the front page literally of every paper in America and throughout the civilized world as the most lawless community in our country, when all of us are tasting the bitterness of violence and frustration, it is time for some new appraisals and for a new course of action. We suggest that in charting these, the community must face up to some basic truths:

(1) The Negro is a human being, with all of the feelings, the hopes and the aspirations of his white fellow-man. He is entitled, as a matter of simple fairness, to all of the rights and opportunities before the law possessed by any of us.

(2) The American Constitution guarantees to every citizen the equal protection of the laws. We know in our hearts that segregation has been and is our way of keeping the Negro in his place; that is its purpose and that is its effect. We have wanted it that way, and to say that under segregation there can be any true equality of the races is just a self-serving, plain denial of fact.

(3) The Supreme Court has not violated our system of law. From early English times, ours has been a system of common law, of law made by the judges in day to day determination of controversies between men. In our American system we have engrafted upon this judge-made law constitutional guarantees and the power of the legislature to make changes by statute. But the history of our courts and of the Supreme Court is replete with instances of changing interpretations of constitution, statutes and judge-made law. This has been in fact one of the chief glories of our system, giving it a flexibility, a responsiveness to changing conditions and attitudes of our society, not possessed by any other system. If the people do not like what the

courts have decided, they can, through legislation or constitutional amendment, overturn it.

(4) The Federal Government is not attempting to order all our affairs. In the sphere of civil rights, it has merely been saying that we must all obey the final determinations of the Federal courts, and must not, in the arena of public affairs, discriminate on racial lines. The whole structure of our society depends on the maintenance of law and order, and the decision as to what constitutes the law must necessarily be in the court.

(5) There has been no serious effort made in Congress or by either of the major political parties to overturn the Supreme Court decision, and there can be no rational hope that it will be changed in our lifetime or in the lifetimes of our children.

(6) In city after city throughout the South, the people have accommodated themselves to desegregation rather than to destroy their society through a breakdown of law and order. They have found the result, to say the least, tolerable. In every responsible quarter of our own region, we, almost alone, stand condemned.

(7) Terrorists threaten our community. Many people, both white and Negro, are fearful for their property and their lives. Many are afraid to speak out. Our Birmingham Negroes have behaved on the whole and in the face of unprecedented provocation, with great patience and restraint. They still want to work this problem out peaceably with us. There is still time to grasp their hand and to ease the transition.

(8) The Supreme Court, in its implementing decree of 1955, recognized it would create a serious social problem and gave the South time to meet it. We in Birmingham have done scarcely anything to embrace this opportunity. We have looked away, we have insisted on an illusion the outcome of which is now upon us.

(9) The community's bitter-end resistance to desegregation has literally threatened our economy with destruction. Our downtown area is steadily losing established businesses and patronage. We have, over a period of years now, gained very few new industries and have lost others. An abject discouragement and sense of hopelessness has descended on many of our merchants and industrial leaders. If this trend is not arrested soon, it will have a paralyzing effect on jobs, on purchasing, and on our whole economic cycle.

There are several steps, it seems to us, which the community might now take. One would be for the City Council to appoint and activate immediately the Group Relations subcommittee of its Community Affairs Committee, which it has planned but has not yet brought into being. This committee, consisting of both white and Negro citizens, could study and propose plans for observance of the law, for recognition of basic Negro rights, for implementing more effectively the citizens' agreement of last spring, and for generally reducing tensions. It could obtain, too, we believe, Negro acceptance of a moderate pace of change, as consistent as possible with the deep-seated white feeling on desegregation. And most important, it could begin to re-establish communication between the races without which no betterment of the situation will be possible.

Another frequently suggested and sound step would be immediate action by the Mayor, under power he already possesses, to employ Negro policemen. This would be in line with policy of many Southern cities, including some in Alabama, and would help greatly in maintaining peace and order in Negro districts, in preventing repetition of the bombing outrages and in apprehending criminal offenders. It would also constitute an effective recognition of the Negro's part and responsibility in maintaining law and order.

Other steps would be removal of segregated facilities and irritating segregation signs on premises open to the public, admission of qualified Negroes to practice in our hospitals and to take membership in our professional societies and on boards of community-wide, public-oriented, civic organizations, opening of various other public conveniences to both races, resumption by the city on an unsegregated basis of at least some additional public recreation programs, and development of better job opportunities for the Negro worker.

But any or all of this will be of no avail unless the people of Birmingham will begin to face realistically the facts of life and the principles upon which the American people have so clearly indicated they intend to proceed. It will not do, as our leaders again attempted in their conference with the President last week, to place the blame almost entirely on outsiders. We cannot honestly blame our failure to act simply on outside pressures, and must not permit such pressures, bad as they may be, to serve as an excuse for our not taking the proper course. The fault unfortunately lies in largest measure within us. Unless Birmingham begins to face up to the great moral issue involved, and to recognize the rightness as well as the inevitability of the change, it will indeed be dead.

We do not minimize the difficulty this process of regeneration poses for many sincere men and women. We dare not hope that they will quickly change their minds. But surely now, in the great tragedy of the hour, they will see—as Lee did 100 years ago, when in the face of final defeat he laid down his sword and took up the educator's task of leading his people into a new life not of their choice—that we are faced with ultimate compulsions, which at least many think are right, and which, whatever our view can no longer be avoided, and that it is for all of us to behave as men and women capable of bravely facing the future that lies so inexorably ahead.

JAMES A. HEAD
CHARLES F. ZUKOSKI, JR.

Report L-47
April 16, 1964

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Jackson 2-8764

THE QUESTION FROM JACKSONVILLE

The Easter Week outbreak in Jacksonville of racial violence, predominantly from Negro sources, raises this question: was it something peculiar to Jacksonville, scene of one of the few and worst instances of raw rioting during the 1960 sit-ins; or was it a portent of terrible things to come, symptomatic of a mood and emotional climate to be expected over the South this Spring and Summer, as the great turning point of federal civil rights legislation is reached?

* * * * * *

The immediate build-up to Jacksonville's rioting began the week of March 16. Negro demonstrations seeking desegregation of restaurants and hotels were stepped up. Instead of placid picketing which had, with a new impetus from participation of Negro ministers, become since February a regular thing on downtown city sidewalks, there began sit-ins. At some, a hit and run tactic was used; at others, demonstrators remained to be arrested. By Thursday and Friday of that week, roving Negro teenagers were moving through the downtown and its fringes, some demonstrating, some, according to most accounts, merely making their presence felt -- walking slowly in front of traffic, acting boisterously. Part of this seemed to be in reaction against arrests, and against Negroes being barred from a hearing on the arrests. At one point on Friday, March 20, 100 or so of these youngsters gathered at Hemming Park in the center of the downtown, the center of the 1960 rioting.

Various observers said the activity Friday afternoon had led them to expect a confrontation with white racists at the park that night or Saturday, and possibly a riot. This did not materialize either time. But Mayor Haydon Burns had communicated to newspapermen

before 1 a. m. Saturday his plans for a television speech Saturday night on the racial situation, based on a warning that a riot was imminent.

The mayor's statement Saturday night was later reproduced by him as a full page advertisement in the city's newspapers.

The mayor asserted he had full responsibility for the city, and declared "I refuse to delegate or to relegate this responsibility to anyone or any bi-racial committee or any other groups, it is my responsibility and I will face it." (A week before, he had been approached by representatives of the Jacksonville Council on Human Relations and urged to form a bi-racial committee with official sanction, or to do something positive in the face of growing Negro restiveness. This same recommendation had been made by others previously.)

The mayor's statement also pointed out that publicly owned facilities were desegregated, and maintained that Negroes had no "civil rights" to seek service at private hotels and restaurants and other businesses. "...If such were not the law, then why is the Congress considering the Public Accommodations law at this time?"

The statement then went on to say that, under twelve city laws, "demonstrations like last week" (presumably sit-ins) and "gatherings other than by permit" (the collecting at Hemming Park) would be prohibited. The laws cited included one "against conspiracy." To supplement "508 colored and white police officers," including "45 specially trained members of the Emergency Corps that are capable of meeting any situation," the mayor said he was "right now going to give the oath and swear in as Special Police Officers 496 Firemen who at this moment are assembled at their respective stations under the direction of their senior officers."

Observers said that they stood back and waited for the lid to blow. It did not Sunday. But on Monday morning, March 23, a crowd of demonstrating Negro youths gathered at Hemming Park. They were dispersed, some arrested, some chased by police who had circled their gathering in motorcycles with sirens and motors roaring. After the rout, Jacksonville entered its two nights and two days of violence and vandalism.

Negroes threw rocks, bricks, and bottles at cars and store windows in the pie-wedge Negro section that

points into the heart of downtown, and tossed fire bombs at white and Negro stores and businesses, perhaps half a dozen, including Mayor Burns's Negro gubernatorial campaign headquarters. Negroes were arrested in possession of fire bombs and other weapons. False alarms, as many as 17 in 25 minutes, kept up during the period. Something like 76 police cases of vandalism were reported between Monday night and Wednesday morning.

A Negro woman was shot to death along a road from a passing car, in a Negro area. Police at the time and since said they had no clues and no way to know whether the shooting was connected with racial strife. A car containing one white and two Negro sailors was fired into, apparently by Negroes. The white sailor and one of the Negroes were slightly injured. A tourist car was fired at, its occupant cut by glass. A man who claimed to have been tied up and cut with razor blades by Negroes turned out to be the same man who claimed the same thing happened to him during the 1960 rioting at the hands of the Ku Klux Klan. Police said his story was false.

At one point, police kicked in the door of the NAACP headquarters and arrested students there. The police said they were throwing bottles out the window. An NAACP spokesman denied it. He also charged that desk drawers in the office were rifled.

Virtually all of the vandalism was confined to the Negro section. It was sporadic and involved individuals or small groups. Something more nearly approaching mob violence occurred Tuesday at New Stanton High School, a Negro school which includes students from the "best" Negro homes. The school was emptied by a bomb threat. (Previously, bomb threats had provided school yards full of youngsters from which the hit and run demonstrators sought recruits.) Students vandalized (details are not clear) a bread truck driven by a white man. Police were called, and a small contingent arrived. A Negro officer arrested one youth. While one group of students engaged the police, razzing them, others freed the arrested youth. A Negro officer fired a pistol into the air. A help call went out, and re-enforcements arrived, including, according to the sheriff's office, about 15 cars of state troopers, 30 men, of a group which happened to be in a training session in Jacksonville. The pistol shot, and the sight of the troopers and their weapons, angered the already dangerous crowd of 1,500 students. Rocks and bottles were thrown at police and newspapermen, and at Negro teachers and other Negro

adult on-lookers. The police pulled out. (They later said they thought it the best way to calm the crowd.) The crowd turned on the newsmen, overturning their car and setting it on fire, chasing three (while adult Negro on-lookers sat on their porches laughing). They caught one, pummeled him, and, according to one of the three chased, robbed him. The man was rescued by Negro teachers who took him into the school for safety and treatment. Another reporter, arriving on the scene, was quickly pulled into a grocery store whose door was then guarded by Negro adults until he could get out of the area safely.

Similar -- though less violent -- mob scenes occurred at two other Negro schools emptied by bomb threats. At Matthew W. Gilbert Junior High School, police and fire vehicle windows were broken, and at Northwest High School rocks were thrown at two grocery stores.

In the midst of this, on Wednesday, Mayor Burns called for an "unofficial" bi-racial committee to regain "peace and harmony and understanding." (At a press conference, he said this was not inconsistent with his previous stand. The committee was "community action"; he was still responsible for law enforcement.) Friday afternoon pickets were walking peacefully downtown, and by Easter Morning, with sunshine bathing the Confederate monument in Hemming Park, the riot tension seemed over.

The bi-racial committee, headed by important members of the city's business elite, was understood to be ready and equipped to act; it could conceivably be the instrument for Jacksonville's peaceful acceptance of a fair deal in race relations. Backsliding, however, could mean more trouble.

Continued picketing and a boycott to keep pressure on the new committee was the policy the NAACP announced that Easter Sunday afternoon.

* * * * *

Which was it? A legacy of violence cropping up again in Jacksonville or a new phase in the South's struggle to be rid of segregation?

A comparison with the similar Negro vandalism that occurred in 1960 shows extreme differences in the degree

of provocation. Then it had come from whites swinging axe handles at sit-in demonstrators.

This time, the Ku Klux Klan was quiescent, and a speech by a visiting U. S. Nazi Party nabob drew an audience of ten, six of whom were police. The provocation seemed to center around impatience with the lack of desegregation progress, resentment of a gradually getting-tougher handling of demonstrators in Municipal Court, and an immediate flare-up of resentment over the mayor's speech. (Some said the speech was political; the mayor is one of six candidates for governor. He claimed the stepped-up Negro activity was inspired by his political enemies. He might be right, to the extent that Negro leaders may have wanted to show the state that they were not happy with what his 15 year old administration had produced for them.)

A factor common to both riot situations was gangs of juvenile and older Negroes who, under such colorful names as the "High Hats," "Boomerangs," and "Untouchables," are in normal times "involved in other matters that keep the Negro crime rate high" (in the words of Chief Deputy Sheriff William F. Whitehead). He, city police sources, and the NAACP attributed most of this year's Negro violence -- as in 1960 -- to such elements in the Negro community taking advantage of the civil rights tension to let go some of their own broader guage hostility. As

an indication of this kind of anger in operation, some of the rocks and some of the fire bombs were thrown at Negroes and Negro businesses.

At the schools, another element entered. George Harmon, Jacksonville Journal assistant city editor, was one of those chased, and he said that the majority of the crowd was in a mood of excited, almost gleeful excitement, while there was violence in the mood of a hard core group at the center of the crowd. It was panty-raid, spring feverishness degenerated into mob violence, he said. Futhermore, no physical provocation to compare with the Birmingham police dog and fire hose treatment of Spring, 1963, ever occurred.

To say all of this is still not to get at a real understanding of a situation such as Jacksonville's or of the roots of violence in shuch a southern Negro community. To understand is to begin with the stench and dilapidation of the Negro slums, and to try to comprehend the hopelessness that is compounded out of the thudding impact upon the human consciousness of being poor, and being blocked by the very conditions of this poverty and by the weights of discrimination from any possible escape. This is hopelessness deepened by the new knowledge that the old dream of escape to the North is false -- that up there it's just more of the dreary old same. "Our young," say Negroes in Jacksonville and elsewhere over the South in 1964, "don't care any

more whether they die, if they've got to go on living like we have to now."

To know this is to know the extreme: the already defeated, desperate young -- the fatherless or sons of men who have no jobs -- who have no model except within themseves, and who find their meaning in life in gangs, with their medieval and prehistoric overtones, their war councils, and their internecine battling. These gangs were there in 1960 as they have been at other southern racial crises, watching from the sidelines. They saw the non-violent demonstrators beat, and believed that the police failed to protect them, arresting them, and not their aggressors. This rankles, and is a part of what had been festering in the black ghettos of Jacksonville.

So, too, is the memory of what happened when the gangs ran violent after seeing the treatment of the non-violent in 1960, their own violence turned outward instead of upon self and one another. They recount to each other and to new initiates still the old war stories, of how for a few hours there they took over, controlled the expressways into town, and faced down cops, Negro and white. "And we came upon this white policeman, and man, he was so scared of us, that he gave us his gun, without our asking for it..."

Also, to understand is to know that a Negro community in a city like Jacksonville is not monolithic -- that while it is united in a drive to end segregation, it is fragmented in dispute over how best this might be achieved, whether by violence, or non-violent direct action, or peaceful, dignified negotiation. Such a community, just like its white counterpart, is torn, too, by the plain old human rivalries of class and age and personality: the scorn of the leader, who lives amid his people in the slums, for the "black bourgeoise," moved like the white man to a suburb that hides them from the harshness of the life of their people. The contempt of the professional man, who has fought his way up to a fine home with a swimming pool, for the upstart young militants who won't listen to the experience and skill and wisdom that got him where he is and was used in the long painful past of racial advancement that helped lead to the recent breakthroughs.

These are among the dynamic elements that are operating in such a situation as Jacksonville's, influencing actions, setting terms, in a context far more complex than the surface appearance of black against white, good against evil.

There had been some progress in the city. Now, there is a bi-racial committee, and more ground for hope.

"Yes," says the middle-class Negro leader, "there is hope -- because the white men know they've had two strikes. The third strike, and Jacksonville is out." In the background lurks the gang member, with a ring in his ear, a half articulated murmur in his brain. "Why not? There is no hope for me. Why should there be hope for anybody else? Boy this next one is going to be a BIG rumble..."

Rutledge Pearson, 34, Negro schoolteacher, is head of the Jacksonville and Florida NAACP branches, and the leader of the city's civil rights drive. He and other NAACP leaders worked all night Monday and Tuesday (including a television appeal) urging against the violence, telling the people that the effective thing to do was follow non-violent leadership. Mr. Pearson cites efforts by various groups to persuade the mayor to give official status to a bi-racial committee. He and others describe the long record of the previous bi-racial committee, established by the Chamber of Commerce after the 1960 riots. (Even in name, it tended not to admit being bi-racial; it was called the Community Advisory Committee and its Negro Counterpart.) It was hampered by lack of official recognition, and such things as a failure to keep minutes, according to Dr. W. W. Schell, who patiently and persistently worked as chairman of the "Negro counterpart." It was considered generally ineffective in

the crucial, last-ditch efforts to desegregate public accommodations and jobs.

Like most southern cities, Jacksonville has desegregated most publicly owned facilities, including theoretically its beach. It closed its swimming pool. Thirteen Negro first graders entered five previously all-white schools in the Fall of 1963. A half dozen restaurants have desegregated; hotels accept Negro conventioners; theatres limit Negro customers to eight a night.

Thus, the wellsprings of Jacksonville Negro civil rights discontent seemed to be general dissatisfaction with tokenism -- a profound frustration growing out of a feeling that the city's civic leaders were not joining in good faith with those Negroes who were trying to find accommodation by peaceful means. The violence, which may have been diminished but could not be stopped by responsible Negro leaders, would seem to have sprung from youthful hysteria and mob spirit at the schools, and otherwise from criminal elements and others in the Negro community who sensed a ripe opportunity for expression of dangerous fury, out of a lifetime of deprivations.

And violence-proneness is not one-sided in the city. White racists may have been quiescent during the crisis, but they have in beatings and bombings (a recent case resulting in arrests) made their presence felt since 1960.

"...They were after anybody white," said a Negro mother sadly of the school rioters..Prince McIntosh, Jr., 21, public relations director of the Jacksonville NAACP (who was arrested while taking pictures of the demonstrations) said the local NAACP Youth Council does not at all condone violence, but -- "at the same time we feel just calling for the cease of violence will get nowhere... We need to try not so much to stop violence as to root out the evil that is the cause of the violence -- segregation."

* * * * *

Whether Jacksonville is a special case ultimately rests with the South, as new opportunities for good-faith dealing between white and Negro people loom ahead for each community in this year of national decision making. In 1960, in a special publication, Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, the Southern Regional Council stated:

> The South is not an anarchy. It is not a region where government is weak. It is not a region where the lines of political and economic power are loosely held. The breakdowns in law and order in the South are an outcome of public policy -- no less because it is sometimes oral and traditional rather than written in statutes and police manuals.

The words still apply, as each community in the South faces the decision of whether to obey the prospective federal law on public accommodations and other civil rights.

In the years following 1954, the South chose to violate the American tradition of obeying the Supreme Court's reading of the Constitution.

The question for 1964 is whether the spirit of lawfulness has returned to the Southern political leadership, to that leadership which drummed up the orgy of massive resistance and which had always, as it has now even throughout the Deep South, power to maintain order.

In great areas of the South today, that leadership has been overthrown and replaced.

In those states and cities where it still exists, it acts still as the real agent provocatuer of turbulence and violence.

But the lesson of Jacksonville is also that wherever the white civic leadership -- religious, business, and political -- allows a racial crisis to develop and spill into the streets (whether by indifference or inattentiveness to the justified impatience of Negroes with tokenism or less, or by rebuff of Negro efforts to effect change through discussion and joint planning, or by other failures), then it invites violence in.

Beyond prudent doubt, the next six months will be packed with crisis and decision for the South and for the nation. Every indication points to protest activity of an extent and an intensity without precedent, not only in the South but in the North as well. The Senate filibuster

wears on. When it is finally over and defeated, and a law is passed, the issue in the South will be compliance. In both Summer and early Fall, some of the most recalcitrant school districts of the Deep South will be under court order to desegregate. And in the background of all this, there will be the excitement of the Presidential campaign and many state races.

With the lesson of Jacksonville in minc, the expectations for this Spring and Summer for every community of the South seem to hinge around such questions as the following:

What guarantees are there that a racial crisis might not set off the energies of mobs, whether of white or Negro students full of spring feverishness, or of white or Negro victims of impoverishment, sullen in their slums?

What policies and tools (such as an honorable biracial committee) give responsible Negro leaders any hope that their just demands will be met, short of the creation of a race crisis?

And finally, what is the unspoken communication of community leadership toward violence? In Jacksonville, it seemed to be the

message that violence works. The two days of rioting accomplished the creation of an apparently effective biracial committee, something that weeks of urging had not accomplished. They seemed on their way to accomplishing in the field of public accommodations desegregation and the meeting of civic responsibility what three years of patient negotiation had not been able to achieve. Is this the message that will come from other communities, to shape the emotional climate and mood during the crucial, turning-point Spring and Summer coming upon the South?

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 63 Auburn, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

Vol. I, No. 1 April 15, 1955

SOMETHING NEW HAS BEEN ADDED

You will recall that we have stressed that one of the chief problems in the field of human relations is the lack of communications; the same holds true for effective organization work. This Newsletter is an attempt to improve the communications among the various components of our organization. It will come out on a monthly basis and will carry information about the various state organzations' activities and general information of interest to the state staffs.

STAFF MEETING PLANNED

The semi-annual meeting of all state professional staff (the Executive Director and Chief Consultant) will take place from before supper Wednesday, June 1, till the afternoon of Friday, June 3, at Camp New Hope located six miles north of Chapel Hill and ten miles southwest of Durham, North Carolina. A good representation from the Central Office will be there and we will all have a chance to meet "Dr. Will" Alexander of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, predecessor of SRC. Provisions have been made to rent sheets, pillow cases, towels, and blankets. Temperatures range from 65-85 at this time of year. Swimming facilities are available. Dress will be casual; it's a country camp. If you will notify Fred Routh prior to May 25 of how and when you will arrive, arrangements will be made to meet you and carry you to the camp.

HOW THE STATES ARE DOING

It should be of interest to the various state organizations to see how they are doing in comparison with others in meeting their financial obligations. The following list is of state organizations with professional staff and is for the period ending April 1, 1955.

State	Date Staff Employed	New South Subscriptions	Money Raised
Alabama	Oct. 1, 54	112	$ 811.80
Georgia	June 1, 54	125	2,513.42
Kentucky	Dec. 1, 54	42	182.40
Louisiana	June 1, 54	85	969.75
Mississippi	Jan. 1, 55	14	243.00
North Carolina	Oct. 1, 54	39	314.00
South Carolina	Oct. 1, 54	76	1,008.50
Texas	Nov. 1, 54	52	1,103.00

LIST OF STATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS

Please feel free to communicate with each other.

Alabama Council on Human Relations: Rm. 206, Moore Bldg., Court St., Montgomery
Executive Director: Rev. Robt. E. Hughes
Chief Consultant: Dr. J.E. Pierce, Ala. A&M College, Montg., Ala.

Arkansas Council on Human Relations:
Executive Director: Mr. Nat Griswold, (% F. Darragh, 1401 E. 6 St., Little Rock, Arkansas)
Associate Director: Mr. C.C. Mercer, Jr., P.O. Box 426, Pine Bluff, Ark.

Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation: 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.
Executive Director: Dr. Guy H. Wells

Kentucky Council on Human Relations: 1319 Heyburn Bldg., 4th & Bway., Louisville
Executive Director: Mrs. Margaret Dagen
Associate Director: Mrs. Ione G. Stanley

Louisiana Council on Human Relations: Bd. of Trade Annex Bldg., New Orleans 12
Executive Director: Mr. Milton C. Vigo

Mississippi Council on Human Relations: 1104 Lynch St., Jackson, Miss.
Executive Director: Mrs. M.S. Lyells

North Carolina Council on Human Relations: 212 E. 3rd St., Charlotte, N.C.
Executive Director: Rev. Harry S. Jones
Chief Consultant: Dr. Wm. H. Brown (N.C. State College at Durham, Durham)

South Carolina Council on Human Relations: 1508 Lady Street, Columbia, S.C.
Executive Director: Mrs. E.H. Spearman

Texas Commission on Race Relations: 309 West 21st St., Austin, Tex.
Executive Director: Mr. Thomas S. Sutherland

WHAT THE STATES ARE DOING

This is a very brief summary of activities based on the monthly reports which have been sent in to the Central Office; it is not an inclusive picture of all the activities of any state.

Alabama: Annual meeting held February 8th in Montgomery, 330 people attended. A close watch is being kept on the white "Citizens' Councils." All members of the organization have been enrolled for Southern School News. State is being divided up into districts for organizational purposes.

Arkansas: The organization had a most effective screening process for choosing its Executive Director. Considerable time has been given in planning program for the organization in the state. An office will be opened in Little Rock.

Florida: After a careful screening Florida has chosen its Executive Director. Plans are being made to establish the office in Orlando. Time has been spent obtaining a representative state board. Progress is being made to charter the organization under state statutes.

Georgia: The Executive Director has made a series of speeches to Rotary Clubs, civic groups, school and college assemblies, and helped tighten the organization of local interracial committees. Has received contributions for the budget from local Rotary Clubs.

Kentucky: Kentucky's plan of using consultants is well under way. Consultants have been active in more than 20 counties. An appropriate committee has been working with school officials in the Louisville area and considerable work has been done with PTA's.

Louisiana: Good organizational meetings have been held in New Orleans and Baton Rouge. Marion Wright spoke at the former. Efforts are being made to organize five more districts in the state. There has been close cooperation with SERINCO, the Catholic college student interracial group.

Mississippi: Held their annual meeting at Millsaps College in Jackson. The Executive Director is visiting key people about the state establishing contacts. The group is being incorporated under the statutes of Mississippi.

North Carolina: The Executive Director has been making contacts with local interracial groups, with ministerial associations, and with college people across the state. Serious effort is being made to get local committees reactivated.

South Carolina: The Executive Director has been busy renewing acquaintances with state and local organizations such as AAUW, The League of Women Voters, PTA's, Councils of Church Women, and educational groups. Annual meeting being planned for later this Spring.

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 63 Auburn, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

Vol. I, No. 2 May 15, 1955

* * * PROFESSIONAL STAFF MEETING * * *

The semi-annual meeting of all state professional staff (the Executive Director and the Associate Director or Chief Consultant) will take place from before supper Wednesday, June 1st, til after lunch Friday, June 3rd, at Camp New Hope near Chapel Hill, N.C. A detailed memo on the meeting has already been mailed.

* * * SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS * * *

The Southern Education Reporting Service (P.O. Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville, Tennessee) has announced that effective July 1, 1955 there will be a $2.00 one-year or $3.75 two-year subscription fee for Southern School News. This is one of the most important sources of reliable information in the South. Don't let your subscription expire.

Several of our state organizations get mentioned regularly in Southern School News and are to be commended for their good sense of public relations and information. You are all urged to contact the SERS correspondent in your state and to keep him informed of the activities of your organization. Listed below are the SERS representatives in the various states.

ALABAMA
William H. McDonald, Editorial Writer, Montgomery Advertiser

ARKANSAS
Thomas D. Davis, Asst. City Editor, Arkansas Gazette

FLORIDA
Bert Collier, Staff Writer Miami Herald

GEORGIA
Joseph B. Parham, Editor, The Macon News

KENTUCKY
Weldon James, Editorial Writer, Louisville Courier-Journal

LOUISIANA
Mario Fellom, Political Reporter, New Orleans Item

MISSISSIPPI
Kenneth Toler, Mississippi Bureau, Memphis Commercial-Appeal

NORTH CAROLINA
Jay Jenkins, Staff Writer, Raleigh News & Observer

SOUTH CAROLINA
W.D. Workmen Jr., Special Correspondent, Columbia, S.C.

TENNESSEE
James Elliott, Staff Writer, Nashville Banner
Wallace Westfeldt, Staff Writer Nashville Tennessean

TEXAS
Richard M. Morehead, Austin Bureau, Dallas News

VIRGINIA
Overton Jones, Editorial Writer, Richmond Times-Dispatch

* * * MONTHLY REPORTS * * *

The monthly reports from the state organizations are not coming in as they should. Monthly reports should be mailed from your office on the first of the following month.

TWO reports are required. They are:

1. A financial report to Katherine Stoney, SRC Secretary-Treasurer, on special form provided by the Central Office on money collected, expended, New South subscriptions, etc., etc.

2. A narrative report on the activities of the organization and its staff. Meetings held, projects done, people contacted, and any significant event in the state in the area of race relations.

* * * NEW SOUTH * * *

Is New South meeting your needs? Does it help you in your work in the state? How can it be improved? If you have any comments or suggestions about New South write to Harold Fleming; he is anxious to make New South even better.

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 63 Auburn, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

Vol. 1 No. 3 15 June 1955

NEW HOPE STAFF MEETING

We in the Central Office feel that the semi-annual meeting of professional staff at Camp New Hope, N.C. was successful and contributed to a deeper understanding of the process in which we are all involved. The many contributions of state staff people are deeply appreciated.

THE PRINTED WORD

This is to remind you that at the New Hope meeting we asked that ten (10) copies of all material you print or mimeograph for use by your state organization be sent to the Central Office. As a group you also asked that each state organization send a copy of its publications to all the other state organizations and we think highly of this recommendation.

STATE BY-LAWS

We are preparing for the permanent files of the Central Office two books of State Organization BY-Laws. Please send us two (2) copies of the current By-Laws of your state organization; indicate the date of adoption.

CHURCH PAPER EDITORS

We believe it would be wise if state staff people followed Nat Griswold's lead and acquainted themselves with the Church Paper Editors in their state. Editors are grateful for information and can be helpful in interpreting the role of the state organizations to church people who should be our closest supporters.

ANSWERS FOR ACTION

Now that the United States Supreme Court has placed the responsibility of enforcement on the District Courts SRC's pamphlet Answers for Action becomes even more important as a guide to community groups interested in seeking compliance and studying the local situation. You should encourage its use by all interested groups.

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

In referring to the organization which is currently our major source of funds, and made possible the establishment of the twelve state affiliated organizations, this language is recommended:

> "The Fund for the Republic, an independent organization devoted to the promotion of the principles of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights."

The FFR was originally established by the Ford Foundation as an independent organization. It avoids misunderstanding or confusion of the two organizations if we make reference to the Fund for the Republic alone. ~~SRC has not had help from the Ford Foundation itself.~~

FRANK LOESCHER'S TRAVELS

Frank Loescher from the Fund for the Republic, whom you met at Camp New Hope, will be travelling about the South in the next few weeks. He is interested in what the state organizations are doing. Please give him every cooperation when he visits your state.

MRS. GRACE T. HAMILTON

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Assistant Director for Program Development, has returned to the Atlanta Urban League as Executive Director on the expiration of her year's leave of absence from that organization. Her contributions to SRC and state organizations programming got us off to a good start in this phase of our work.

SUMMER MONTHS

C. H. Parrish and Fred Routh will spend a good deal of time in the field during the summer months consulting with state Executive Committees and Professional Staff people. If you have special need for their services please write Dr. Mitchell in the near future for their itinerary is being planned.

MINISTERIAL ASSOCIATIONS

Please check on the Ministerial Associations in your state and notify Harold Fleming of all which have integrated their memberships.

CURRENT EVENTS IN DESEGREGATION

Louisville, Ky., Asheville, N. C., and Poteau, Okla., have all recently stated that their school boards will comply with the Supreme Court ruling. Be on the lookout for similar news in your state and notify Harold Fleming of all such developments.

WOMEN'S WORK

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, In Charge of Women's Work, has been conducting meetings in recent weeks for the Fellowship of the Concerned in Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana. A meeting is scheduled for Florida in September.

NEW STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Virginia: Effective July 1st, the Virginia Council on Human Relations has hired Rev. John Marion as Executive Director and Dr. William Cooper as Associate Director. An office will be established in Richmond.

Tennessee: The Tennessee Council on Human Relations has decided upon the Consultant system of operation. Seven prospective Consultants met with Tennessee Board members and staff members from the Central Office in Nashville, June 10-11.

This leaves only Florida without professional staff; July first is the hoped-for deadline in that state.

FISK INSTITUTE

We are looking forward to seeing most of our State Staff people at the Fisk Institute, June 27-July 9, in Nashville. Expenses for state staff will be paid by the Central Office. A detailed memo on this has been sent to all state staff.

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 63 Auburn, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

Vol.2, No.1 Nov.1st, 1955

FIRST GRANT PERIOD ENDS

September 30th was the last day of the first grant period of aid from the Fund for the Republic. On that date the first phase of SRC's program-- of creating on-going organizations in twelve states--was completed. Praise is due the Boards of the various state organizations for their work in choosing staff, helping raise funds, and helping plan program. Praise, too, is due the state staff people who have carried the burden during this organizational period.

STAFF CHANGES AND ADDITIONS IN CENTRAL OFFICE

The Atlanta office has added recently Mr. G. S. Alexander as administrative assistant and Miss Florence Irving as research assistant. Mr. Alexander does budgets, reviews state finance reports and helps on many administrative matters. Miss Irving, employed under a grant from the Doris Duke Foundation, collects, classifies, and digests informational materials.

Mrs. Ruth H. Alexander has become Acting Secretary-Treasurer, replacing Miss Katherine Stoney who has taken a job with the YWCA in Houston, Texas. New office people are Mrs. Ruby Hamilton and Miss Yvonne Southall.

Similarity of names is noted but SRC doesn't go in for nepotism.

IRENE OSBORNE

Each state organization has been advised of Irene Osborne's itinerary of visits. Miss Osborne did heroic work with the American Friends Service Committee in helping Washington DC desegregate its public schools. She is on a six months leave of absence to work with SRC and its state affiliates.

NEW ADDRESSES

The addresses of three state organizations were not in the last listing of State Executive Directors in the April Newsletter. They are:

Florida Council on Human Relations: 324 South Beach Street, Daytona Beach.
Exec.Dir. Mr. William K. Williams; Assoc.Dir. Mr. Howard D. Roberts.
Telephone: Clinton 3-7072

Tennessee Council on Human Relations: Rm.420 Jackson Bldg. Cherry at 7th Street,
Office Mgr. Mr. Clarence L. Hughes. Telephone: 7-9761 Chattanooga

Virginia Council on Human Relations: 100 E. Franklin Street, Richmond
Exec.Dir. Rev. John H. Marion; Assoc.Dir. Mr. William Cooper.
Telephone: 3-8538

SRC ANNUAL BOARD MEETING

The annual meeting of the Board of the Southern Regional Council will take place at the Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala. Nov. 9th. The regular Board members plus two from each state organization (chairman & representative) have been invited. No staff meeting, such as we held in Atlanta last Fall, is planned

FINANCE COMMITTEES NEEDED

The minimum amount of money to be raised in any state this fiscal year is $3,500 and some states have assumed heavier obligations. This makes essential a strong, active finance committee in each state. Staff members first responsibility is to program; fund raising is primarily a function of the Board.

THE FINANCIAL PICTURE

STATE	ORGANIZED	FUNDS-QUOTA	FUNDS RAISED*
ALABAMA	Oct. 1, '54	$1,800.00	$2,224.30
ARKANSAS	Apr.15, '55	$ 825.00	$ 832.58
FLORIDA	Aug.15, '55	$ 225.00	$ 250.64
GEORGIA	June 1, '54	$3,466.64	$3,603.42
KENTUCKY	Dec. 1, '54	$1,500.00	$1,315.00
LOUISIANA	June 1, '54	$2,800.00	$2,917.18
MISSISSIPPI	Jan. 1, '55	$1,350.00	$1,362.25
N. CAROLINA	Oct. 1, '54	$2,800.00	$2,525.72
S. CAROLINA	Oct. 1, '54	$1,800.00	$1,804.00
TENNESSEE	June15, '54	$ 600.00	$ 674.75
TEXAS	Nov. 1, '54	$1,650.00	$2,541.69
VIRGINIA	July 1, '55	$ 450.00	$1,221.00

* Based on Monthly reports from State Organizations Oct. 1, '55
(Kentucky met its quota a few days later)

PRINTED PROMOTIONAL LEAFLETS

We have seen descriptive, promotional leaflets from Alabama, Kentucky, Louisiana, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas. This idea is much to be commended for it helps interpret the state organizations to prospective members and other interested parties.

SRC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

SRC's Executive Committee has met five times since last years annual meeting of the Board; they met Nov. 23, '54; Feb. 17, '55; May 26, '55; Aug. 16-18, '55; and Oct. 28-29, '55. The August meeting was held at Mammoth Cave, Ky. All the rest were held in Atlanta.

STATE ORGANIZATION DUES

Several of the State Organizations have adopted lesser dues than the $5 originally suggested by SRC, and to this we have no objection for it is understood that $2 per member still comes for subscription to New South. According to our best information state dues for individual members now in effect are:

Alabama...$3.50	Kentucky....$5.00	S.Carolina.$3.50
Arkansas..$3.00	Louisiana...$5.00	Tennessee..$5.00
Florida...$5.00	Mississippi.$5.00	Texas.....$5.00
Georgia...$5.00	N.Carolina..$5.00	Virginia...$5.00

SRC AUDIT AVAILABLE

Mr. L. E. Campbell, our auditor, has prepared the usual audit for the quarter ending Sept. 30, 1955; and a special audit for the eighteen month period, April 1, '54 - Sept. 30, '55. These have been mimeographed and are available on request.

STATE NEWS LETTERS

Atlanta has received state newsletters from Ala., Ark., Miss., N. C., S. C., Tenn., and Texas. This is a splendid way of keeping members abreast of, and interested in developments. We recommend it to all state organizations.

NAACP, SRC, AND GEORGIA COMMITTEE ATTACKED

On October 19th the Attorney General of Georgia, Eugene Cook, speaking before the Georgia Peace Officers Association, in the best McCarthy tactic of innuendo, attacked the NAACP, its leadership, and its purposes. In addition he said:

> " The NAACP is being aided and abetted in its agitation by three "front" organizations on the Southern scene -- the Southern Conference Education Fund; the Southern Regional Council; and the SRC's affiliate, the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation. The Southern Conference Education Fund and the Southern Regional Council are both dominated by individuals who, like the officials of the NAACP, have long records of affinity for and participation in Communist, Communist-front, fellow-traveling, left-wing and subversive organizations and activities. Sworn testimony taken by both House and Senate Committees have placed known Communists in both organizations and the Southern Conference Fund may soon be designated a subversive organization."

"The Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation is a perfect example of an organization formed for the purpose of exploiting the names, reputations and services of well-intentioned do-gooders. It is composed of some of Georgia's most distinguished clerygmen and most prominent civic and social leaders who have been duped into doing the bidding of the more sinister elements manipulating the Southern Regional Council."

"Investigations are currently being made of all three organizations -- the results of which will greatly embarrass those good citizens who unwittingly have become involved in their activities. I urge all such persons to take immediate steps to disassociate themselves from these groups and to disavow their programs and their leaders before they, their friends and their congregations are exposed to the anguish and embarrassment which exposure of these groups will necessarily mean."

SRC REPLIED IN A PRESS RELEASE:

"Any charges that the Southern Regional Council has Communist connections or is influenced by Communist ideas are poppycock. The Southern Regional Council is made up of reasonable, tolerant, and forward-looking citizens who wish to see the states in the South do a sober, responsible job of accomodating themselves to the changes in the world around us. As to investigations, they are perfectly welcome. We have nothing to hide. All that will result will be red faces for those who set on the investigators."

"The Southern Regional Council is made up of some eighty people, who are members of its Board of Directors. Some of them are white and some are Negro. All of them are distinguished for their active and thoughtful careers within the South. What a tragedy for a state attorney general, sworn to uphold the law, to attack one of the few efforts which proceeds within the South to deal truthfully and in mutual respect with the problems which the region confronts! Watch the birdie. Who is proposing conduct subversive of the Constitution and courts of our land?

THE GA. COMMITTEE REPLIED IN A PRESS RELEASE:

"For the Attorney General to label the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation a "front" organization is not only ridiculous, but it is a libel on those Georgia leaders he labels as "dupes" and on Georgia officials as well."

"True, the Georgia Committee is composed of "some of Georgia's most distinguished clergymen and most prominent civic and social leaders." And it is these same leaders who make up the board of directors and the executive committee of the group. It is these same leaders who plan and direct the policy and program of the Georgia Committee and are sincerely trying to help solve a difficult Southern problem."

"The Georgia Committee has a history dating back to 1919. If, as the Attorney General claims, an investigation is being made of the Georgia Committee, why should it come at this time? The answer is obvious when one stops to consider the fact that there are some irresponsible people today who claim the Supreme Court of the United States is under the influence of Communists. Who could better claim the label of subversive -- those who seek to uphold the supreme law of the land or those who seek to circumvent it? The Attorney General is seeking to delay the solution and impugning the motives of those who seek to help work out a solution."

"On a monument to the British soldiers who died on King's Mountain, S. C., is this inscription, They came 3000 miles to keep the past on the throne. There are still those who fight to keep the past on the throne."

"The Georgia Committee will welcome any investigations by <u>responsible</u> people. It has nothing to hide."

IN REFUTATION

SRC is preparing additional factual material to refute such unfounded attacks. It will be sent to all state organizations.

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 63 Auburn, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

Vol. 2, No. 3 Jan. 1st. 1956

HAPPY NEW YEAR

SRC's Staff wishes all of you the best of everything for the New Year. May your efforts be even more successful in 1956. SRC, the South and the Nation owe each of you a debt of gratitude for your work on behalf of law and order and for your dedication to the American democratic way of life.

IRENE OSBORNE RETURNS

Irene Osborne is back with us and is in the very pink (no reference to politics) of condition. State offices have been advised of her new schedule. Plans should be made so that she may confer with key people.

MONTHLY NARRATIVE REPORTS

The reports required of each state organization are: 1) a monthly financial report to Mrs. Ruth Alexander, Secretary-Treasurer; and 2) a narrative report to Fred Routh. The former are being made by all states on the forms provided by SRC. The latter are coming in from most states but too often are skimpy. More detailed reporting of what you are doing, whom you are seeing, and what is happening in the state would be helpful.

FRANK LOESCHER'S TRAVELS

State offices have been advised of Frank Loescher's itinerary for the month of January. Mr. Loescher is the advisor on race relations to the Fund for the Republic. He will meet with Boards and Staffs in as many states as possible. We believe it healthy for the Fund to know what results their grant is producing.

WHAT THE COURT REALLY SAID

Inquiries have come to the Central Office requesting information on the Supreme Court decisions. Southern School News offers reprints of an article by Prof. Robert Leflar, "What The Court Really Said." These are priced at $2.25 for 100 copies, post-paid; rates for larger quantities will be quoted by them on request. This is a good discussion of the decision.

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

The White House Conference on Education is now over. The Central Office is interested in how many of our staff or board members attended; and whether the delegation from your state was integrated. Would you please forward this information to Harold Fleming.

NEWEST BRIDEGROOM

Joining the ranks of Bob Hughes, Chris Mercer, and Milton Vigo (all married since coming with SRC's state affiliates) is Dr. Guy Wells who recently married Mrs. Ouida Peacock of Statesboro, Ga.

SRC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

SRC's Executive Committee will hold its next meeting at Dillard University in New Orleans, La. on January 20-21; its next scheduled meeting is April 20-21, at Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

LEGAL REPORTING SERVICE

Vanderbilt School of Law is sponsoring a new legal reporting service in the field of desegregation under a foundation grant. The new publication will be called Race Relations Law Reporter and will contain court decisions, legislative acts, state constitutional provisions, opinions of attorneys-general, regulations of state departments of education, etc. Subscription cost is $2 for six-issues per year. All state organizations are strongly urged to avail themselves of this service. Write the Race Relations Law Reporter, % Vanderbilt School of Law; Nashville, Tenn.

PERSONNEL CHANGES

John Constable has been promoted from Editorial Assistant to Managing Editor of New South; John Hope has assumed his duties as Assistant Director for Program. The following Associate Directors have been added:

Alabama - Mr. Fred D. Gray, Atty.
Georgia - Dr. Mozell Hill, Atlanta Univ.
Mississippi - Mrs. James Burt, Church Leader
Mrs. Canace Williams, Church Leader
North Carolina - Mr. W. C. Chance, Educator
South Carolina - Mr. James McCain, Educator
Texas - Mr. Kenneth Holbert, Atty.

GOOD IDEAS

Harry Jones in N.C. has written to all superintendents to obtain the names and addresses of chairmen of local study or advisory committees. Both are being sent copies of the story of desegregation in Baltimore, St. Louis, and Washington and Answers For Action; follow-up interviews are planned.

Bob Hughes in Alabama has asked his membership to note how the ICC regulation banning segregation in bus and train depots is being carried out and to notify his office of changes and violations.

Bill Williams and Howard Roberts in Florida are working with United Church Women and Ministerial Alliances.

Jack Marion in Virginia is helping spearhead the movement to save the public schools by providing information to interested people.

The Texas Commission has organized a strong advisory committee representing labor, church, and other human relations agencies.

Alice Spearman and James McCain are documenting the use of economic reprisal in the state with names, places, and dates.

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 63 Auburn, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

Vol. 2, No. 4 Feb. 1st, 1956

SRC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETS

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council met in Atlanta on Jan. 20-21. In addition to the regular reports, Mr. John Hope II reported on the proposed Consultant Service Program and Dr. Frank Loescher of the Fund For the Republic told of his tour of state affiliates.

DR. W.W. ALEXANDER

"Dr. Will" Alexander, former Director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, died at his New Hope Farm in North Carolina on January 13, 1956. Our state staff personnel were fortunate to have visited him last summer thus helping to link the present and the future with the past. The Executive Committee passed a resolution expressing deep regret at his passing.

NEW YORK TIMES TASK FORCE

The New York Times has sent a star-reporter task force into the South to "get the story". SRC state affiliates have been asked to give them full cooperation, to introduce them to key people and to demonstrate that the solid-South-of racial-attitudes is a myth.

DR. MITCHELL SEZ...

The best little book on Negro history is one done for young'uns by Arna Bontemps who is Librarian at Fisk: Story of The Negro. It is in a now brought-up-to-date second edition, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1955, $3.00. We would like you to read it and we haven't got the money to buy it for you. Will you see what you can do yourselves?

PERSONNEL CHANGES

Two states, Kentucky and Texas, have lost their Executive Directors. Dr. Hugh Brimm of Kentucky is going to the University of North Carolina for post-doctoral studies; Tom Sutherland of Texas has accepted a public relations job dealing with American investments in Latin America. As we go to press, neither post has been filled. We wish them the best of luck in their new endeavors.

ANTI-INTEGRATION FORCES MERGE

The forces seeking to subvert the Supreme Court decisions met in Memphis, Tennessee on December 28-29 and formed the Federation For Constitutional Government. By-and-large the group which met was the remnants of the Dixiecrat movement. Their avowed purpose is to bring the (their) story of the South to the nation. To those who work for a democratic South it will be of more than academic interest to contrast their story with that of the N. Y. Times.

INTERPOSITION

Interposition, theoretically, is the doctrine of interposing the state government between the will of the federal government and the people of a given state; it is a protest to the Congress to intervene between another branch of the federal government and a state; it contains within it the doctrine of nullification. It went out of style and usage with the Civil War. It basically denies a direct relationship between a federal government and certain citizens of that government. It is an anachronism from confederation; it is not applicable to a federal system of government. Gov. Folsom of Alabama said it was like a hound dog baying at the moon and boasting it had the moon treed. When Virginia called upon her "Sister States" to consider interposition, the only participants were Ga., S.C., and Miss.

CLIPPINGS

Several of the state affiliates are doing an outstanding and much appreciated job of sharing their newspaper clippings and other noteworthy materials with the Central Office. Others haven't developed the habit; this is an urgent plea that they do so. Information from the states enables the information staff to do a much better job with NEW SOUTH, the inquiring press, and other agencies. We now have a copying machine and can, therefore, copy and return clippings which are essential to your files. Clippings, speeches, and other items for our info should be addressed to Harold Fleming.

BOOKS

Through the courtesy of the Fund For the Republic, we have a limited supply of two useful new books: A Citizen's Guide to Desegregation, by Hill and Greenberg; and The Fears Men Live By, by Selma Hirsh. One copy each is being sent to the state offices for their professional library. Also being sent is a recent issue of The Reporter magazine containing two articles on racial problems in Mississippi.

CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM

Mr. John Hope II has written to the state affiliates explaining the new Consultant Service Program and expects to start the project in Virginia and North Carolina. Arrangements for specific times is being made with other states. Careful consideration to a Hard Core Conference is being given. State Executive Directors and State Chairmen will be hearing from Mr. Hope shortly.

GOOD IDEAS

(Would They Work In Your State?)

Tennessee consultants have obtained a free copy of the Annual Statistical Report of the State Department of Education; this contains a breakdown of districts, local officers, expenditures, race of pupils, etc. Other states publish similar reports. All state affiliates should have a copy of the report from their respective states.

The Alabama Council has offered their "good offices" in an effort to help settle the Montgomery bus-boycott; this was well received by the Negro community, not too well received by the bus company nor the city commission.

Mrs. Ruby Lyells attended the White House Conference on Education as an observer. More of our professional staff should seek to get invited to such conferences. An enlightened Southern view-point is badly needed at all national meetings; the "Southern" point-of-view has been too one sided.

In Texas a close working relationship with Organized Labor has been developed, with the state secretaries of the AF of L-CIO serving on the Commission's Advisory Committee. Texas labor leaders recognize that the anti-integrationists are the right-to-work legislation sponsors.

Many state organizations have the Executive Secretary of the Negro Teachers' Association on their Board of Directors. This group is progressive, influential, and interested in school problems.

The Virginia Council has been reading the "Letters-to the Editor" columns in the various state papers, taking the names and addresses of pro-integration or pro-law and order writers, and inviting them to join the Virginia Council.

Georgia has joined the ranks of state affiliates who put out good Newsletters. Each state should do so; copies should not only be sent to state membership but to all other state affiliates and ten (10) copies to the Central Office.

SRC Newsletter

Vol. 2, No. 5. March 1st, 1956.
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 63 Auburn, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM UNDERWAY

Virginia became the first state affiliate to receive the services of the new SRC Consultant Service Program under the leadership of Mr. John Hope II. A day-and-a-half workshop was held in Richmond and was attended by staff and a good representation of the state Board. SRC Consultants were Dr. Robert Johnson and Dr. Harry Walker; C.H. Parrish and Fred Routh also participated.

NEWSLETTERS.

Problem arises on the interswap of your various State newsletters. Some States want to pick up items from the newsletters of other States. Clumsy to ask permission. How's for a piece of simple, workable procedure? But you will have to remember it.

When you send out a copy of your newsletters to each other SRC-affiliated State outfit, if you have anything in that issue that you don't want to be usable by other States, its your responsibility so to mark those items, with NOT FOR REPRODUCTION (at those items). If nothing is so marked in the copies that other States get from you, other States will presume that they can reproduce at will.

If this has bugs in it, say so. For the time being, let's consider it in effect. If to be changed, propose changes.

EXHAUSTING ADMINISTRATIVE REMEDIES.

A great deal has been said by the anti-integrationists about the need for litigants to "exhaust administrative remedies" before going to a Federal Court to seek admission of children to public schools on a non-segregated basis. The best answer to this was made by US District Judge J. Skelly Wright in a hearing in New Orleans, Feb. 15, 1956, when he said, in part: "To remit each of these minor children and the thousands of others similarly situated to thousands of administrative hearings before this Board (of education), to seek relief to which the Supreme Court of the United States has said they are entitled, would be a vain and useless gesture, unworthy of a court of equity. It would be a travesty in which this court will not participate."

COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS ACTS.

The 44th Annual Conference of the Council of the Southern Mountains, Inc., held in Gatlinburg, Tenn., Feb. 10th passed a resolution urging Appalachian communities to integrate their school systems this Fall. They said in part: "We urge that local people - of all groups - come together in equal dignity and full democracy to work toward the solution of their problems within the framework of the Supreme Court decisions; that they support the administrators who stand for law and order as embodied in our Federal Constitution; and that we - the people of the Appalachian South - so conduct ourselves that we may serve as an example to the rest of the South and as a beacon of hope to the rest of the world."

SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS.

Some of our state organizations appear regularly in the state write-ups in Southern School News; others appear seldom or not at all. Each of the state affiliates is working in the field of primary concern to Southern School News and when an organization does something significant which should be publicized it would be wise to write a news release and send it to the state reporter for that publication.

CONGRATULATIONS TO STATE ORGANIZATIONS.

We have had some good reports from the N.Y. Times reporters in the various states about the splendid cooperation they received from our state affiliates. One of our most important contributions to transition is getting the story out to the rest of the nation.

RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER.

The first issue of the Race Relations Law Reporter is out; it contains an excellent summary of legal decisions and legislative acts in the field of race relations and desegregation. Subscription is $2 per year. We have previously urged that each state organization subscribe to this publication. Their address is: Race Relations Law Reporter, c/o John W. Wade, Dean; Vanderbilt University School of Law; Nashville, Tennessee.

PERSONNEL CHANGES.

Kentucky has employed Mr. Galen A. Martin as Executive Director of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations. Mr. Martin has had considerable experience in the field of human relations. His most recent position was with the Washington Office of the Electrical Consumers Information Committee as Assistant Coordinator.

Texas has employed on a half-time basis Rev. Edward Kloppe as Executive Director. Mr. Kloppe attended the Fisk Race Relations Workshop last summer and has recently been working in the field of race relations for the national body of the Evangelical and Reformed Church.

TIME AND THE SOUTHERN PRESS.

Time Magazine in its February 20th issue reviewed the Southern Press handling of desegregation news. Generally, said Time, the reporting has been inadequate and the Press is not living up to its responsibility in this situation.

GOOD IDEAS.
(Would they work in your state?)

The Florida Council is planning an intensive membership campaign believing that the program must reach the grass roots leadership to be effective and lasting.

Bob Hughes assisted the reporters from the national press in getting the story of the riot and difficulty at the University of Alabama by helping them meet key people in Tuscaloosa and Montgomery.

The New Orleans chapter of the Louisiana Council prepared an excellent news release following the ruling of the District Federal Court declaring state laws which provide for segregation in the public schools unconstitutional; they urged sober thought and serious reflection in facing current problems and declared that all must live within the confines of the law and the Constitution.

North Carolina Council is exploring the possibilities of a cooperative project with another human relations agency in several western counties to help bring about desegregation this Fall.

GOOD BOOK.

Community Organization - Theory & Principles
Murray G. Ross - University of Toronto -
Harper & Bros. New York - - $3.00.

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 63 Auburn, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

Vol. 2, No. 6 April 1st, 1956

HARD CORE CONFERENCE HELD

Staff and some Board members from Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina met with John Hope II and SRC's consultant team at Atlanta University the weekend of March 23-24. A frank and full discussion of what can be done in the more difficult states at this time produced some fruitful thinking. Though state opposition to desegregation is very strong participants had not lost hope for constructive developments. "Getting the story out "was recognized as a most important program item.

GUY WELLS, DRAGON SLAYER

Dr. Guy Wells, Executive Director of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation was under attack from two branches of the State government. His title of President Emeritus of Georgia State College for Women was lifted without a hearing by the State Board of Regents, and the State Board of Education moved against his retirement fund; all because he was working for compliance with the Supreme Court decisions. Dr. Wells stood fast and newspapers across the state editorialized that the state action was punitive and a threat to freedom of expression. The State Teachers Retirement Board unanimously held that Dr. Wells could not be deprived of his earned retirement fund. About the lost title Guy Wells says "It's not medals or honorary titles that really count for what a man is; it's what he does to help his fellow men."

SRC DISTRICT FINANCE COMMITTEES MEET

SRC's district finance committees have met and planned fund raising activities. Half of what is raised by these committees will go to SRC and half will go to the state in which funds are raised. On March 9th representatives from Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas met in New Orleans; on March 16th representatives from Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee met in Atlanta. Each representative agreed to set a minimum goal of $1,000 for SRC and an equal sum for his respective state organization.

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

The Fund For the Republic has announced two new vice-presidential positions; they were filled by David F. Freeman for administrative matters and Frank K. Kelly in charge of public information. Paul G. Hoffman chairman of the Fund's board said, "Our principal objective is to make Americans more aware of their vital stake in the Bill of Rights and the Constitution. To increase our educational efforts, we are stepping up our activities in several fields and have increased the number of Fund officers to carry out this work." Adam Yarmolinsky, Washington, D. C. lawyer, editor of Case Studies in Personnel Security, was elected Fund Secretary.

SYLVIA PORTER'S COLUMN SENT

Sylvia Porter's column on the effects of racial strife on the movement of industry southward has been sent to all state offices. We believe that this is one of the most important aspects of the present situation and can be a real selling point for positive leadership by business men and community leaders.

TOM THRASHER WRITES

The Rev. Thomas Thrasher, Episcopal clergyman and Board member of the Alabama Council on Human Relations wrote the article "Alabama's Bus Boycott" in the March 8th. issue of The Reporter; SRC is obtaining reprints of this article and will distribute them with an early issue of New South.

THINGS TO READ

An increasing interest in problems Southern has been evidenced by the national magazines; while all the articles mentioned below do not represent SRC's evaluation of the current situation they should be read so that we may understand what the rest of the Nation is being told about our struggle for freedom.

LIFE Magazine March 6, 1956; William Faulkner's letter.
LOOK Magazine April 3rd, 1956; "The South vs. The Supreme Court."
NEWSWEEK Magazine March 26th, 1956; "That Defiant Sophomore" pg. 25; "An Educator's Pension" pg. 57; "Business Trends" pg. 73.
NEW YORK TIMES March 13th, 1956; "Report on the South: The Integration Issue."
SATURDAY EVENING POST Magazine March 10th, 1956; "They Always Ask Me About Negroes."

THE ANNALS, MARCH 1956

The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science issue for March 1956 is devoted to "Racial Desegregation and Integration." Harold Fleming and Irene Osborne both have articles in this issue. This is a "must" on your reading list.

NATIONAL CIVIL LIBERTIES CLEARING HOUSE

The National Civil Liberties Clearing House meeting in Washington, D. C. dealt with the desegregation issue. Panel members included Rep. Keating, (R.NY) House Judiciary Committee; Very Rev. Maurice Shean, S. C. Council Board member; Rev. Carl Pritchett, formerly of South Carolina; Mr. Clarence Mitchell, Washington office NAACP; and Fred Routh, SRC staff. In the evening Senator Wayne Morse spoke on civil rights and liberties.

GOOD IDEAS

Three state organization newsletters recently received in this office deserve special commendation: Arkansas, North Carolina, and Texas. The use of newsletters is important in keeping your membership alert to current program activities of your organization.

Georgia and South Carolina have been exchanging letters about program development; some state directors are writing others asking, "what did you do when such and such happened?" This is a good idea; most states have similar problems.

Florida Council staff wrote an open letter to the Florida Congressional delegation expressing regret over the "manifesto"; the letter was non-political in nature but made the delegation aware that not all Floridians liked their action.

The Tennessee Council is moving to greatly strengthen its Board of Directors at this time; some twelve to fifteen new Board members will be added.

Most state organizations have given high priority to Harold Fleming's request to assist in an Inventory of Desegregation - May '54 to Present. This is urgent for we hope to complete the job by May 1st.

NEW PERSONNEL

Mrs. Margaret Price, wife of Bem Price ace AP reporter and an experienced AP writer herself, has joined the SRC central staff in the information department. She is working on the special fact-finding program.

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 63 Auburn, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

Vol. 2, No. 7 May 1, 1956

SRC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETS

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council met at Atlanta University on April 20-21. Careful review and consideration was given to the program of the Central Office and affiliated state organizations. Special attention was given to Women's Work, the new Fact Finding Project and SRC's Consultant Service Program.

LEONARD HAAS RETIRES AS SRC COUNSEL

Mr. Leonard Haas after twenty-five years of service in the field of intergroup relations, first with the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and since its inception as legal counsel of SRC, has withdrawn from active duty with the Council. The Executive Committee accepted his new status with regret and with a formal expression of deeply-felt thanks for a job well and faithfully done.

JOSEPH HAAS ELECTED SRC COUNSEL

Mr. Joseph Haas, Atlanta attorney, was elected SRC Legal Counsel at the recent meeting of the Executive Committee. Mr. Haas brings to SRC experience in civil liberties and a dedication to democratic principles.

IRENE OSBORNE COMPLETES SRC ASSIGNMENT

Irene Osborne, who was on loan to SRC for six months from the American Friends Service Committee, completed her period of assignment to us on May 1st. During this six months she has visited all of our state organizations and worked with staff, board and other local people to help translate desegregation experience into planning and action in the South. Her new address is: % AFSC, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

Irene brought with her to SRC a contagious enthusiasm for a prompt and reasonable start toward desegregation. All who have worked with her are richer.

MRS. TILLY'S TRAVELS

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, whose title is now Director of Women's Work, has been on the road again. She has held meetings with Church Women in Alabama, South Carolina and Texas. As Mrs. Tilly says, " The church women are the conscience of the South, and the conscience won't be still."

SRC CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM

John Hope II and his team of consultants have been active. Following the "Hard Core" conference held in Atlanta, a call came from South Carolina requesting a workshop with the consultants. Mr. John Hope, Dr. Harry Walker (Howard) and Dr. Lewis Killian (Florida State University) responded. C. H. Parrish and Fred Routh from SRC's Central Staff also attended the meeting in Columbia, April 24-25. South Carolina Council staff, officers and Board and interested key people attended the sessions. Quiet work with key people, opening and maintaining interracial communication lines, and getting-the-story-out were recognized as priority items of program.

FISK INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, announced that the Thirteenth Annual Institute of Race Relations will be held July 2 - 14. The title this year is: Statesmanship in National Crisis: The Moral Challenge in Human Relations. Last year SRC sent state staff and some Board members to the Institute. This year staff people are urged to go on their own, or at the expense of their state organization, if their Boards so desire.

SRC HISTORY

There has been an increasing demand for a short history of SRC which might be used by state organizations and interested people in interpreting the organization to others. Such a project is in the works. It is being prepared first as a mimeographed pamphlet and sent to the recipients of this Newsletter. If there is a strong demand for it there is a possibility that it might later be printed.

DEDICATION

The chairman of one of the affiliated state organizations who is the president of a corporation said to an SRC staffer the other day, "My business is under fire from the White Citizens Councils, I may have to resign." To which the SRC staffer replied, "Oh, no, we can't afford to lose you!" Our state chairman replied, "I didn't mean from the State Council, I meant from the business."

GOOD IDEAS

State organizations in South Carolina and North Carolina are considering the joint publication of human relations tracts for mass distribution. Such topics as: "What is Race?", "What Does the Bible Say About Race?" and "What Did the Court Say?" are being considered.

The New Orleans chapter of the Louisiana Council has helped establish a Joint Committee similar to the one which was so effective in Washington, D. C. Representatives of sixteen agencies now meet together to discuss "how."

The Kentucky Council is directing program emphasis to teacher employment by merit. 84% of Kentucky's school districts will have desegregated or will be in the process of desegregation by this Fall. Question of teacher employment is next step in good human relations programming.

PERSONNEL CHANGES

Mrs. Elizabeth Brantley has returned to active service as Dr. Mitchell's secretary following a maternity leave.

Mrs. Mildred Oster has been employed as secretary for the expanded information service.

FLEMING PROUD FATHER

Jane and Harold Fleming are the proud parents of a new baby boy, Anthony Hughes Fleming. "Tony" was born April 14th.

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 63 Auburn, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

Vol. 2, No. 8 June 1, 1956

PROGRESS REPORT CARD SENT

A "progress report card" indicating how the States compared on the fund raising and membership building was sent to the officers of the affiliated State organizations in mid-May. It is hoped that this will encourage some of the slower Boards to make a more active interest in this phase of the program.

CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM CONTINUES

The Consultant Service Program under the direction of Mr. John Hope II received a real shot in the arm recently when SRC obtained a special grant from the New World Foundation to carry forward this program. We received sufficient funds to continue the program well through the Fall. It is possible that consultative services will be offered some communities which are planning to desegregate this Autumn.

NEW SOUTH SOURCE MATERIAL

John Constable, Managing Editor of NEW SOUTH, requests that a weather eye be kept open for articles or papers on the problems or progress of a Southern community, State or the region, for consideration of publication in NEW SOUTH. Significant papers are often prepared by departments of Sociology, Psychology, or Political Science at the colleges and universities.

SOUTHWIDE CONFERENCE PLANNED

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in cooperation with the University of Oklahoma is planning a two day workshop at Norman, Oklahoma, June 15-16. Many of our State and central staff members will participate in this work conference. A report on the conference will be sent to each State office at a later date.

SPECIAL MAILINGS

SRC will mail Three Views of the Segregation Decisions to membership of State organizations. It is based on three papers read at the Southern Historical Association meeting in Memphis. The papers were prepared by William Faulkner, Benjamin Mays and Cecil Sims.

The first issue of the Fund for the Republic's Bulletin will be mailed to the recipients of this Newsletter. It deals with the Fund's grants in the field of race relations and contains a brief article by Dr. George S. Mitchell. (Dr. Mitchell's article was quoted in a major editorial in LIFE magazine of May 28, 1956.

The Fund is also publishing a series of fact sheets about its operations. SRC will make these available to key people in the State groups.

FISK'S GENEROSITY

Dr. Herman Long, Director of the Race Relations Institute at Fisk, has generously offered scholarships for room and tuition to all SRC State staff personnel attending the Institute. This would mean that the cost of transportation and food would be borne by the participants or their organizations. We encourage staff people to take advantage of this fine offer.

GETTING THE STORY TOLD

The Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco and the Southern California branch of the American Civil Liberties Union sponsored a West Coast trip for Fred Routh with speeches, news conferences, radio and TV interviews in San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego and San Bernardino. A factual report and analysis of desegregation in Dixie was the purpose of the trip. SRC's role in the region was interpreted.

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 63 Auburn, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

October, 1959

NEWSLETTER GOALS

BEGINNING WITH THIS ISSUE, THE NEWSLETTER BECOMES A BI-MONTHLY PUBLICATION. THE PURPOSE OF THE NEWSLETTER IS TO PROVIDE AN EXCHANGE OF IDEAS BETWEEN THE VARIOUS STATE COUNCIL GROUPS. THE NEWSLETTER WILL BE COMPLETELY DEPENDENT UPON STATE STAFF FOR ITEMS OF INFORMATION. EVERY STATE COUNCIL IS PROBABLY CARRYING ON SOME PROGRAM ACTIVITY THAT WOULD BE OF INTEREST TO SOME OTHER STATE. THE NEWSLETTER WILL ATTEMPT TO KEEP YOU IN TOUCH WITH EACH OTHER, AND WITH SRC.

STATE STAFF NOTES

The new director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, Daniel Bowers, has been on the job since August 1, and has already become heavily involved in current Virginia developments.

Dan, a native of Georgia, is a graduate of Tusculum College in Tennessee, and of Columbia Seminary in Decatur, Georgia. He formerly served as a Presbyterian minister in Tennessee, Florida, South Carolina, and Alabama.

Plans are underway for a meeting of all state staff in Atlanta early in 1960. The suggested dates will be either in January or early February. Cards will go out shortly with several suggested dates for your consideration. Any ideas concerning the program or content of the state staff meeting would be appreciated.

CHAIRMAN OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE "AVAILABLE"

Dr. Ross Clinchy, chairman of the President's Committee on Government Employment, recently told representatives from various Southern human relations agencies that he would like to spend more time interpreting the program of the Committee to people, particularly young people in Southern communities and colleges.

Dr. Clinchy stated that he is concerned that minority group members, not fully aware of the merit employment policies of the Federal government, often fail to consider the Federal Civil Service as a career. The committee director indicated that he would be available to talk with

groups of high school and college students concerning the Federal Service as a career and the activities of the President's Committee in promoting employment within the Federal government.

Anyone who would like to consult with Dr. Clinchy concerning the possibility of his coming to any state or city to spend several days in such educational activities should write directly to Dr. Ross Clinchy, Staff Director, President's Committee on Government Employment.

LIAISON WITH STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEES IMPORTANT

With the life of the Federal Civil Rights Commission extended for several years, the role of the state advisory committee in working with the Civil Rights Commission is expected to be more significant and useful than ever.

State advisory committees are encouraged by the Civil Rights Commission to gather information and to make recommendations concerning civil rights needs within the respective states. These committees are urged to concentrate on several aspects of the field but are free to survey other areas as well. Advisory committees can gather facts and probe into situations with the prestige of the Federal Commission behind them.

The state committees have no paid, professional staff. They must depend to a considerable degree upon the suggestions and assistance of human relations agencies.

All state councils are urged to be alert to the possibility of forwarding complaints to the state advisory groups, of informing them of critical situations, and of making recommendations on the need for fact-finding or other activity.

TAX EXEMPT STATUS URGED

One or two state councils have tax exempt status. Several other state councils are known to have tax exempt applications in process.

The SRC would appreciate hearing from each state director concerning the status of the tax exemption, or tax exempt application, of his council.

The new regulations concerning federal tax exemption have been interpreted by the Treasury Department. It is generally believed that the regulations may be somewhat more liberal concerning tax exemption of human relations agencies than previously.

Any state council which has not already done so is urged to process an application for federal tax exemption. Tax exempt status provides greater respectability and assists state groups and the SRC with fund raising for state activities.

GEORGIA SPONSORS TELEVISION SERIES

In an effort to prepare the people of Atlanta for compliance with a probable court order for desegregation by the Fall of 1960, the Georgia Council on Human Relations has sponsored a series of television programs on the school crisis over an Atlanta commercial television station.

John Fischer, Baltimore School Superintendent, Carl Hansen, superintendent of Washington, D.C. schools, and Omer Carmichael, superintendent of Louisville schools, have appeared in half-hour programs concerning their experiences in the transition to desegregation.

In each case the guest authority was interviewed by a panel of well-known Atlantans and questioned sharply on the school desegregation procedures used, the success of the process, etc. The programs were professionally staged and attracted wide-spread notice in Atlanta and throughout Georgia.

Scripts and sound tapes of these programs can be secured through the Georgia Council on Human Relations. Video tapes are not available.

Although the time used in Atlanta was paid, it is entirely possible that time could be secured on a free public service basis in many communities in other areas of the South.

An analysis of the Atlanta television effort will be carried in a future issue of New South.

WRIGHT BARNSTORMS IN VIRGINIA

Marion Wright, SRC vice-president, was sponsored in a series of speeches and appearances throughout the Old Dominion during the week of October 19-24.

Reports from Virginia indicate that Mr. Wright did some of his sharpest and most effective speaking as he barnstormed throughout the state under the sponsorship of the Virginia Council.

Mr. Wright spoke to thousands of Virginians in person or via radio in Norfolk, Lynchburg, Charlottesville, and northern Virginia. Mr. Wright's major speech of this period is being prepared for distribution by the Virginia Council.

Mr. Wright's appearances attracted wide-spread notice and publicity. The Lynchburg News decided to carry the full text of his Lynchburg talk.

N.C. COUNCIL ASSISTS DURHAM EMPLOYMENT EFFORT

With the cooperative assistance of the North Carolina Council, the American Friends Service Committee, and other groups, Mayes Behrman completed the Merit Employment Survey in Durham, N.C. recently.

The survey is part of a continuing effort in Durham and Charlotte which has been carried on by Mr. Behrman on a part-time basis through a special grant to the North Carolina Council for such a purpose.

Several important firms in Durham have proceeded to employ Negroes in non-traditional positions. Other firms have agreed to follow a merit employment policy in the future.

FLORIDA PLANS CONFERENCES

The Dade County (Miami) Council on Human Relations held its annual orientation meeting for ministers new to the Miami area. The orientation stressed human relations needs in Miami and the services available from the various human relations agencies there.

The Florida Council is currently working toward the organization of a hoped-for conference of state-wide civic and religious leadership to consider the human relations outlook in the state. If present indications develop, such a conference would be sponsored jointly by the Florida Bar, the state Chamber of Commerce, the Florida Council of Churches, and the state Congress of Parent and Teacher Associations.

Bill Williams, Director of the Florida Council, was directly involved in the successful effort to establish a public committee on human relations in West Palm Beach, Florida.

TENNESSEE COUNCIL SPONSORS DRAMA GROUP

The Tennessee Council pioneered in a new form of education and communication effort through the sponsorship of the Bishop's Company in Cry the Beloved Country.

This moving play with a significant and timely message was presented before integrated audiences through six Tennessee communities. Co-sponsored by local groups in some places, the play, professionally performed by a small troupe, was well received.

The Bishop's Company, a California troupe, performs throughout the country. The cast was inter-racial. Further information concerning this project can be secured through Louise Young.

HERBERT WEY TALKS, CONSULTS

Herbert Wey, author of the Phi Delta Kappa book, Action Patterns of Desegregation, is now with the School of Education at the University of Miami.

Dr. Wey spoke at the annual meeting of the Florida Council. He has consulted with school superintendents and school boards in a number of Southern communities on desegregation procedures.

Dr. Wey is interested in being of service to school authorities in this continuing transition. Anyone knowing of a situation where Dr. Wey could be of help in a consultative capacity should write to the Field Director of SRC.

Dr. Wey's book has become the standard reference volume for school personnel planning to comply with the law.

KENTUCKY COUNCIL EMPHASIZES MERIT EMPLOYMENT

Since last spring, the Kentucky Council has been carrying forward a special effort to locate and place Negro high school graduates in non-traditional jobs in Louisville, Kentucky.

This merit employment effort in Louisville has been carried forward through consultants working under the Kentucky Council and in cooperation with many school officials and leaders of the Negro community.

The project has involved contact with hundreds of high school graduates and dozens of business firms. The full report will be presented to the board of the Kentucky Council at its meeting on October 24.

SC ORGANIZED ADULT COORDINATING COUNCIL

The South Carolina Council was instrumental in organizing a state-wide Adult Coordinating Council of Negro leaders and organizations.

The Adult Coordinating Council, intended to assist in coordinating and expanding adult activities, sponsored a successful leadership training workshop at Penn Community Center in June.

IDEAS AND RECOMMENDATIONS SOLICITED

Any change in organization and personnel, however unfortunate, provides an opportunity for re-examination and the implementation of new ideas.

By the time this Newsletter reaches you, the new Field Director of SRC will have visited all but two state council headquarters in an ef-

fort to learn more about the state councils and to examine ways in which the field of services of SRC can be of more help and benefit to you.

All state staff are urged to pass on to Paul Rilling ideas for new or improved services from SRC, suggestions for changes in the prevailing system of operation, etc.

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 63 Auburn, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

December, 1959

SRC DEFENDED IN MISSISSIPPI

Last month a legislative committee in Mississippi held several days of open hearings on "communist subversion" featuring J. B. Matthews, professional witness, who gained fame some years ago by claiming that "the largest single group supporting the communist apparatus is composed of Protestant clergymen."

In the Mississippi hearings, Matthews charged that Hodding Carter, Greenville editor and SRC Board member, was one of fifty members of "an interlocking directorate" of the Southern Regional Council, the Southern Conference Education Fund, and the former Southern Conference for Human Welfare, all of which he said were communist tainted. Carter answered publicly that "of the organizations named by professional anti-communist J. B. Matthews, the only one to which I have belonged is the Southern Regional Council. I belong to it openly and believe it a worthwhile interracial organization in these unhappy times. In implying that I am in any way linked with the Southern Conference Education Fund, and in stating that the SRC is communist tainted, Matthews is a damned liar."

Striking back hard in his newspaper, the Delta-Democrat Times, Carter exposed Matthews background as a professional witness and noted his repudiation by congressional committees. A prominent group of Greenville citizens issued an open letter to the people of Mississippi affirming their belief in the "good citizenship, honesty and patriotism" of Hodding Carter.

The press and other news media of the South and of the nation generally paid very little attention to Matthews' testimony or to the legislative investigation. Matthews' charges have not been considered newsworthy for some time.

FUND-RAISING IS MAJOR STATE COUNCIL PROBLEM

One problem which all state Councils on Human Relations seem to have in common is fund-raising.

None of the state groups is wealthy, several are just barely solvent. Raising money for education and program in the field of human relations seems to be extremely difficult in all parts of the South.

During recent months, the field director of SRC has learned in Alabama that fund-raising is difficult because of the extreme pressures in that state, and in Kentucky that fund-raising is difficult because there are so few tensions and problems concerning race relations.

The old problem of fund-raising and finances will, as usual, receive considerable attention at the forthcoming state staff meeting. In the meantime, here is a brief check-list of some of the procedures being used by state councils for fund-raising purposes. We can add to this list when we discuss these problems together.

1. Membership dues.

2. Organizational memberships. The Florida Council charges $25 per organization and has a number of organizational members.

3. Foundations. The Arkansas Council is currently receiving some foundation support. North Carolina recently carried out some special efforts with foundation assistance.

4. Churches. The Georgia Council raises some $600 a year from churches and church groups, mostly white groups. In several other states, Negro churches make regular contributions to human relations work. In some cases ministers have been willing to take up annual collections for this purpose.

5. Teachers' groups. In a number of states the Negro teachers' associations make regular pledges of $250 to $1,000 to state council work.

6. Monthly payments. The Alabama Council has some twenty-five or so persons who pay $5 per month toward the work of the Council under the "underwriters program". The Virginia Council has had a pledge card program whereby members or friends pledge to give on a regular quarterly basis.

7. Negro organizations. Some state councils have found it fruitful to contact the executive groups and officers of Negro civic, fraternal, and business groups throughout the state. In several cases such groups have made regular and continuing annual contributions.

8. Large donations. Most of the funds raised by state Councils on Human Relations come through small donations and membership fees. Needless to say, larger donations, particularly if made annually, can be of considerable help in raising a state budget. Sometimes a special effort to raise a certain number of larger gifts will attract donations of $50, $100 or more from persons who might otherwise contribute more modestly. The Georgia Council has a small list of donors who contribute $100 every year. The Tennessee Council is now organizing a $100-a-year club. The Virginia Council has raised a fair amount of money through the years by $100 life memberships. The main trouble with the Virginia plan is that life members tend to feel that they have made their contribution for all time, while the state council continues to meet their New South subscription indefinitely.

9. Appeal to professional groups. In some cases, special appeals to members of Negro professional groups such as doctors, dentists, lawyers, etc. have proven of value. These are particularly effective if the appeals can be signed by members of the professional groups who hold offices or board membership in the state council.

10. Swapping of membership lists. The trading of membership lists for solicitation purposes has become a frequent practice as you know if you take many magazines or belong to many organizations. The Virginia Council has recently exchanged its membership lists with one of the national magazines in return for their list of Virginia subscribers. The list will be kept confidential by the magazine. Subscribers to the periodical will receive invitations to join or contribute to the Virginia Council. Current members of the Virginia Council will, of course, receive an invitation to subscribe to the magazine. The plan is too new to measure results as yet.

CONSULTANT SERVICES AVAILABLE

All state councils are reminded that the assistance of the Consultant Service Program of SRC are still available.

This program is made possible through a special foundation grant. Enough funds remain to insure the operation of the program at least through 1960.

It should be emphasized that a wide range of consultative help can be provided under this program. It can cover the costs of consultants to participate in special workshops, specialists qualified to advise or assist in such areas as merit employment, school desegregation, etc.

The assistance of the Consultant Service Program can be made available to state councils or local groups, to other organizations, to public officials or community leaders or other individuals or groups who would profit from the use of such consultants.

A reminder, as always, that consultants, not speakers, are supplied through this program.

GCHR HOLDS ANNUAL MEET

The annual meeting of the Georgia Council on Human Relations was held in October in Macon. Addressing the meeting were: the Rev. Lucius Pitts, secretary of the Georgia Teachers & Educational Association; Sylvan Meyer, editor of the Gainesville Times and chairman of the Georgia Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Commission; and Dr. Kyle Haselden, author of the recent book The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective.

In recent weeks the Georgia Council has issued two public statements concerning developments within the state. One was a joint statement by the Georgia Council and the Atlanta Council concerning the Governor's reaction to the announcement that the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. would be returning to Atlanta as an Associate Pastor in his Father's church.

Governor Vandiver had charged that a trail of violence and unrest had followed the Rev. King wherever he went. In an open letter to the Governor, the Georgia and Atlanta Councils charged that the Governor's statement was provocative and defamatory and noted that Dr. King has been a major proponent of negotiation and of non-violence.

December 15, the Georgia Council sent another open letter to the Governor imploring him to provide leadership in the search to avoid school closure under the current segregation laws of Georgia. Copies of the letter went to all members of the General Assembly.

NCCHR SCORES EVASION

In a resolution passed unanimously at the annual meeting of the N.C. Council, December 4, the NCCHR charged that the state Pupil Assignment Law is "an instrument of evasion."

The text of the resolution reads in part: "We must conclude that segregated schools are still the rule in North Carolina for the simple reason that we are not complying with the Supreme Court decision. The instrument of evasion, as we all know, is the Pupil Enrollment Act of 1955, which says that pupils are to be assigned to schools on factors other than race. When all assignments are made, however, it turns out that we have all but completely segregated schools. Thus, we pretend to do one thing but do another. Official policy is that we will not defy the law. But at the same time, we are not complying with the law.

"It is not too late to rescue the reputation of this state for dynamic, law-abiding, progressive leadership. Let us move forward in North Carolina, in keeping with the times and with the best traditions of our state and nation."

In October, Dr. Raymond Wheeler, state president of the N.C. Council, engaged in a running debate with the Charlotte News concerning the lack of good faith compliance with the Supreme Court decision in Charlotte.

In another resolution passed at the annual meeting, the N.C. Council condemned "the systematic exclusion of Negro citizens from membership in the North Carolina National Guard" as "indefensible in law and morals and a needless and unwarranted indignity to the state's Negro citizens."

CHURCH STUDY PLANNED IN FLORIDA

The Gainesville, Florida Council on Human Relations is planning a state-wide study of the role of the church in the segregation issue. The study will be supervised by a sociologist from the faculty of the University of Florida.

The Dade County Council (Miami) has arranged and will conduct a special program for the Miami Beach Recreation Department.

The Florida Council is cooperating with the Anti-Defamation League in the arrangement of a human relations workshop in Orlando. The workshop will be under the general sponsorship of the United Church Women. It will be one of several that will take place around the state during the spring.

The Florida Council is taking the lead in the organization of a state-wide ministerial meeting to consider problems of merit employment.

The meeting is scheduled as a state follow-up to the national conference of religious leaders sponsored by the President's Committee on Government Contracts last spring.

ALABAMA COUNCIL GROWS

There are now ten affiliated local groups related to the Alabama Council on Human Relations. This is an increase of five since September.

In November, the Alabama Council held a program workshop for Board members. The meeting involved a day-long consideration by Board members of the over-all strategy and general program direction of the Alabama Council.

VIRGINIA COUNCIL CHOOSES OFFICERS

Dean Thomas Henderson of Virginia Union University, Richmond, was selected as new state president of the Virginia Council at the annual meeting, December 1.

The VCHR has, this fall, launched new local groups in Norfolk and in Arlington. A formerly independent group in the peninsula area of Hampton and Newport News has now affiliated with the VCHR.

Plans have gone forward to hold several interracial ministerial workshops in various parts of Virginia.

EXCHANGE INFORMATION REQUESTED

Several state directors have indicated that they are not receiving copies of newsletters and brochures being published by various other state council groups. All councils are urged to send copies of such publications to SRC and to all other state councils.

You are also urged to keep Paul Rilling informed of changes in officers and Board members of state councils.

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 63 Auburn, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

October, 1960

NEW CONSULTANT SERVICE PLANS

John Hope, chief consultant of SRC's Consultant Service Program, hopes to provide consultant services in several new directions during 1960-61. Plans are underway to bring one or more consultants into contact with interested members of the various state Advisory Committees to the Federal Civil Rights Commission. Considerable thought has been given to ways in which these committees might be assisted to become more effective than many of them are at present. The Tennessee and North Carolina Advisory Committees have done significant research in the area of merit employment. It is hoped that through the Consultant Service Program, these efforts and other possibilities could be discussed with members of the state committees.

We are also taking a hard look at how the consultant services might be helpful in the sit-in situation. Perhaps SRC now has sufficient data on the sit-in movement to be of increasing service in calling some of the techniques of successful negotiation to the attention of both Negro student leadership and business and community leadership. John Hope had considerable and successful experience with this kind of negotiation in Nashville.

SRC PLANS NEW PUBLICATIONS

Among the projects currently being planned by the Research Department of SRC are two reports which have been particularly requested by several of the state Councils. One of these will be a brief report on biracial committees in Southern communities, how they have been appointed, how they have operated, what success they have found. The other will be a study of private schools, particularly in Virginia, that have been established for the purpose of evading desegregation court orders. Both of these reports will be available in the near future.

HUGHES DEFENSE FUNDS NEEDED

The Alabama Council is still seeking funds to meet legal expenses incurred by the Council during the recent incarceration of Bob Hughes following Bob's refusal to bare the records and membership lists of the Council to a Bessemer Grand Jury.

It now appears that total legal costs will be in the neighborhood of $5,000. Nearly $2,000 has already been raised by the Alabama Council from members and friends in Alabama. There is some hope of additional modest assistance from several national groups, but no large sums are in sight.

Needless to say, the Alabama Council would be appreciative of any help or assistance that other state groups can offer.

Bob will be leaving the Alabama Council as of January 1, 1961. Following a year of training either in Boston or London, he will be going on to Southern Rhodesia to fulfill a long-time plan to work in the mission fields of Africa.

MEANING OF HUGHES CASE

All of us need to consider the recent experiences of Bob Hughes and the Alabama Council in our future planning. The Florida and

Arkansas Councils have had some brushes with legislative committees and hostile state officials. There may be other efforts at harassment in these or other Southern states in the future.

Every state Council on Human Relations would be well advised to make some provision for legal counsel if it has not already done so. SRC and several of the state groups already have volunteer legal advisors. Presumably if action were required, such lawyers would serve the Council for compensation or would be responsible for securing adequate counsel.

State Councils in the Deep South might also reconsider their security provisions for confidential records of the groups. In the past in Alabama, for example, the membership and financial records were kept in the same book. Such a procedure might cause difficulty in case only part of these records was subpoenaed in future legal actions.

LOCAL FUND EFFORTS SUCCESSFUL

Recent quarterly financial reports indicate that the state Councils have this year reached new highs in local fund-raising efforts. The nine state Councils have raised $40,376 during the first three quarters of 1960. This compares with $33,324 raised by these groups during all of 1959.

All but one of the state Councils have been able to meet the conditions necessary to claim the special matching grant that was made available last spring.

ANNUAL AUDIT REQUIRED

State groups are reminded that any Council which has not already provided SRC with an annual audit since January 1, 1960, will be expected to provide such an audit covering the fiscal year of 1960. State Councils need not conform to any particular fiscal year, but the calendar year is suggested where this would not be inconvenient.

Judging from practices of past years, several of the Councils have already had their books audited during 1960 and have not yet provided SRC with a copy of the audit. Such reports would be appreciated as soon as possible.

An annual audit will be one of the requirements for SRC assistance from now on.

ALAN PATON SPEAKS IN ATLANTA

Mr. Alan Paton of South Africa, author of Cry, the Beloved Country, Too Late the Phalarope, and other works, spoke in Atlanta October 13 under the sponsorship of the Georgia and Greater Atlanta Councils on Human Relations.

The meeting was attended by some 350 persons despite the conflict with the third Kennedy-Nixon debate.

Mr. Paton discussed racial tensions in South Africa and the problems of the newly emerging African states.

MISS YOUNG RETIRES IN TENNESSEE

Miss Louise Young retired as director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations as of October. Miss Young has served as director of the TCHR for two years and has always stipulated that she could not serve a longer period. Miss Katherine Jones of Nashville has been employed to succeed Miss Young. Miss Jones is a native of Kentucky and for the past several years has been director of the Department of Public Welfare of Davidson County (Nashville).

Miss Young was the first full-time director of the Tennessee Council. During her two years of service, the Council was established on a firm financial footing, opened a state office, and expanded the services of the Council to a number of new communities throughout the state.

COUNCIL ORGANIZES IN RALEIGH

Harry Jones reports that after several successful preliminary meetings, a group of citizens in Raleigh, North Carolina, has decided to organize the Raleigh Council on Human Relations.

The organizing group of over 50 people included a broad cross section of community leadership.

PENN REPORT PUBLISHED

The Penn Community Center has recently issued a report summarizing recommendations of several consultations on human relations programming in the state of South Carolina. It is the hope of the Center that some of the suggested ideas might be applicable in other Deep South areas.

The reports will be sent to all state directors in the near future.

ARKANSAS COUNCIL SPONSORS MINISTERS WORKSHOP

The Arkansas Council recently convened a workshop on human relations concerns for some 35 of the leading white ministers of the Pine Bluff and Little Rock area.

The ministers participated in 30 hours of retreat. Serving as resource were Dr. Kyle Haselden, Dr. Thomas Pettigrew of Harvard, Will Campbell, and the Rev. Kelly Miller Smith, prominent Negro leader of Nashville.

The ministers considered not only some of the philosophical and theological issues involved, but the practical aspects of the minister's role.

INTERRACIAL DRAMA SCHOOL IN VIRGINIA

The Loudoun County Council on Community Relations conducted an interracial dramatic school for children during the summer. Forty-eight children attended, evenly divided between Negro and white.

Loudoun is a rural county in northern Virginia with a conservative racial and political tradition.

BIRACIAL HOUSING COMMITTEE APPOINTED IN NORTHERN VIRGINIA

The Fairfax County, Virginia, Council on Human Relations reports that a biracial Minimum Housing Standards Committee has been appointed by the Board of Supervisors of the county. This is the first officially sponsored biracial committee to be set up in the northern Virginia area.

The committee was appointed partly in response to efforts of the Fairfax County Council and the chairman of the Council's Housing Committee has been appointed chairman of the official committee.

TCHR ACTIVE IN CHATTANOOGA

The Tennessee Council made its good offices available during the lunch counter negotiations in Chattanooga, Tennessee. Louise Young was able to arrange a conversation between the presidents of the Nashville Retail Merchants and the Chattanooga merchants' group so that Chattanooga could profit from the experience of the business community in Nashville.

The Council also arranged a direct meeting between the merchants' committee and a group of white and Negro Chattanooga citizens working for lunch counter desegregation.

Lunch counters in seven stores were desegregated in Chattanooga in August.

TEACHERS WORKSHOP HELD IN KENTUCKY

In August, the Kentucky Council on Human Relations cooperated with the University of Louisville in the sponsorship of a week-long workshop on intergroup relations in Louisville.

The workshop was planned for guidance counselors and teachers of core subjects in junior high school and high school. Most of the participants came from schools which have been desegregated. The Jefferson County Board of Education, the Louisville Board of Education, and the Lincoln Institute all sent teaching and administrative personnel to the workshop. Scholarships for the participants were provided by the Kentucky Council.

Dr. Frank H. Stallings of the Department of Education of the University of Louisville acted as chairman of the meeting. A variety of outstanding authorities in and out of Kentucky served as speakers and resource personnel. Keynote speaker at the first session was Dean Whitney M. Young of the School of Social Work of Atlanta University. The Institute included speeches, panels, and discussion group projects. It was agreed that participants of the workshop would meet several times during the 1960-61 school year to share experiences and to develop and refine techniques for dealing more effectively with the problems involved. Plans were made for reporting findings of the workshop study groups to school administrators, P-TA officers, other school counselors, church and civic groups, employers and labor unions.

KENTUCKY COUNCIL ELECTS NEW CHAIRMAN

At the annual meeting of the Kentucky Council in October, The Rev. A. D. Pinckney was named chairman, succeeding Dr. Rufus Atwood. Mr. Pinckney is minister of the Plymouth Congregational Church in Louisville, Kentucky.

STATE COUNCIL HELP NEEDED

SRC reminds all state Councils that much of the data employed in SRC press releases and reports is based on information supplied by state Councils.

This information is much appreciated by staff of SRC but often the information comes to SRC late and only after a request from SRC following press publicity.

We are well aware of the heavy demands on the time of all state staff, but may we again emphasize the importance of prompt and detailed reporting of all important incidents and developments in the field of human relations within your state.

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 63 Auburn, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

January, 1961

STATE STAFF MEETING PLANNED

The annual meeting of professional staff from associated state Councils on Human Relations will be held in the conference room of the Southern Regional Council Thursday and Friday, February 23 & 24. All Council directors have indicated their intention to attend, possibly including the directors-designate for the Alabama and Georgia Councils. The meeting will begin at 10:30a.m.on Thursday, and will end by 3:30 p.m. on Friday. We will make hotel arrangements for you Thursday night unless you indicate otherwise.

In advance of the meeting, by February 10 if possible, we would appreciate receiving the following information from each state director:

1) The current membership of your organization; the number of local groups, if any, affiliated or associated with the state Council.
2) A paragraph each describing the greatest program success of your Council during 1960 and the greatest problem facing the Council.
3) A list of names and addresses consisting of officers, board members and the chairmen of local groups. If you are sure we have these current names, you need not send them again.

We would very much appreciate your suggestions or ideas concerning the agenda for the state staff meeting. We have tentatively scheduled the following things:

1) Brief reports from each state and joint discussion of problems indicated.
2) A discussion, led by Harold Fleming, of future directions and strategy for state Councils.
3) A discussion of liaison and relationships between SRC and state Councils.
4) A discussion of finance and fund-raising.
5) Consideration, led by Paul Anthony, of problems of office administration.
6) Discussion, with John Constable, of New South as a program tool for state and local interracial groups.

We will eat lunch in the conference room both days of the meeting. SRC staff members will be joining us for lunch and will be available for individual conferences throughout these two days.

VCHR SUMMARIZES VIRGINIA SITUATION

Dan Bowers, in connection with the annual meeting of the VCHR, this year presented a written analysis of the state of humam relations in Virginia, 1960. This analysis received considerable attention and was particularly helpful to SRC.

The Florida Council on Human Relations is currently engaged in preparing a similar state-wide survey of conditions in Florida today.

BOB HUGHES LEAVES ALABAMA

Bob Hughes, who has served the Alabama Council on Human Relations ably since its organization in 1954, is now in Boston studying for missionary work in Southern Rhodesia at the School of Theology of Boston University. Bob is anxious to keep close to developments in the South and would appreciate hearing from any of you. Until Bob and Dottie have a home address, correspondence can be addressed to the School of Theology.

Before the Hughes' left for Boston on January 14, they were honored at a surprise reception by the Greater Birmingham Council on Human Relations.

The Alabama Council was able to raise most of the needed funds to meet legal expenses in connection with Bob's recent brush with the Jefferson County Grand Jury. Members of the Florida Council contributed some $300 to Alabama. State Councils in Arkansas, South Carolina and probably other states urged Council membership to contribute to the Hughes cause.

An announcement of a new director of the Alabama Council is expected at the state board meeting of the A.C.H.R. on February 4.

ARKANSAS ENCOURAGES VOTER REGISTRATION

In an effort to encourage increased Negro registration in advance of the recent important elections in Arkansas, the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, in cooperation with the Urban League, conducted a competition among Negro churches in Little Rock to see which group could show the greatest increase in voter registration.

The Council made an award to the winning church, the Pilgrim Valley Baptist Church. More than 80% of the members of this congregation have registered and paid their poll taxes, an increase of 60% over last year.

DESEGREGATION PROCEEDS IN BURNSVILLE, N. C.

One of the partial success stories of 1960 was the successful desegregation of the high school in the mountain community of Burnsville, N. C. For a year Negro children of Burnsville had remained out of public schools in protest against the efforts of the school board to bus them some 30 miles away to Asheville.

Winning a favorable court decision applying to the high school, two Negro students were admitted last fall. Both students participated in the athletic program and other extracurricula activities. One boy became a star of the football team.

The Burnsville Educational Project, which was established to provide some sort of schooling for the Negro students last year, needs some $3,000 to meet back commitments for tutoring of the high school and elementary school students. It is always difficult to raise money for a project which has already made its contribution but these obligations must be met. Anyone wishing to contribute to the Burnsville effort can send contributions to Mrs. Lola B. McCracken, Treasurer, Burnsville Educational Project, 13½ Eagle Street, Asheville, North Carolina.

SUPPORT URGED FOR ENCAMPMENT

All state offices will be shortly receiving promotional material for the annual Encampment for Citizenship which will be held this year in New York, California, and Puerto Rico.

This program has demonstrated its ability to provide a significant educational and recreational interracial experience for young people aged 18-23. The Encampment for Citizenship depends primarily on SRC and its associated state groups for recruitment of Southern students for the program. We hope to again this year provide a number of capable young people who can benefit from this experience as well as giving young people from other parts of the country some contact with Southern youth.

RICHMOND SURVEYS CULTURAL FACILITIES

A committee of the Richmond, Virginia Council on Human Relations is engaged in a survey of all recreational and cultural opportunities

within the city. The committee is meeting as a study and action group. After determination of what cultural facilities exist and on what basis they are available, the facts will be widely disseminated in the city, particularly throughout the Negro community. The Council hopes to encourage Negro citizens to take full advantage of opportunities existing and to then consider ways of opening additional opportunities for all citizens.

NASHVILLE MOVES TO DESEGREGATE BROWNIE TROOPS

The Nashville Conference on Community Relations has been working to eliminate racial barriers for participation in the Brownie troops of the Girl Scout movement. A new policy has been adopted which maintains the present set-up but provides that lower grade children, as they reach the age for membership, will not be barred because of race.

VCHR HOLDS PROGRAM WORKSHOP

The Virginia Council on Human Relations held its annual program workshop in Richmond in November. Chairmen and program directors of local groups throughout the state came together to consider ways and means of strengthening local program and organizational activities. Providing resource help for the group were Paul Rilling and Dr. Harry Roberts, Virginia State College.

SOUTH CAROLINA HOLDS STUDENT MEET

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations has employed a new part-time staff member in Mrs. Theodore Ledeen of Columbia. Mrs. Ledeen has a long record of experience working with student religious groups in and around the campus of the University of South Carolina. In addition to her work with young people, Mrs. Ledeen is also helping Alice Spearman with ministerial and women's groups.

The SCCHR is holding a state-wide interracial conference of college youth in Columbia Sunday, February 5. Paul Rilling of SRC will participate.

FLORIDA RECEIVES TAX-EXEMPT STATUS

The end of the year brought the good news that the FCHR has received federal tax-exempt status. This means that all of the associated state groups are now free to receive tax-exempt individual and foundation donations.

SRC ASSISTS HOUSTON COUNCIL

At the request of the Texas Commission on Human Relations, the Southern Regional Council has been working directly with the Houston Council on Human Relations, a local group, which has employed staff and is moving ahead with an increasingly broad program of community relations.

SRC agreed to assist the Houston Council financially during 1961 providing the local group raised at least $3,000 by January 1, 1961. These conditions have been met and the Houston Council is now an associated local group.

Mrs. E. Pliny Shaw is president of the Houston Council on Human Relations. Mrs. George Dumbald is acting as director and office manager.

NCCHR SELECTS NEW PRESIDENT

The Rev. Henry G. Ruark of Laurinburg, N.C. was elected new chairman of the North Carolina Council at the recent meeting of the group.

SCCHR SPONSORS COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP

85 persons participated in a workshop held recently at Benedict College in Columbia. The meeting was sponsored jointly by the SCCHR and the South Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs.

Community leaders and representatives of governmental and voluntary agencies reported programs and resources available to the public. Specific community projects and programs such as self-surveys, family life institutes, day nurseries etc. were discussed.

NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE ORGANIZED IN PINE BLUFF

Nat Griswold of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations has been instrumental in the organization of an informal ad hoc committee to consider the settlement of the sit-in conflict in Pine Bluff. The sit-in protest and boycott continue and official machinery for settlement has broken down. Nat is serving as consultant to the group which includes top leadership, white and Negro.

NCCHR CONTINUES INFORMATION - EDUCATION MAIL PROGRAM

The N.C. Council on Human Relations continues its project of sending monthly mailings of material to civic, religious, and business leaders throughout the state. The VIP mailing list now totals 2,000 names. During the last three months the mailings have included a reprint from the Outlook of "Methodism's Present Task, A Southern View" by Bishop William T. Watkins, and two human relations bulletins developed by the staff of the NCCHR.

STAFF DESEGREGATION AT VETERANS HOSPITAL IN SOUTH CAROLINA

For some time the South Carolina Council on Human Relations has been assisting a Negro nurse who initially applied for work at the Veterans Hospital in Columbia and later brought this matter to the attention of the S. C. advisory committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission. A hearing was scheduled for last September. Just prior to the hearing, the hospital employed its first Negro nurse.

NCCHR PROTESTS TO NORTH CAROLINA'S ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Last September Dr. Raymond Wheeler, chairman of the NCCHR, appeared before the N. C. advisory committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission to protest the unfairness and discrimination involved in the application of the North Carilina Pupil Enrollment Act of 1955, part of the Piersall Plan. The statement of the NCCHR reads in part as follows:

> "The annual mass assignment in North Carolina of students to segregated schools makes mockery of our claim that race has not been the important factor in these decisions. The unfortunate situations in Dunn and in Yancey County dramatize before the nation and the world the hypocrisy and injustice with which the Pupil Enrollment Act has been administered. Only the child and her parents can possibly know the anguish and the psychological trauma inflicted upon a nine year old white child in Dunn the day she was prevented from enrolling in school because her skin was a shade too dark.
>
> "Your committee, Mr. Chairman, must also consider that the administrative procedure involved in reassignment places a heavy burden on Negro pupils and parents. A Negro child, in order to escape from the humiliation of being segregated, must submit to public interrogation by the school board, and once reassigned, must face the hostility of a white school, often alone and without a single Negro friend or classmate to whom he can turn for moral support. The spectacle of a Negro child being asked such a question as "Why do you want to go to a

white school?" or "Aren't you happy among your own people," must lie painfully on our conscience for many years to come. Add to all this the exhausting amount of time and money that the Negro parents must spend in order to run the gamut of administrative procedure necessary in order for their children to enjoy the rights to which they are legally entitled.

"The North Carolina Council on Human Relations is deeply concerned about the implications of this situation as it affects the attitudes and values held by the people of our state. It is a fundamental responsibility of our educational system to teach democracy and fair play, respect for law and regard for the rights of one's fellow citizens. If these concepts are to have meaning they must be respected and practiced before the eyes of those we would have learn them. If our practices are devious and misrepresentative of our true intent, the lesson will not be lost upon our youthful citizens."

This newsletter is being sent to directors and presidents of the cooperating state groups. The material contained herein is intended solely for the interest and information of these persons.

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

March 1961

QUARTERLY REPORTS NOW DUE

State directors are reminded that quarterly reports are due between March 1 and April 1. The 1961 first quarter payments will begin going in the mail as of April 1. You are reminded that at the recent state staff meeting, we agreed that it would not be necessary to use any set form for the quarterly financial report, but that the report should follow the pattern of your annual audit. This should simplify the reporting process since your books should be set up on this basis with receipts and disbursements entered on a monthly basis.

FRINGE BENEFITS

Several of the directors and presidents of state councils have asked us from time to time about the fringe benefits enjoyed by members of the SRC staff. SRC provides a Blue Cross - Blue Shield Health policy, travel and accident insurance, and retirement insurance. In each case, the employee pays half with the Council paying half. We will be happy to provide more details of our arrangements to any state official interested in working out such benefits for state staff.

In answer to other questions raised recently, SRC pays 8¢ a mile for use of private cars. Our vacation policy provides leave at the rate of 1½ days for each month of service, or a total of 18 working days off with pay per year.

MEMBERSHIP TOTALS UP

State councils cooperating with SRC now report a membership total of 6,000. This represents an increase from 4,800 as of a year ago.

AIR TRAVEL CARDS AVAILABLE

State directors are reminded that it is now possible to secure an air travel card through SRC. Our deposit covers all such cards, although you would be billed separately. Several directors have already received their cards. Others may obtain them upon request.

INFORMATION NEEDED

All state directors are asked to furnish this office with their home telephone numbers. We promise not to use them except in cases of emergency.

We would appreciate an up-to-date list of chairman of local groups in Florida whenever possible. In sending information concerning local groups, we would appreciate knowing the names of chairmen of local interracial groups in your state, even when these are not officially connected with your state councils. We sometimes need information about specific communities in a hurry and these provide valuable channels.

SUPPORT FUNDS STILL IN DOUBT

State councils are warned that we have not yet been able to secure all public funds needed for budgeted assistance during 1961. You will remember that, when you were notified of your allocation this year, it was mentioned that if the funds did not become available there would be no fourth quarter assistance. We still have every hope of securing the needed funds and at any rate should know one way or another fairly soon.

SRC PERSONNEL IN WASHINGTON CONSULTATION

Harold Fleming, Les Dunbar, John Wheeler and John Hope of SRC participated recently in a consultation with Attorney General Robert Kennedy on the role of the executive branch of the government in the area of civil rights. The group also had a brief meeting with Vice President Lyndon Johnson.

SOUTHERN TRENDS

The juxtaposition of two encouraging developments provides some basis for cautious optimism about the immediate future.

One such development is the indication of an increasingly more vigorous role by the federal government in the civil rights area. This is indicated by the President's announcement of a new and stronger agency, the President's Committee on Employment Opportunities, which will take on the functions previously assigned to the President's committees on government contracts and federal employment. The new group will be housed in the Department of Labor and is scheduled to become operative on April 4.

New ground was also broken by the Department of Justice recently when it was permitted by Federal Judge Skelly Wright to become amicus curiae in the desegregation suits involving St. Helena Parish and East Baton Rouge Parish in Louisiana. This is the first time in the school desegregation situation that the federal government has thus become involved prior to the actual implementation of desegregation.

The other encouraging development is the spreading feeling of inevitability and grudging acceptance of change in many parts of the South. A recent Gallop poll reported that nearly 3/4 of Southerners now believe desegregation to be inevitable, a figure marking a steady and dramatic increase over the years since 1954. The same poll, however, indicated no increase in the number of Southerners favoring desegregation since 1954. The recent change of Georgia's legal position of resistance is an important indication of this changing atmosphere. Even Editor James Kilpatrick of the Richmond News Leader, the prophet of interposition, has written recently in the National Review that Southern attitudes are changing. His article entitled "The South Sees With New Glasses" includes this paragraph:

> "... Aspects of segregation that once were his nonconcern now trouble his spirit uncomfortably: Sit-ins. Segregated libraries. Certain job discrimination. Genuinely unequal schools in some areas. The Negro as citizen, as a political being possessed of equal rights, never had existed in the white Southerner's past as he begins to exist now. The familiar black faces, seen through new glasses, are startingly unfamiliar. A sense of the Negro point of view, totally unrecognized before, stirs uneasily in the conscious mind; and we resent the intruding sensation, and do not know exactly what to do about it."

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

May 1961

LABOR LIAISON REQUESTED

The civil rights office of the AFL-CIO has suggested that we maintain closer liaison with labor leadership in any parts of the South. In response to this suggestion, the field director of SRC plans to make personal contact with each state office of the AFL-CIO during the next 12 months. We would appreciate knowing the name of the state president of the AFL-CIO in each of your states and your evaluation of him. Are you in continuing contact with the organization? Do you have one or more labor representatives on your state board?

PRESIDENT SELECTS SRC MEMBERS

Another hopeful sign of the approach of the new Kennedy administration to the civil rights field was reflected in the appointment of several members of the board of the Southern Regional Council to significant committees.

John Wheeler of Durham, N.C., chairman of the executive committee of SRC and treasurer of the North Carolina Council, was appointed to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities. Dr. Al Dent, president of Dillard University, and Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University, both SRC board members, were appointed to the advisory committee of the Peace Corps.

The only Southerners appointed to the seven man Federal Hospital Council were SRC board members Dr. Dent and Bishop Joseph Brunini of Jackson, Miss. This committee must approve all future Hill-Burton contracts.

MONEY NOW ASSURED

In the last issue of the Newsletter, it was pointed out that some of the funds needed to meet the money budgeted for aid to state groups this year was not yet secured. Since that time, the needed funds have been found and all state groups will get the quarterly funds budgeted as well as the matching funds for which they may qualify as of June 1.

STAFF CHANGES IN VIRGINIA

Dan Bowers, who has served as director of the Virginia Council for the past two years, has announced his resignation as of June 15. Dan will be returning to the pastorate, having accepted a call to a pulpit in the Congregational Christian denomination. Dan's successor has not been announced.

FISK INSTITUTE SET

Dr. Herman Long, director of the Race Relations Institute at Fisk, has announced that this summer's institute will be held on the campus from June 19 - July 1. This year, as in past years,

state directors and state board members will be allowed to attend the Institute at half of the regular fee for tuition, room, and board. For those who can attend only one week of the Institute, Dr. Long suggests that the second week, from June 26 - July 1, would be the most significant period from the standpoint of state council representatives.

Paul Rilling plans to attend during the second week, and it is our hope that as many of the state directors as can do so will try to be on hand at least during that week. It is suggested that state groups attempt to take advantage of the scholarship discount to encourage one or more board members from each group to attend the entire Institute.

It is particularly hoped that new state directors who have not attended past Institutes will make a special effort to try to strengthen their program skills by involvement in this nationally known annual seminar.

INTERRACIAL MINISTRY PROJECT PLANNED

This summer as last summer, the Student Interracial Ministry Project, related to the National Student Christian Federation, will attempt to place a number of ministerial students in Southern churches as assistants. A special effort will be made to place white students in Southern Negro parishes.

The local churches will not be expected to provide any of the maintenance or other costs in connection with the student assistants. Any of you knowing of Negro ministers who would be interested in cooperating with the project should write or advise them to write to: Mr. John Collins, Student Interracial Ministry Commission, % National Student Christian Federation, 475 Riverside Drive, N.Y. 27.

ATLANTA PREPARES FOR SEPTEMBER

A sizeable group of civic, social, and religious organizations in Atlanta are working cooperatively to prepare the climate of the community for calm acceptance of change in the school situation as of next September. The Atlanta School Board is carrying out terms of a court order directing the desegregation of the city's 12th and 11th grades according to a pupil placement plan. Functioning in four task force groups: religious organizations, civic and service groups, youth serving agencies, and speakers bureau, these organizations from the white and Negro community are planning to carry forward an educational program which will make use of the mass media and will provide material for examination and study of the problem in hundreds of club and church groups throughout the city.

Superintendent Letson of the city schools has publicly announced that the school board and superintendent have a responsibility to prepare the community. Along this line, he has urged the principals of all high schools to encourage a program of discussion and study among the students and teachers. Several of the high schools which may become involved have appointed special faculty committees to plan for the change. The Superintendent himself is appearing at every high school in the city and has spoken to innumerable civic and religious groups. In mid-May the Superintendent plans to appear with other civic leaders on a closed circuit television program over the city's educational TV station to adult meetings at each of the city schools.

NEW SOUTH ARTICLES REQUESTED

You are reminded that New South hopes in the future to carry an increasing number of articles reporting on the activities and achievements of state and local interracial groups. Several such articles are currently in preparation. We hope you will let us know of particularly successful program activities that could be used for New South coverage.

NASHVILLE CONFERENCE HOLDS COMMUNITY WORKSHOP

The Nashville Conference on Community Relations held its annual community-wide workshop the evening of Monday, April 25. Some 400 persons attended the session, held at one of the main white churches.

The program dealt with a review of the state of human relations in Nashville and outlook for the future. Participating in the program were a professor of Political Science from Vanderbilt University and several prominent Nashville attorneys. The event received considerable attention from the newspapers and television media.

YOUTH PROTEST ATHLETIC DISCRIMINATION

The Youth Council of the Fairfax County Council on Human Relations in northern Virginia, circulated a petition protesting the denial of athletic privileges to Negro youth in the desegregated high schools of the county. The petition collected many signatures and won considerable attention. The ban against Negro participation was lifted as a result of this action.

MERIT EMPLOYMENT OUTLOOK PROMISING

Many of our colleagues in the human relations field are suggesting that merit employment is the most promising area of concentration for the next few months. The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities has been set up with considerably more teeth and enforcement powers than were either of its predecessors in the Eisenhower administration. Named as chief enforcement officer is John Feild, formerly administrative assistant to Senator Phillip Hart of Michigan and a former president of NAIRO.

Several of the state advisory committees to the Civil Rights Commission have completed surveys on employment practices of public agencies and of government contract agencies. The report of the Tennessee Advisory Committee was made public. SRC is considering sereral studies or pamphlets in the employment field.

This would seem to be a most propitious time for state and local councils to pull together existing material on employment practices, to stimulate or initiate surveys where needed, to begin to contact those responsible for employment practices of field offices of federal agencies and of government contract businesses.

Although reports of actual incidences of discrimination are still of the greatest value, interested persons or groups may report a pattern of discrimination and request investigation by a federal committee. Such a survey can now be done at the initiative of the committee itself. The recent publicity concerning the committee review of practices of the Lockheed Plant in Marietta, Ga. indicatesthe greater freedom of the new committee. We hope in the near future to send on some more specific suggestions of how we can be of increased service in the employment field.

SHOULD NEWSLETTER BE EXPANDED?

The idea has come to us from two different state councils that we should consider sending this newsletter to state board members and officers of local groups or that a separate newsletter be developed for this purpose. The theory is that there is little if any contact between us and the lay leadership of state councils and of local councils. It was suggested that these persons have a right to more information about the activities of SRC. We hesitate to proliferate paper work unless really necessary. What do you think?

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

July, 1961

JOB OPPORTUNITIES SURVEY PLANNED

SRC is cooperating with local groups in four cities on job opportunity surveys in those communities. Covering conditions in Atlanta, Chattanooga, Miami, and Houston, the report is expected to be ready by fall. Local committees will carry out the survey in each of the communities, and the results will be published by SRC along with some general evaluation of the South-wide situation. C. H. Parrish and SRC's new Director of Research, James Moss, will be working with local chairmen in coordinating the project.

HOPE JOINS NEW FRONTIER

For those who may not have heard, John Hope II, Chief Consultant of SRC, has been appointed Assistant Executive Director for Federal Employment with the new President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. John will head one of the two major divisions of the Committee, the one dealing with merit employment within the federal government.

THREE STATES CLAIM MATCHING FUNDS

Councils on Human Relations in Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia have already claimed their matching funds for the current year. Other states have until September 1 to meet matching quotas.

STATE COUNCIL STAFF MEET AT FISK

Present for at least the second week of the Fisk Institute this summer were Paul Rilling of SRC, Katherine Jones of the Tennessee Council, Harry Jones of the North Carolina Council, Alice Spearman of the South Carolina Council, Frances Pauley of the Georgia Council, Heslip Lee, who will become Director of the Virginia Council as of August 1, Norman Jimerson, who will take over the duties of Director of the Alabama Council on August 1.

The group held a program planning session at the offices of the Tennessee Council on Tuesday, June 27.

FCHR SPONSORS WORKSHOPS

The Florida Council joined with several colleges and local community groups in the sponsorship of human relations workshops this spring in Daytona Beach and in Tampa. In Tampa, 700 persons attended and out of the program came local initiative toward the organization of a local Council on Human Relations. Additional workshops are planned for the fall.

The Florida Council convened a consultation involving the mayors and chiefs of police of four municipalities in the Cocoa area, the county sheriff, and some civic leadership both white and Negro, to discuss a rumored wade-in at Cocoa and other matters in the area of human relations.

DESEGREGATION JUDGED SUCCESSFUL IN HOUSTON

Mothers of a number of the Negro children involved in the first year of desegregation in Houston met with the Houston Council on Human Relations recently and indicated general satisfaction with

the Houston desegregation as it had affected them.

Several of the mothers reported participation in PTA activities and one was selected an officer of a PTA group. One of the first grade Negro girls was elected most popular child in her class. The one complaint expressed was over the segregated rest room situation in the schools.

THEATRES DESEGREGATE IN NASHVILLE

Although there has been no public announcement, the downtown movie houses in Nashville are now open to all patrons.

Members of the Tennessee Council and of the Nashville Community Relations Conference were invited by the Nashville NAACP to participate in a conference with Vice President Johnson during his visit to Tennessee recently. There has been some increase of employment of Negroes in federal positions in the area since this meeting.

NEW LOCAL GROUP AFFILIATES IN VIRGINIA

In May the Roanoke local interracial group voted to affiliate with the Virginia Council on Human Relations. This brings to 12 the number of community groups within the VCHR.

The VCHR has been financing a recreational center in Prince Edward County. A number of persons from Richmond, up to 60, have been going to Prince Edward County on Saturdays to help with this recreational program. The program is under the direction of a Richmond social worker.

GCHR HOLDS BOARD WORKSHOP

In May, the Georgia Council on Human Relations sponsored a program workshop for members of the state board and board members of local councils. Forty-eight persons attended, representing all of the local groups. John Hope and Kenneth Morland, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Virginia, served as resource leadership.

A new Council on Human Relations has been organized in Savannah, Georgia. The group already has 40 members and several projects underway.

REACTION ON SRC FREEDOM RIDE REPORT

SRC's recent report on the Freedom Rides was one of the most widely noted reports that the Council has produced. Perhaps because of its timing as well as the importance of the subject, the report drew editorial comment and reaction from across the nation and from many Southern papers.

What will be the long-range impact of the Freedom Ride activity? We don't know, but the following statements reflect the evaluations of some of you and of others working in the human relations field.

1. The attention of the nation has been focused on the lack of compliance in some places with federal law involving interstate travel. The federal government has been actively involved in the defense of the rights of interstate travel. New ICC regulations may be forthcoming which will eliminate segregation in bus and train terminals serving interstate commerce.

2. There is some concern that the Freedom Rides have added to the tensions in some Southern communities, notably Birmingham, Montgomery, and Jackson. It is also suggested by some observers that the militance of the Freedom Ride activity has estranged some

moderate and liberal white sentiment which has been friendly to change. Even some of those persons, however, who fear an increase of tensions in certain communities, believe that the Freedom Rides have hastened change even in those communities.

3. The Freedom Rides have increased the involvement in the civil rights struggle of CORE and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. It would seem that the new tactics have further diffused leadership among an increasing number of organizations and of individuals. This is viewed with alarm by some who feel that coordination of those moving in the same direction can break down in open competition and rivalry. Other observers, however, see this trend as an encouraging sign of the growing momentum and success of the civil rights movement.

4. A number of analyses of the Freedom Rides have agreed on one point emphasized in the SRC report, namely that the drive for equality in the South will move into increasingly militant and aggressive channels in those places where it is not successful in the tactics of negotiation and persuasion.

The following questions suggest themselves for the consideration of leaders in interracial activities:

Will the rise of new leadership and of new organizational channels for change mean new strength, added confusion, or both?

Should the interracial organizations re-examine their role, as the cutting edge of the civil rights movement is increasingly expressed through the Negro actionist organizations?

NOTE: HAYWOOD HILL - LESTER MADDOX INTERVIEW

Friendly World Broadcasting (122 North Providence Rd., Wallingford, Pa.) has taped an interview with Lester Maddox and Dr. Haywood Hill - both of Atlanta, and representing the divergent viewpoints of an extreme segregationist and a Christian liberal. Friendly World is promoting as widely as it can use of the tapes by radio stations in the South. There is one 30 minute program, and there are 10 shorter (approximately 5 minute) spots available. Stations in Louisville, Atlanta, Columbus (Ga.), and Scottsboro (Ala.) are among those which have already used them. At SRC we have listened to the tapes; they are first rate productions, and we recommend them. You may want to promote their use by your local stations.

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

September, 1961

NEW STATE DIRECTORS ON JOB

As of this August 1, the Rev. Norman Jimerson and the Rev. Heslip Lee assumed their duties as new directors of the Alabama and Virginia Councils on Human Relations, respectively. Both men have already been traveling widely throughout these states and are well involved in the duties of their new offices. Both have filled several guest preaching assignments since moving to Alabama and Virginia.

NEW SOUTH ARTICLES NEEDED

SRC hopes to include in New South this year a larger number of articles on effective activities of state and local interracial groups. A discussion of the program achievements of the Alexandria, Virginia, Council on Human Relations was carried in a recent issue. We would appreciate knowing of local projects that would be suitable for New South coverage.

SAVANNAH CHR REQUESTS SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

A delegation from the newly organized Savannah, Georgia, Council on Human Relations appeared at a school board meeting in August and requested the desegregation of Savannah schools as of the fall of 1961. The Council petition received wide-spread notice in the press and was referred to a special subcommittee of the school board. Since its organization, the Savannah Council has also played a vital support role in lunch counter desegregation of this Deep South city. The president of the Savannah Council is the Rev. Oliver W. Holmes.

TCHR HOLDS JACKSON WORKSHOP

SRC provided consultative services for a community program workshop under the auspices of the Tennessee Council in Jackson, Tennessee, August 18 and 19. The workshop focused on program possibilities in the Jackson community. Serving as leadership were Paul Rilling of SRC, Katherine Jones of TCHR, and Dr. Eric Lincoln, Professor of Social Philosophy at Clark College in Atlanta and author of the current best-selling The Black Muslims in America. The workshop focused on matters of organization, survey possibilities, community education.

In cooperation with the Tennessee Council, a series of interracial study groups was organized last fall in Jackson in the wake of severe tensions growing out of lunch counter demonstrations. Those involved in the study groups have now organized the new Council on Human Relations, which will not be formally affiliated with the Tennessee Council. The group is currently involved in efforts to solve the impasse over lunch counters and to obtain the employment of Negroes in non-traditional jobs in downtown industry. Chairman of the Jackson Council is Mr. Henry Forgy, Jr., a local businessman.

HOUSTON SETS FORUMS

The Houston, Texas, Council is planning a series of forums on key community issues this fall. The forums will be scheduled on successive Saturdays and will focus on such problems as schools, employment opportunities, juvenile delinquency, et cetera. Prominent authorities from around the nation are being brought to Houston for these programs.

MATCHING FUNDS CLAIMED

State Councils in Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, and Arkansas have claimed their full matching fund quotas for 1961. Final reports are not yet in from Florida, Tennessee, and Alabama. SRC staff is currently engaged in developing recommendations concerning state aid for 1962 for presentation to SRC's Executive Committee in late September. Let us know of any factors that may change your financial needs or situation as of next year.

FRIENDLY BROADCASTING AIRS ATLANTA TAPE

The Friendly World Broadcasting Company is currently circulating a radio tape on desegregation preparation in Atlanta called "A City Changes Its Mind." This tape is being offered to stations throughout the South. You are encouraged to promote use of the tape by local stations in the various states. Further information or copies of the tape could be obtained from Friendly World Broadcasting, 122 North Providence Road, Wallingford, Pa..

ATLANTA COUNCIL ACTIVE IN SCHOOL SITUATION

In preparation for the recent smooth public school desegregation in Atlanta, the Atlanta Council on Human Relations, in cooperation with Quaker House, arranged several meetings of the new Negro students with white students from the high schools involved. Parents of the children were also brought together on a similar basis. During the desegregation crisis a white family from the Atlanta Council acted as liaison and support in relation to each of the Negro families involved. This procedure was set up to demonstrate community interest in the specific families and to insure full information concerning any harrassment or difficulty that might arise.

SCCHR ORGANIZES STUDENT COUNCIL

A South Carolina Student Council on Human Relations has been organized under the encouragement of the SCCHR. The group was formally organized at an intercollegiate conference of representatives from seven colleges and universities. Over 100 students participated in the activities of the student program of the SCCHR during 1960-61. This program provided the only channel for interracial contacts at the college level in the state.

PROCEDURAL....

The boards of directors or executive committees of state councils are responsible for determining the program direction of the councils and for evaluating and supervising council staff. In some cases lay leadership tends to leave full initiative and responsibility to staff. Officers and board members should be encouraged to accept and fulfill their vital policy responsibilities.

At every meeting of the executive committee of SRC there is an executive session at which time the committee considers and evaluates program and staff performance in the absence of staff. Some of the state councils follow this procedure. Some do not. We would urge state presidents and directors to consider some such procedure so that staff may have the maximum benefit of the guidance and evaluation of officers and board members.

CIRCULATION OF NEWSLETTER

The question was raised some time ago concerning the circulation of the SRC newsletter to chairmen of local councils. It currently goes only to state directors and presidents. There was divergence of views concerning the broadening of such circulation. Let us handle it this way: any state director wishing the newsletter circulated to local chairmen or officers, send in the addresses and we will add them to the mailing list. All of us seem to agree, however, that this should be a fairly limited organ of communication, not one for mass distribution. Some of the items contained from time to time are of a fairly confidential nature.

NEXT SCHOOL DESEGREGATION MOVES CALMLY

A score of communities across the South have proceeded or are scheduled to proceed with school desegregation this fall. Included are Atlanta, Georgia; Dallas and Galveston, Texas; Daytona Beach and Ft. Lauderdale, Florida; Goldsboro and Asheville, North Carolina; Kingsport and Johnson City, Tennessee; and 8 Virginia communities. School desegregation in 1961 has so far been calm and peaceful, has scored more advances than a year ago, and has moved further South than ever before.

Perhaps the most encouraging aspect of 1961 desegregation has been the careful community preparation that was carried forward in Atlanta and Dallas. Since the halcyon days of Louisville and Baltimore, public officials and school authorities have, for the most part, refused to assume any responsibility for a mobilization of community resources to avoid disturbances. Atlanta and Dallas saw the return of leadership responsibility and the most thorough efforts at community preparation since the border states in 1954-55.

In Atlanta, which desegregated schools on August 30, albeit in token fashion, the mayor, the school superintendent, the police chief, and the mass media all cooperated in an appeal to all citizens to accept the change with calmness and dignity. Over 50 civic and community organizations with membership of both races cooperated through OASIS (Organizations Assisting Schools in September) in carrying the message of responsible citizenship to their membership and to the general community. Over 100 neighborhood discussion groups were held in private homes. Hundreds of churches and synagogues cooperated in a special week-end of prayer. There were special programs on at least two television stations. Police adopted firm measures which kept the public away from the four desegregated schools, provided escorts for the Negro students, kept the schools under around-the-clock surveillance. The Atlanta change was accomplished with full exposure of all the relevant facts, with maximum publicity.

In Dallas, on the other hand, the transition was de-emphasized, receiving minimum notice in the press, and with no information until the day of desegregation, September 6, as to how many Negroes would be involved. The preparation effort was led by the business and professional leadership of the community, white and Negro. All of the resources of advertising and public relations were employed to help create a maximum climate of calm.

Even in New Orleans, which experienced severe tensions a year ago, some efforts at preparation were carried forward this year. Shortly before school opening, several hundred prominent businessmen, organized as the Committee for Louisiana, publicly urged calmness and dignity. Security measures considerably stronger than those employed last year have been adopted by the mayor and police chief. Labor and church groups have made their voices heard and two citizenship organizations, Save Our Schools, Inc., and Citizens for Public Schools, are striving for peaceful acceptance of the inevitable. In New Orleans, however, as distinguished from Atlanta and Dallas, last-ditch resistance groups are continuing their efforts to keep children out of school and to sabotage a calm transition. Classes began in New Orleans on September 7, and, as of this writing, no disorder has been reported. Six schools are now desegregated - four of them for the first time this fall.

1961 may well be the year when leadership responsibility reasserts itself and advance preparation proves its value to business leadership through the avoidance of violence and disruption.

INFORMATION NEEDED

It is important that SRC have up-to-date lists of the names and addresses of officers and board members of all state councils and of officers of local interracial groups. In some cases our lists are over a year old. If there have been leadership changes within your councils, please send us the latest information.

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

January, 1962

STATE STAFF MEETING NEXT MONTH

All state Council directors will be on hand for our meeting Thursday and Friday, February 15 and 16, in Atlanta. The Rev. Oliver Wendall Holmes, new Associate Director of the Georgia Council, will also be with us at this time. The meetings will be held in SRC's conference room, beginning at 10:30 A.M. and ending by 3:30 P.M. Friday. SRC will handle your expenses in connection with the trip. Lodging for the group for Thursday evening only has been arranged at the Atlanta University dormitory, Bumstead Hall, 50 Chestnut Street, S.W.. Let us know if your travel schedule will require lodging for additional evenings or if you do not wish us to make arrangements for you at all.

Only two of you have sent us ideas for the agenda of the meeting. Please let us know if there are topics you think should be considered, particularly if they involve the accumulation of information or the use of outside resources.

Please mail to SRC by February 1: (1) a copy of your latest brochure for display purposes; (2) a one page statement of the means used by your Council for fund-raising, and your evaluation of its effectiveness. These will be copied and circulated to each of you. As usual, there will be some discussion of money problems.

VOTER PROJECT ON AGENDA

Several of you have asked about the Voter Education project to be jointly sponsored by a number of organizations and about SRC's involvement. The project is still in the planning stage, and nothing definitive can be said at this time, although there have been a number of unofficial news leaks. You will receive a full report on this matter at the forthcoming state staff meeting.

KLAN SIGNS DOWN

The Department of Commerce is now taking the position that it has the authority to request the removal of certain types of signs when erected on public right of way built with federal assistance funds. Please let us know of any signs advertising the Ku Klux Klan, et cetera, which may still be standing on such highways. We have recently been informed that the Commerce Department believes these signs are now all down.

PUTNAM BOOKS DELUGING SOUTH

Indications are that a campaign is underway backed with considerable funds to deluge the South with the works of Carleton Putnam, well known Yankee segregationist. The books are being circulated in the schools in several states and are being mailed individually to tens of thousands of persons.

Let us know if these books are circulating strongly in your area, and what effect they may be having. Do you think that any corrective action is possible?

TCHR URGES HOUSING ORDER

The Tennessee Council on Human Relations and the Nashville Conference on Community Relations were among many intergroup relations organizations which recently petitioned the White House for the issuance of an Executive Order on Housing. We would like very much to know how many other Councils found it possible to join in this effort.

DUPLICATE COPIES NEEDED

SRC would like to ask all state Councils to please send quarterly reports in duplicate from now on. We apologize for this proliferation of bureaucratic requirements, but it seems highly advisable to have one set in the Field office and another set available for examination by the Executive Director and the Research Department.

NEW CHAIRMAN ELECTED

Among Presidents of state Councils on Human Relations elected during the past three months are Charles Demere, Episcopal minister of Atlanta, as Chairman of the Georgia Council; Rufus Atwood, President of Kentucky State College, as Chairman of the Kentucky Council; George Barrett, Nashville attorney, as Chairman of the Tennessee Council.

PROMINENT SPEAKERS ADDRESS COUNCILS

The Georgia Council sponsored a gala benefit dinner last November featuring Carl Rowan, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, as the featured speaker. Several hundred persons attended, paying $10.00 a plate, and the GCHR realized a profit of over $1,000. Carl Rowan also spoke this month at the annual meeting of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

Berl Bernhard, staff director of the Civil Rights Commission, was the featured speaker at the annual meeting of the Tennessee Council. Eric Lincoln, professor at Clark College in Atlanta and author of The Black Muslims in America, addressed a recent public forum in Little Rock. Lincoln also met privately with groups of Negro and white businessmen to discuss the challenge posed by the growth of the Muslim movement.

TWO COUNCILS RECEIVE FOUNDATION GRANTS

The Georgia Council on Human Relations and the Tennessee Council both received special grants from the Field Foundation recently. The Georgia grant was for the express purpose of enabling the Council to add a second staff member and thus provide interracial staff. The Rev. Oliver Wendall Holmes, Jr., Savannah minister and currently Chairman of the Savannah Council, will become Associate Director of the Georgia Council as of February 12.

The Tennessee grant was for general support. TCHR has decided to use the money to employ a second staff person to be in general charge of Nashville and of the office, freeing Kay Jones for more extensive travel and organizational work around the state.

ATLANTA COUNCIL MEMBER LOSES POSITION

Mr. T. Emory Daniel, prominent attorney and civic leader in Decatur, Georgia, part of the Atlanta metropolitan area, lost his position as Assistant County Solicitor recently as a result of his membership in the Georgia Council and the leadership of his wife in the recent organization of a DeKalb County Committee of the Atlanta Council.

Mr. Daniel was asked to resign by the Solicitor General of the Circuit, "at the request of the judges," the day after the DeKalb New Era carried a story on the organization of the DeKalb County Committee.

Mr. Daniel made the following statement on the incident to the press: "I was born and reared in the South, and have a concern that the South meet the future with justice and dignity. We live in a time of change which cannot be stopped and can only cause strife if ignored. My membership in the Georgia Council on Human Relations is a witness to the desire that people be allowed freedom to communicate with each other and seek mutually acceptable solutions."

NCCHR CONFERS WITH GOVERNOR

A committee from the North Carolina Council met recently with the Governor to consider a range of concerns. The meeting was cordial and constructive. In December, a committee from the NCCHR met with a number of Negro members of state boards and commissions.

MORE DESEGREGATION OF RESTAURANTS AND OTHER FACILITIES

In Virginia the Richmond-Petersburg Council on Human Relations played a significant role in recent negotiations leading to the desegregation of major Richmond hotels and of the Hot Shoppes in Richmond. The desegregation occurred without demonstrations.

Harry Jones reports that Belks and Iveys in Charlotte have completed the desegregation of their restaurants following Negro student picketing. A group of ministers in Charlotte is working on the problem of restaurant and hotel desegregation. Negotiations are now underway.

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL DISTRIBUTES PROGRAM KITS

The SCCHR is currently distributing and preparing program kits in five areas; education, economics and employment, community relations and development, civic and political participation, religion and human relations. Two of the kits have already been distributed to local councils, others are in process of preparation and distribution.

STUDENT COUNCIL ORGANIZED

The Atlanta Council on Human Relations has organized a student Council on Human Relations which involved students from the high school and college levels. The group plans a full schedule of activities this year.

IS IT TIME FOR A WHITE PROTEST?

Harry Jones reports that a number of white ministers in Charlotte are considering a public pledge to withhold their patronage from any business or institution which continues to practice discrimination.

Is this a technique that would be workable and helpful in a number of cities, particularly in the Upper South? If a number of white citizens, including prominent persons, were to publicly announce such a policy, would this be effective in giving public support to the Negro effort and in demonstrating to businessmen that a number of white people, too, are interested in equal rights and will no longer support segregation.

Now that a number of downtown facilities have been opened, it would be more possible and practical to organize such an effort than previously. Councils on Human Relations and churches would be the logical groups to coordinate such organized protests by white citizens.

It seems to us that it might be timely to mount such efforts in a number of Southern communities. Give us your advice so far as your state is concerned.

INTEGRATED PARENTS ORGANIZE

With assistance from Ozell Sutton, Associate Director of the Arkansas Council, the parents of Negro children in desegregated schools in Little Rock, Arkansas, have organized a Citizens Committee for Better Education. Originally intended to provide opportunities for consultation among the parents and to organize car pools for the transportation of the students, the Committee has grown into a significant civic influence in Little Rock.

STATE COUNCIL SUPPORT UP

During 1961 the state Councils raised a total of $56,626 for their own support, not including SRC and Foundation help. This figure compares to $50,335 in 1960 and $33,324 in 1959.

The Virginia Council led the list with a total of $10,500. The Georgia Council was second with $9,100. Four of the Councils substantially improved their self-support during 1961. The Georgia Council practically doubled its total.

Make Leader LWD

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

April, 1962

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT UNDERWAY

SRC's Voter Education Project is formally underway.

Wiley Branton, Project director, has requested that all state Councils on Human Relations cooperate with the project through the evaluation of current voter registration efforts and suggestions as to what organizations are best equipped to carry on voter registration drives in the various southern states. Branton said that three state Councils had already forwarded such information and that it was most helpful. You should write directly to Wiley Branton, Voter Education Project, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia, with a carbon to the Field Department of SRC.

SRC AND IMPACT AREAS RULING

Les Dunbar testified by invitation before the Special House Education Subcommittee on Integration in Federally Assisted Areas. Les was also involved in consultations with Secretary Ribicoff and other officials of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare prior to the announcement of the HEW ruling which will cut off some financial assistance to "impact area" school districts which continue to practice segregation after the fall of 1963.

An excellent analysis of the meaning of this ruling was carried in the April issue of the Southern School News. It was emphasized that the current ruling will apply only to areas where the children of parents living and working on federal property are attending public, segregated schools.

The ruling would seem to provide an opportunity for state Councils to: (a) identify the school districts that would be affected by the ruling, and (b) interpret the meaning of the ruling in such a way as to encourage districts to move voluntarily rather than lose the federal funds involved.

EMPLOYMENT STUDY DUE

SRC Research Director Jim Moss says that a publication concerning the employment picture in Atlanta will shortly be issued by the Council. This will be a companion piece to the studies on Houston and Chattanooga.

Results of a study on the desegregation of cultural facilities in the South will be carried in an early issue of New South.

NEW MATERIALS AVAILABLE

SRC will shortly be sending to each state office several copies of a reprint from Fortune magazine entitled "The City and the Negro," by Charles Silberman. SRC has a limited number of copies on hand.

SOUTH CAROLINA STUDENTS MEET

The statewide Student Council on Human Relations in South Carolina convened in Columbia recently to consider the theme "The Role of the Southern Student in Strengthening Democracy."

Those attending included 80 persons from 9 white and 7 Negro colleges.

VIRGINIA INTERAGENCY COUNCIL FORMED

A recent issue of the Richmond Times Dispatch carried an announcement by Heslip Lee of the organization of a state-wide interagency council in Virginia. The group will include some 75 organizations and agencies with some human relations concerns.

State Senator E. E. Haddock addressed the first meeting of the group. John Feild, Director of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, will address the May meeting. Feild will have dinner with the Chairmen of all local Councils of VCHR prior to addressing the Interagency Council.

YOUTH WORKSHOP IN HOUSTON

The Houston Council on Human Relations is sponsoring a seminar for high school students on intergroup relations May 5.

Fifty selected students from the various Houston high schools and representing different ethnic, racial, and religious groups will attend. Leadership will be provided by Wilhemena Perry, professor of sociology at Texas Southern University, and Fred Holt, director of the Wesley Foundation of Rice University.

The Houston Council is also involved in an effort to persuade local theatres and restaurants to voluntarily open their facilities. Houston hotels have recently been opened in all regards.

AUDIT REQUIREMENT NOTED

State Councils are reminded that copies of annual audits should be filed with SRC as they are completed. Several are overdue.

GEORGIA HOLDS EMPLOYMENT CONFERENCE

Fifty members of the Georgia Council on Human Relations representing 8 communities throughout the state met at Macon in March to consider the problem of merit employment.

Leadership was provided by Dr. Vivian Henderson of Fisk University, Dr. James Moss of SRC, and John I. Binkley, Director of Education of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

Similar merit employment meetings are being planned in Tennessee and Alabama.

OPEN CITY OPERATION IN NASHVILLE

Kay Jones is currently serving as secretary to "Operation Open City," a joint effort to open all facilities in downtown Nashville to all citizens.

Participating groups include the NAACP, the Nashville Christian Leadership Conference, the Commission on Employment, the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, the Student Non-Violent Movement, and the Negro Ministerial Association. The Rev. Kelly Miller Smith, SRC board member, is serving as chairman of the effort.

NEGRO OFFICIALS MEET

A sub-committee of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations met in December with Negro members of state committees and commissions. Seven appointees were present; there are 12 in the state, not counting Negroes on boards of Negro state colleges.

The group discussed common interests and problems and their responsibilities of office.

NCCHR URGES MEANINGFUL COMPLIANCE

The North Carolina Council recently issued a statement criticizing tokenism in North Carolina and urging more effective school desegregation. The statement received wide notice in newspapers in Durham, Greensboro, Winston-Salem and Raleigh. It was carried on the Associated Press wires and was summarized extensively in the April issue of Southern School News.

RECREATIONAL FACILITIES OPEN IN COCOA

The Florida Council on Human Relations played a significant role in resolving a tense situation concerning recreational facilities in Cocoa, Florida. At the urgings of the local Council, a bi-racial committee was appointed, which recommended the complete desegregation of such facilities.

VCHR ADVISES LOCALS

Heslip Lee recently made the following suggestions to the local Councils of VCHR. They may be helpful to others:

A. Make surveys of the existing situation within an area. Print the results and blanket the community with objective facts. This has an effect of letting the people know, and many for the first time, where their area stands in human relations and in discriminatory practices toward minority groups. This creates a climate of shame and concern among numbers of previously uncommitted people.

B. Seek to enlarge the local council's membership, drawing into the group responsible persons within the community. Where this is done, the opposition has a lesser audience and influence.

C. Never fail to negotiate, talk, hold discussion meetings, seminars, and workshops of an educational nature. Educate the constituency as well as potential members. This type of programming lends itself to creating an atmosphere or climate which accepts or is subject to change.

D. Build a monthly, twelve month program in advance and include all areas of concern within a year's work.

E. Place well-known responsible persons on Boards and Executive Committees, but do not be taken in by the illusion that these make the best officers of a local council. Look for new-comers into this dimension with enthusiasm, vigor and energy as officers. Many times these will be women who have time and dedication to get the local work done.

F. Develop a close relationship and line of communication with other intergroup agencies within the local community. Know what others are doing and in what fields these have had success. Wherever it doesn't conflict with basic philosophy, work with other groups, and never be too concerned as to which agency gets the credit when accomplishments in any field are made.

G. Make long-ranged plans and evaluate periodically. Never be caught up in a short-ranged or momentary gain without understanding clearly the long-ranged view and objectives.

H. Keep a list of governmental agencies and names where you may call, write or look for the right information and help. Cultivate a relationship with these by reporting any matter regardless of your estimate of importance.

I. Let the membership know what is going on, both within the local council, the state, the South or Nation, yea, even the world. They might not get this from any other source.

J. Develop active committees within every area of concern. Speak through these committees to the political powers. Voice opinions. Speak out. Exercise while it remains our freedom to be heard through speech, either orally or written.

K. Encourage people to speak as individuals to their Congressmen and Senators, both state and national. The bottling up of the Putnam Book Resolution in Committee proves that still, even within Virginia, the people have a voice and influence.

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

June, 1962

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT MAKES INITIAL GRANTS

This summer VEP launched 90 day programs in states where registration deadlines could still be met for summer primaries. The following areas were included in these 90 day programs:

CORE will be working in Baton Rouge, Louisiana; Jackson, Mississippi; the 6th Congressional District of Mississippi; and in Clarendon, Sumter, and York Counties in South Carolina.

The NAACP will work in Jackson, Mississippi; Shreveport, Baton Rouge, Lake Charles, and Monroe, Louisiana; High Point, Fayetteville, Charlotte, Rocky Mount, Wilmington, and Edenton, North Carolina; Beaufort, Columbia, Greenville, and Charleston, South Carolina; Memphis, Fayette County, Haywood County, Knoxville, Chattanooga, and Clarksville, Tennessee.

The National Urban League will be working in Winston-Salem, N.C., and Richmond, Va..

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference will have projects in Shreveport, Louisiana; Chowan County and Elizabeth City, North Carolina; Charleston, South Carolina; Knoxville and Chattanooga, Tennessee; and in the 4th Congressional District of Virginia.

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee will be working in Orangeburg County, South Carolina; in Jackson, Hattiesburg, Marshall County, and the old 3rd and 4th Congressional Districts of Mississippi.

VEP grants were also made to the Atlanta All Citizens Registration Committee and the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs, and assistance has been made available to student summer projects sponsored by the Southern Office of the National Student Association in Raleigh and the American Friends Service Committee in Jackson, Tennessee.

VIRGINIA AND SOUTH CAROLINA RECEIVE GRANTS

On May 31 the South Carolina Council was notified that the Council would receive a grant of $24,800 for a two year period from the Field Foundation. The money was to assist the Council in developing contacts among white moderates and community leadership.

Earlier in May the Virginia Council received a grant of $3,500 for each of the three years including and beginning with 1962. VCHR plans to use the money to employ a Negro professional staff member as an Associate Director for the coming year, with hopes that sufficient funds will be found to continue the position in the future.

QUARTERLY REPORTS DUE

Second quarter reports are acceptable any time now. Please remember that reports should be submitted in duplicate.

COUNCIL INITIATIVE IN NORTHERN VIRGINIA

The Alexandria Council on Human Relations, the Fairfax County Council, and several other civil rights organizations have launched several important projects aimed at breaching the remaining walls of segregation in Northern Virginia. The groups have launched an offensive against theatre segregation in the area and have organized a new group known as Hurelco (HUman RELations COuncils) which plans to purchase property and otherwise work to open residence housing.

JIMERSON V. THE STATE OF ALABAMA

Norman Jimerson of the Alabama Council is under a temporary injunction in Alabama restraining him from encouraging or participating in boycotts, demonstrations, et cetera. The injunction is one of a large number issued as a result of the Talledega situation.

Jimerson and his legal counsel will shortly file an action contesting the injunction. The Alabama Council will once again have a sizeable legal bill to meet even if the litigation does not go beyond the present judicial level.

NATIONAL COUNCIL EXPANDS SOUTHERN STAFF

The Rev. Elbert Jean, of Arkansas, a Methodist clergyman, has been appointed to a position in the Nashville field office of the Commission on Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches. Mr. Jean, who was prominent during the crisis in Little Rock, will be working exclusively with the rural ministry and primarily in the Deep South. He will work with the Rev. Will Campbell. The Southern Regional Council was involved in the planning of the new position and is assisting in its financing.

Mr. Jean will look to the state councils for guidance and will be contacting each of you when he begins his duties shortly.

STATE COUNCIL INCOME UP

During the first quarter of the current fiscal year the state councils have raised for self-support a total of $19,541. This compares with $14,224 raised during the comparable period a year ago.

As of May 15, the total membership of the state councils stood at 6,338. This compares with a total of 6,171 in July of last year.

HAPPY HOLIDAYS

Paul Rilling has another boondoggle with the Council on Student Travel for free passage to Europe. He will be away from the SRC office from June 22 through August 10. During this period correspondence may be addressed to Marge Manderson. Where necessary, she will refer matters to other staff members for proper action.

FLORIDA HOLDS FUND RAISING DINNERS

The Florida Council on Human Relations recently held a series of fund raising dinners to publicize local council activities and to assist the state budget. Marion Wright spoke in Gainesville and West Palm Beach. Margaret Long of SRC spoke at Daytona Beach, filling in for Lillian Smith, who became ill and had to cancel her engagement. Nearly $1,000 was raised by these efforts.

GOVERNMENT TO HELP WITH SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

As was noted in the press April 23, the U.S. Office of Education is establishing a clearing house to help public school officials plan desegregation. The operation is expected to be underway by the beginning of the fall school term.

It should be emphasized that the Office of Education will probably take no initiative, but will make its services available in response to requests from school superintendents and other educators, and from school board members, for this new service. The effectiveness of the program will depend in good measure, therefore, upon your stimulation of local school officials to avail themselves of this service, in addition to your own efforts in the communities in your area. If such requests can be elicited now, the USOE will be better able to gauge the extent of its required efforts this fall.

NEW TRENDS IN DIRECT ACTION

Several developments in the area of the non-violent direct action movements seem worthy of note and emphasis. The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, meeting in Atlanta recently, has restructured its organization in an effort to encourage student-based campus movements and relate SNCC more directly to the campus. The new organization will involve an over-all committee consisting of a representative from each student protest movement, an executive committee consisting of a smaller number selected by the larger committee, a staff responsible to this executive committee. There has been concern expressed in some quarters that SNCC was becoming "another Civil Rights organization" and losing its identity as a student movement.

As the direct action movement tapers off in the use of such techniques as the sit-in and the Freedom Ride, the major emphasis seems to be increasingly on the use of the selective buying campaign. The objectives of the local protest groups are centering on broadening employment opportunities.

As of several weeks ago, selective buying campaigns aimed at least partly at expanding equal employment opportunities were in effect in Albany and Augusta, Georgia; Talledega, Huntsville, and Birmingham, Alabama; Greenville and Laurel, Mississippi; Goldsboro and Edenton, N.C.; and Charleston, S.C..

Paul Rilling spent several days in Charleston recently at the request of the South Carolina Council. The Charleston selective buying campaign aimed at King Street merchants and its impact on business has been admitted by several white merchants, claims of the Charleston News and Courier notwithstanding. Some ten King Street merchants in Charleston have already made some adjustments in employment patterns or have promised some in the immediate future.

These developments emphasize a continuing concentration on employment opportunities throughout the South, and the emergence of another effective direct action weapon.

MCGILL SPEAKS IN NORTH CAROLINA

Ralph McGill, publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, was the featured speaker at the annual banquet meeting of the Charlotte, N.C., Council on Human Relations. McGill was introduced by Harry Golden, NCCHR board member.

Several hundred persons attended to applaud the speaker and to see the Mayor of Charlotte welcome Mr. McGill and present him with a key to the city.

All of us were saddened to hear of the recent death of Mr. E. H. Spearman, Sr., husband of Alice Spearman, Director of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. Mr. Spearman had been critically ill for some weeks and passed away on June 3.

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

September, 1962

VEP SHOWS RESULTS AFTER FIRST NINETY DAYS

Mr. Wiley Branton, Director of SRC's Voter Education Project, states that the ninety day crash programs conducted by cooperating organizations in anticipation of fall elections have been concluded and the results are now being studied. The VEP will be shortly making long term grants to a number of organizations in the light of the experience gained this summer.

Among the more successful ninety day campaigns this summer were the Atlanta effort under the All Citizens Registration Committee, which netted 7,600 new voters; Durham, N.C., where 3,700 were added to the roles through the efforts of the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs and the Durham branch NAACP; Raleigh, N.C., where an NSA effort increased the number of registered voters by 1,600; and Sumter, S.C., where a CORE effort resulted in the registration of over 1,100 new voters.

The VEP initiated in August a special registration effort in Albany, Georgia, through assistance to the Albany Movement. As a result of this effort, 305 new voters were added to the roles in Albany during the last two weeks of August.

SRC EMPLOYS NEW RESEARCH DIRECTOR

Mr. Staige Blackford is on the job as new Research Director of SRC as of September 4. Most recently Assistant Director of the Louisiana State University Press, Mr. Blackford is a writer, an editor and contributor to various encyclopedias, and a former employee of Time, Inc.. A native of Virginia and a graduate of the University of Virginia, Mr. Blackford was a Rhodes Scholar.

THREE COUNCILS CLAIM MATCHING FUNDS

State Councils in Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia have claimed all matching funds including supplemental funds, as of August. Other state Councils have until October 1 to meet requirements for matching funds.

During the first two quarters of the current fiscal year the state Councils on Human Relations raised from membership and contributions a total of $37,919. This compares with $30,554 during the similar period a year ago.

The Virginia Council on Human Relations was the top fund raiser during the first two quarters of this year with a total of $8,300. The Georgia Council was second with $6,200. The new Houston Council on Human Relations raised a total of $3,900, a commendable record for a fairly new organization operating in only one community.

OZELL SUTTON HONORED

Mr. Ozell Sutton, Associate Director of the Arkansas Council, was given the distinguished service award of the Arkansas Teachers Association by the District 7 Association. The award was in recognition of Mr. Sutton's work in connection with voter registration and other activities.

ATLANTA COUNCIL FETES DR. BUNCHE

Some 300 members and friends of the Atlanta Council on Human Relations honored Dr. Ralph Bunche at a special luncheon in Atlanta in July. Dr. Bunche spoke to the Council on "The Role of the Individual and the United Nations."

ALBANY STILL SIZZLES

Albany, Georgia, has been the major crisis area during the summer months. The Georgia Council has worked tirelessly in Albany trying to encourage negotiation, attempting to interpret the Albany Movement to the white community, helping to brief news media and other organizations on the situation.

In July, the GCHR sent an occupancy mailing to white residential areas in Albany. The letter brought considerable response from local citizens. Frances Pauley was harassed by nocturnal telephone calls for several weeks, the calls coming from Atlanta. A copy of the letter is appended to the Newsletter.

A local Council on Human Relations has recently been organized in Albany, pulling together concerned white persons and representatives of various Negro groups.

HOUSTON COUNCIL CIRCULATES READING LIST

The Houston Council on Human Relations has recently circulated a list of books for children, which are helpful to an understanding of good human relations. The reading list includes books designated for all age groups. It has been made available to educators and organizations and has been circulated through the Houston Library.

ACHR HOLDS BOARD WORKSHOP

Members of the Board of Directors of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations held a one day workshop June 23. The purpose of the workshop was to consider the role of the board member, to provide orientation for new board members, to provide an opportunity for board members to consider the procedure of "policy making."

NEW COUNCILS ORGANIZED

New local Councils on Human Relations have been formed in Brunswick, Georgia, and in Danville, Virginia.

The Chattanooga Community Relations Council has affiliated with the Tennessee Council on Human Relations.

A Community Relations Council is in organization in New Orleans.

WILLIAMS JOINS MIGRATION TO NORTH

Bill Williams has resigned as Director of the Florida Council on Human Relations and has accepted a position with the Illinois Commission on Human Relations, as of last month.

Bill's new address is in care of the Illinois Commission, 160 North LaSalle Street, Chicago 1, Illinois.

The FCHR is looking for a successor to Bill. Anyone knowing of a good candidate should contact SRC.

FILM ON MIGRATORY LABOR AVAILABLE

A one hour 16 mm. sound film, "Seeds of Progress," available at no charge other than mailing costs, has been recommended by the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor and may be of interest to you. "Seeds of Progress," according to the Subcommittee release, "tells the story of the migrant who works in the fields of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, a story similar to that of the migrant anywhere in the United States. Expertly photographed and narrated, 'Seeds of Progress' is well suited to be shown either at a large conference or before a small group."

Inquiries should be directed to: Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, G-237 New Senate Office Building, Washington, 25.

NEW GAINS IN THE CLASSROOM

This fall brought significant new gains in classroom desegregation in a number of states. Thirty-three new public school districts desegregated or will desegregate this fall. School opening has been generally peaceful, although there were demonstrations at several parochial schools in Louisiana.

Perhaps the most significant developments of this new school year were:

1. The desegregation of parochial schools. An estimated 150 Negro children are attending formerly white Catholic schools in Louisiana for the first time. 17 Negro children are now enrolled in 6 previously all white Catholic schools in Georgia. The progress in Georgia involved the Atlanta area, Marietta, and Athens.

2. The defense of tokenism as a means of containing desegregation has been abandoned or struck down in several important Southern communities. In Chapel Hill, N.C., students are being assigned to schools on a strictly geographical basis through the first six grades. In Charlotte, N.C., 413 Negro pupils were assigned to seven predominantly white schools. There were only 27 Negro students in formerly white schools in Charlotte last year. In New Orleans the number of Negro children in such schools is up from 12 to over 100.

3. As a result of federal court decisions in Memphis and New Orleans, the use of pupil placement plans as a means of limiting desegregation is in jeopardy. In New Orleans, the District Judge specifically ruled that the state pupil placement law could not be applied to pupil assignments until and unless dual school districts were abolished.

Community preparation to assist with peaceful desegregation of schools is becoming respectable and almost commonplace. In Chattanooga this fall, virtually every move that has been tried in any other city by way of avoiding difficulty was applied by the police, the mayor, the school board, business leaders, etc.. The community was fully, if quietly, conditioned to accept the inevitable with calm and dignity. In Pensacola, Fla., a School Assistance Committee brought together business, religious, civic and political leadership and planned carefully for the smooth and effective initiation of desegregation which occurred recently. Significantly, in both communities local officials accepted and solicited the help of human relations agencies in making preparations.

MAILING FROM GEORGIA COUNCIL TO ALBANY CITIZENS

July 30, 1962

Dear Friend:

Now in the extremity of misunderstanding and danger in Albany, when racial unrest disturbs the streets, threatens the prosperity and embarrasses Georgia before the country and the world, let us consider what Albany citizens of good will can do to permanently resolve the troubles.

The experience of other Georgia cities--Savannah, Macon, and Columbus, to name a few where white and colored neighbors have come to some agreement on Negro demands for their public rights--suggests several fruitful and reconciling steps which can be taken to help the city out of the impasse.

First, it seems clear that no Georgia community has come to any racial agreement without meetings, sympathetic talk and new understanding between whites and Negroes. Mistakes have been made by the Negro citizens--mistakes have been made by various interracial organizations yet the underlying principles are still there. Truth can be found through knowledge and understanding. Albanians can as individuals and as groups seek this truth.

Second, it is equally clear that Albany's present crisis hinges on the refusal of City Commissioners to meet with and discuss grievances of Negro citizens. These, the elected officials are responsible for the just conduct of public affairs--Mayor Asa D. Kelley, Jr., Buford Collins, L.W. Mott, C.B. Pritchett, Allen Davis, W.C. Holman, Jr., and T.H. McCollum, members of the city commission, who seem to have delegated delicate and vital policy decisions to salaried officials whom they control--need to know their constituents feelings about this disastrous situation. Elected officials are notably responsive to the pressure of such expressions, a salutary change of mind can be brought about at city hall.

Third, it is also clear that the fastest growing town in Georgia is in grave danger of economic loss and stagnation which afflicted Little Rock. Business and political leaders in Albany who value their prosperity can save it by opposing the recalcitrance of city hall and by demanding reasonable agreements to restore peace, healthy business and continued economic advances.

Ask yourself this question: "What can I do?"

a. Talk to or write your city commissioners, asking them to settle this disorder now.
b. Write your Chamber of Commerce--they want it settled. Tell them they have your endorsement.
c. Call or see your minister, discuss the situation with him; pledge your support.

Let us open our minds, let us listen to reason and seek the truth. And let us act for a just and happy end to this dangerous, damaging and senseless struggle.

Sincerely,

(signed)

Mrs. Frances Pauley, Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

November, 1962

LOCAL FUNDS, PLEDGES COUNT TOWARD MATCHING TOTALS

There has been some confusion concerning the funds that can be counted in the totaling of self-support figures to qualify for matching assistance from SRC. It should be noted that: (1) funds raised and used by local Councils can count toward state matching funds if the locals are related to or affiliated with the state Council; (2) state Councils may receive up to two-thirds credit for outstanding pledges if the pledges are payable by January 1, 1963.

MUSE WINS AWARD

Colonel Benjamin Muse, board member of the Virginia Council and Director of SRC's Leadership Project, received the 1962 Hoey Award from the Catholic Interracial Council. The Hoey Award is annually given to a Catholic layman who has made an outstanding contribution to bettering human relations.

NEW ORLEANS COUNCIL ORGANIZED

The New Orleans Community Relations Council was formally launched in September. The group has some 75 members and is moving ahead with several program activities. President of the New Orleans Council is Mr. Ted Baptist, a local businessman. Assisting in the organization of the Council were representatives of the Anti-Defamation League, the Urban League, the Southern Field Service of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, and SRC.

Communication to the New Orleans Community Relations Council should be addressed to Mr. Baptist at 101 S. Wren Street.

SELF SUPPORT TOTALS UP

Funds raised by state and local Councils on Human Relations continue to edge upward from year to year. During the first three quarters of 1962, the Councils raised funds totaling $46,594. This compares with $43,156 during the same period a year before.

Five of the state Councils raised more during the first three quarters of this year than a year ago.

ON THE AFTER DINNER CIRCUIT

Harold Fleming recently addressed the annual meeting of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, James Dabbs likewise with the Houston Council.

Others scheduled to address forthcoming meetings of Council units include Ralph McGill to Houston, Dr. Ralph Bunche to Richmond and Alabama, and Andrew Hatcher, Assistant Press Secretary to President Kennedy, to the Atlanta Council.

ACTING DIRECTOR ON JOB IN FLORIDA

Dr. Ralph Dreger, Professor of Psychology at the University of Jacksonville and Chairman of the Northeast Florida Council on Human Relations, has agreed to serve the Florida Council as Acting Director, without pay, until a full-time professional director can be secured to replace Bill Williams.

State newsletters and other materials normally going to the Florida Council should be sent to Dr. Dreger, 2867 Justina Rd., Jacksonville 11.

ROWLAND HEADS SCCHR LEADERSHIP PROJECT

Mr. Gil Rowland, formerly on the staff of the Greenville, S.C., News, is now working full time as director of a special leadership project for the South Carolina Council. Mr. Rowland is travelling about the state, a la Ben Muse, contacting and interviewing economic, civic, and political leadership throughout the state. He has already visited 18 South Carolina communities with others scheduled for the near future.

NAIRO CONFERENCE SCHEDULED THIS MONTH

The annual conference of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials will be held from November 28 to December 31 at the Park Sheraton Hotel in Washington. Those attending may still save a little by advance registration but registration in advance is not necessary to participate.

Fred Routh, new Executive Director of NAIRO, states that: "NAIRO needs more southern representation. This year's conference in Washington should make it possible for most of our southern professionals to make the meeting who have not been able to attend conferences further North and West."

Wiley Branton of SRC's Voter Education Project will give one of the major addresses.

NEW BOOK AVAILABLE AT SPECIAL RATES

Sarah Patton Boyle, nationally known author, fighter for civil rights, and a member of the Virginia Council, has recently written a new book, The Desegregated Heart, published by Morrow. The book is a warm and human story of Mrs. Boyle's own experiences during the days of massive resistance in Virginia and her emotional and mental transition during that time.

The book is available through the Virginia Council at special rates. Any of the state Councils may purchase or promote the book on the basis of $3.00 each, 40% under the standard purchase price. We will be happy to make arrangements for any of the other state Councils. As of December 1, SRC will be ordering some of the books for promotional purposes. Let us know if you would like a supply and how many.

ARKANSAS COUNCIL COMPLETES VOTER DRIVE

With some assistance from the Voter Education Project, the Arkansas Council and the Urban League of Little Rock conducted a voter registration effort in the Greater Little Rock area during the month of September. Ozell Sutton of ACHR and George Henry of the Urban League were co-directors.

The report of the Arkansas Council notes that "some 3,742 poll tax receipts were sold through the efforts of nearly 800 workers who made more than 14,000 contacts. Seven PTA units, three political organizations, five civic clubs, and numerous religious, fraternal, and social groups took an active part. This was probably the greatest united effort in the Negro community in many years."

STATE PARKS OPEN IN TENNESSEE

As a result of negotiations last summer between a committee of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations and public park authorities, the public park facilities of the state of Tennessee are now open to all citizens. Negro and bi-racial groups have used picnic, restaurant, and lodging facilities at several of the parks.

LEE DOES TELETHON

VCHR's Heslip Lee, star of pulpit and banquet circuit, has now emerged as a video celebrity. Lee recently appeared for an hour on a television station in Bluefield, West Virginia, fielding questions telephoned in by viewers. According to Lee, his performance was "well received."

Demonstrating a lack of concern for superficial matters of territorial integrity, VCHR claims a local Council in Bluefield, West Virginia. It is further rumored that the Virginia and Tennessee Councils are engaged in a vendetta for the loyalties of a local Council that is organizing in Bristol, a city which straddles the Tennessee-Virginia line, but is really closer to Charlotte, North Carolina.

CHRs EMPHASIZE WORK WITH YOUTH

A number of the state and local councils have been working with college and high school youth. Several have made special efforts to assist in the preparation and orientation of Negro children going into newly desegregated situations.

In South Carolina there is a Junior Council on Human Relations which brings together college young people of both races from around the state. In Virginia there is a campus chapter of VCHR at the University of Virginia, and high school chapters in Charlottesville and Fairfax County. There is a youth Council on Human Relations in Atlanta.

The University of Virginia chapter of VCHR is sponsoring during the current academic year a series of outstanding monthly forums involving prominent speakers from across the South.

In New Orleans last summer, Mrs. Mary Sand, former president of SOS and presently a board member of the New Orleans Community Relations Council, conducted a series of discussions and field trips for first and second grade children who were going into new desegregation experiences. The group was interracial and visited together most points of interest in the city. Perhaps more important than the actual learning experience was the opportunity for the children to know each other prior to the opening of schools.

In Nashville, Tennessee, a crafts workshop was conducted by the Tennessee Council for a number of elementary school children. About 15 children were involved in this interracial experience.

The Atlanta Council held several meetings of transfer students going into formerly all white high schools in Atlanta. The group plans other occasional meetings during the school year.

In Little Rock, the Negro children involved and their parents have created their own organization which is growing in size and influence as desegregation moves to the Junior High School level. The group meets monthly to share experiences and meet with resource persons in the community.

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

March, 1963

BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION AND APOLOGY.....

My distinguished predecessors, Frederick B. Routh and Paul Rilling, each established a uniquely sporadic schedule for the Newsletter. Perhaps partially as an awareness of this and from an appreciation of their work, I have, consciously or unconsciously, set out to beat their record. Whatever the reason, this questionable distinction has been achieved.

At our meeting of state staff on March 5-7, we noted your criticisms of this policy and your suggestions for the content of the Newsletter. We will therefore try to include the following changes:

The Newsletter will be issued monthly on or about the 15th.

It will be directed exclusively to state staff with copies going to a few other interested persons. (It will be mailed to the SRC board so you can omit those persons from your mailing.) Each state office will receive 25 copies to be distributed to their Executive Committee members and others. If you wish more than 25 copies please let us know before the next newsletter is mimeographed.

Included will be information on developments in the region, techniques employed by local and state councils, comments from SRC staff, analysis of trends, etc.. A section will be set aside for announcements from the state councils. Material for this section--as well as for all the newsletter--is welcomed and encouraged.

UPCOMING SRC PUBLICATIONS, MARCH-APRIL, 1963

L-41 - Excerpts from Speeches Delivered Respectively by Governor Burt T. Combs of Kentucky and Secretary of Commerce Luther T. Hodges.

These speeches, delivered on February 24 and February 25 respectively, were both concerned with essentially the same theme--the opportunity of the South "to demonstrate to the nation and to the world both its capacity for orderly change and the extent of its faith in the future."

A Study of Tokenism by Kenneth Morland, Professor of Sociology, Randolph-Macon Woman's College.

This pamphlet examines the various plans devised by southern politicians and school boards to keep integration at token levels. It discusses the rulings made by federal courts in cases involving token integration plans, and it describes the heavy price the South is paying in trying to uphold a segregated school system long since declared to be unconstitutional.

Federal Programs to Promote Employment and Development in Rural Communities.

A report prepared following a conference in South Carolina sponsored by Penn Community Services and the South Carolina Council. Included are descriptions of the federal programs and a detailed bibliography of publications dealing with this subject. Copies in quantity will be available to councils without cost.

FROM THE MEETING OF STATE STAFF

SRC will plan to arrange, if at all feasible, a yearly meeting of state council presidents.

A second state staff meeting will be held during 1963, probably in early June. Harry Jones is investigating the possibility of facilities in North Carolina for this meeting. More on this soon.

At our second meeting special attention will be given to establishing a closer working relationship among the councils and to developing resources to be used by all of the councils. A policy statement and the machinery for the joint announcement of programs and policies will also be considered.

A memo will be prepared on minimum and desirable staff benefits for the guidance of councils.

All are urged to send to Margaret Long ideas for New South and to help her in developing these articles.

RECENT ARTICLES, PAMPHLETS

"The Fifteenth Amendment Comes to Mississippi," by Barbara Carter, The Reporter, January 17, 1963, pp. 20-24.

Recap of government cases and private action--and resistance--in the struggle of Negroes to register to vote in Mississippi.

"The Housing Order and Its Limits," by Charles Abrams, Commentary, January, 1963, pp. 10-14.

Background, some analysis of omissions in and gains represented by Executive Order banning discrimination in federally assisted housing.

"In the South These Children Prophesy," by Robert Coles, M.D., The Atlantic Monthly, March, 1963, pp. 111-116.

Child psychiatrist's observations following two years of study of Negro and white children during initial school desegregation in several areas of the Deep South, sponsored by SRC.

The Progressive's Emancipation Proclamation issue, "A Century of Struggle," December, 1962.

Includes "Civil Rights in American History" by John Hope Franklin; "The South in Perspective," C. Vann Woodward; "The Unfinished Revolution," A. Philip Randolph; "A Letter to My Nephew," James Baldwin; "The Black Muslims," Eric Lincoln; and many others. Quantity prices: 10 for $2.50; 25 for $5.00; reduced rates for larger quantities.

"Reflections on the Negro and Labor," by Daniel Bell, The New Leader, January 21, 1963, pp. 18-20.

Concerned with a basic issue: "the implicit demand of the Negro community today...for special efforts and even special treatment in order to win basic social rights," and with labor's relation to such a proposition.

Information from the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity is a regularly published newsletter from that agency which contains information which might prove useful. If you're not already on their mailing list and want to receive it, write the President's Committee, Washington 25.

NEW STAFF

Louis L. Mitchell, Jr., Associate Pastor of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, Mountain Brook, Alabama, will become Executive Director of the Florida Council, effective July 1. At that time the FCHR office will be moved to Daytona Beach. Welcome to Lou, Betsy, and the five Mitchell children.

The present office of the FCHR is at 2867 Justina Road, Jacksonville 11, Florida, home of Dr. and Mrs. Ralph Dreger. For the past year the Dregers have conducted the affairs ot the Council and, as volunteers, have done a magnificent job of reorganizing FCHR.

NEW PROGRAM FILM AVAILABLE

On October 24, 1962, CBS Reports presented a one hour television program entitled "The Other Face of Dixie." The program told the story of school desegregation in four cities--emphasizing the positive aspects: Clinton, Norfolk, Atlanta, and Little Rock. It was shown on a nationwide basis but a number of local stations exercised their option not to show this item.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has been presented with a copy of this film. It will be made available from the Commission wihtout cost to any civic, religious, or educational group. Inquiries should be directed to Peter M. Sussman, Assistant Staff Director for State Advisory Committees, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington 25, D.C.

PREDOMINANTLY WHITE HOTELS ACCOMMODATING NEGRO GUESTS

The predominantly white hotels listed below are reported (either by newsclips or by individual informants) to accept overnight guests without regard to race. Most of them were desegregated during roughly the last three years; some, however, have never been segregated. Hotels largely for Negro guests are not listed here; many also accept whites.

If you have positive information regarding non-segregated predominantly white hotels not listed below, we would be grateful if you would report their names to us, with documentation (either a reliable news report or information from a reliable individual). Be sure, if possible, that all facilities in those hotels you report to us are open to Negro guests--coffee shops, swimming pools, etc., managed by the hotel.

ARKANSAS
Little Rock: Marion Hotel, Grady Manning Hotel, Lafayette Hotel(there is still some question about the Albert Pike).
FLORIDA
Miami Beach: Most hotels. Hollywood: At least one major hotel (probably the Hollywood Beach, but this is not confirmed). West Palm Beach: Town House.
GEORGIA
Atlanta: Peachtree Manor Hotel, Hilton Inn.
LOUISIANA
New Orleans: Airport Hotel.
KENTUCKY
Louisville: All hotels. Berea: Major hotels. Mammoth Cave: All hotels.
NORTH CAROLINA
Greensboro: Holiday Inn. Durham: Jack Tar Hotel, Holiday Inn, Washington Duke Hotel. Chapel Hill: Carolina Inn. Asheville: Battery Park Hotel, George Vanderbilt Hotel.
OKLAHOMA
Oklahoma City: All. Tulsa: All.
TENNESSEE
Gatlinburg: Some, depending on season. Johnson City: Inns of America. Memphis: Peabody Hotel. Oak Ridge: Holiday Inn. Townsend: At least one hotel (near Gatlinburg).
TEXAS
San Antonio: All. Houston: Rice, Shamrock-Hilton, Lamar, Texas State, Ben Milam.
VIRGINIA
Richmond: Jefferson, John Marshall, Richmond. Roanoke: Roanoke Hotel. Norfolk: Golden Triangle. Williamsburg: All.

MA

SRC Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

June, 1963

DAYLIGHT IN HUNTSVILLE

The following is the lead editorial from the Huntsville Times of June 11, 1963, the day Vivian Malone and James Hood entered the University of Alabama:

THE DAY

Certainly there must have been few citizens of the state who did not awake this morning aware this was to be the day that the Little Judge was going to write a new chapter in Alabama histrionics.

NEW STAFFERS AT SRC, HOUSTON COUNCIL

Vernon Jordan has joined the SRC staff as Assistant to the Director, a position which will entail some administrative duties but which will emphasize program assistance. A graduate of DePauw University with a law degree from Howard, Jordan was Georgia State Director of the NAACP before coming to SRC.

The Houston Council announced a giant step this month: Charles Kelly has been appointed to a newly created professional staff position, Executive Director. Ethel Dumbauld will, of course, continue as Executive Secretary. Kelly has served as HCHR president since fall of 1962.

PERIPATETIC HUGHESES SETTLE

In a recent letter, former ACHR director Bob Hughes sends "warm greetings from the heart of Africa." After seven months in language school and a several-months' assignment as pastor of the church at a mission station located in a remote mountainous area on the Mozambique border, Bob has now been assigned to the work which called him to Africa--race relations. He and his family are located in Southern Rhodesia, at what appears to be a stable address: 62 Galway Road, Avondale, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.

He writes: "Week before last the first item in every BBC and Rhodesian Federal Broadcasting Corporation newscast was on Birmingham, as were the headlines of every newspaper in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. The impact here has even been greater than that of the Ole Miss riots because of the drama involved. Without reference to the tarnishing of the image of America as the land of freedom and equality, the damage done to American missions in this part of the world is very real...."

Also, "When we moved into a new neighborhood recently I took a stroll around the back fence and met our new neighbor. We introduced ourselves and when I told her I was from Birmingham, Alabama, she reached across the fence, grabbed my hand and vigorously shook it, saying, "Keep the niggers down!"

MCHR URGES JACKSON BIRACIAL COMMITTEE

The Mississippi Council recently made public, via a news-release, an appeal for the appointment of a responsible bi-racial committee to consider the grievances of Jackson Negro citizens. The Council called upon "the people of Jackson, on those who carry political responsibility, on leaders of business and industry, on the clergy, and on all other thinking people to see that a responsible bi-racial committee is set up now, and to pledge themselves to make changes in our way of living which will bring human dignity and respect to our citizens regardless of race or color."

PRIVATE FACILITY DESEGREGATION

"Those who do nothing are inviting shame as well as violence. Those who act boldly are recognizing right as well as reality." Thus spoke President Kennedy of dampening the "fires of frustration and discord burning in every city" since the significant events in Birmingham last month. And bold action, the kind of action which demonstrates what progressive community elements can accomplish when moved and, perhaps more importantly, what seemingly inflexible community elements will accept without murmer, has been taken in many cities in the South during the last few weeks.

The expanding total of facilities "open to the public" which have been, since late May, opened to all of the public includes, in part:

First class restaurants in Nashville and Clarksville, Tennessee; Richmond and Lynchburg, Virginia; Charlotte, Asheville, Greensboro, Concord, Winston-Salem, Raleigh, Durham, Statesville and Wadesboro, N. C.; Atlanta, Georgia; Austin, Texas; Fayetteville, Arkansas (test period underway in Fayetteville);

Hotels and motels in Nashville, Knoxville, Clarksville, and Memphis, Tennessee; Charlotte, Winston-Salem, and Durham, North Carolina; Atlanta, Georgia; Tampa, Florida; Houston, Texas;

Movies in Little Rock, Arkansas; Memphis, Tennessee; Norfolk, Richmond, Lynchburg, and the Fairfax-Arlington-Alexandria area, Virginia; Raleigh and Charlotte, North Carolina.

(Listing above does not necessarily mean that within a named city all of the indicated facilities have desegregated, but that a significant number--and in some cases all--of them have. This listing is also far from complete, for the Department of Justice recently announced that, of 244 cities in Southern and border states on which it is "keeping close tab," 143 have taken "some positive visible step" toward removal of racial barriers. The Department's breakdown was: theatres in 61 cities, restaurants in 67 cities, hotels in 22 cities, lunch counters in 61 cities. SRC is currently preparing for publication as complete as possible a listing of newly desegregated facilities; it is scheduled for release in the very near future.)

During May and June, demonstrations, the threat of demonstrations, or in some instances the unpressured desire for progress has resulted in the formation of official biracial committees in: Anniston, Alabama; Pine Bluff, Arkansas; Daytona Beach, Gainesville, Melbourne, and St. Petersburg, Florida; Baton Rouge, Louisiana; Durham, High Point, Lenoir, Raleigh, Roxboro, Winston-Salem, Fayetteville, Concord, Sanford, Hickory, and Greensboro, North Carolina; Chattanooga and Nashville, Tennessee; Arlington, Hampton, and Roanoke, Virginia. The committees in Winston-Salem, Nashville, and Arlington are to be permanent bodies.

(Previously existing official biracial committees continue to function in Monroe and Charlotte, North Carolina; Athens and Oak Ridge, Tennessee; and Tampa, Florida. Similar committees are reportedly in operation in Asheville and Lumberton, North Carolina and in Fredericksburg and Newport News, Virginia; whether they are newly formed is unknown.)

RECENT ARTICLES, PAMPHLETS

"Who's Blocking Desegregation?" by Robert Coles, M.D. The New Republic, June 22, 1963. pp. 17-20.
An especially excellent article, which treats of the reasons why Dixie segregationists are "protected" by others in the country (and the unfairness of such protection to Southerners).

"A Beginning in Birmingham," by Vincent Harding. The Reporter, June 6, 1963. pp. 13-19.
An account of steps in the negotiated settlement in Birmingham, with thoughts on the possibilities presented by the current situation.

"The Civil Rights Story; A Year's Review." Pamphlet. Theodore Leskes, American Jewish Committee, 165 E. 56th St., N.Y. 22. May, 1963.
The AJC's annual overview of national developments.

HOUSEKEEPING

Four state Councils have earned full SRC matching funds for amounts raised locally this year: Georgia, Florida, North Carolina, and Virginia.

Quarterly reports for the March, April, and May quarter are currently due.

OUTLINE FOR QUARTERLY REPORTS

We have promised to provide the state Councils with a guide to the preparation of quarterly reports. No simple outline can fit all situations but the following may help. This is only a guide, not a requirement.

General comments:

1. Two things are needed, a program and a financial report. Each is generally outlined below.
2. It is helpful to SRC to have two copies of the report and all attachments. One copy can then be immediately circulated and is available for special filing, such as in research.
3. The program report need not be long nor should an undue amount of time be devoted to its preparation.
4. Frequently a brief report can be supplemented by material prepared for other purposes.
5. Several Councils effectively use the quarterly report as a report to the board. Such a report, prepared for the board or for members, meets all our needs if it includes financial information. We won't feel slighted if we receive a mimeographed copy of a report prepared for others.

Outline:

I. Program.
   - A. Significant developments in the state.
   - B. Factual report of specific instances of change.
   - C. Council, board, and staff involvement.
   - D. Specifics of local Council program.
   - E. Staff analysis of events.
   - F. Council plans and needs.
   - G. Administrative. (This is optional but very helpful to SRC. An occasional report of this kind would be highly desirable.)
     1. Membership as of end of quarter (total paid to date, not number carried).
     2. Distribution of membership by city and local Councils.
     3. Total funds contributed to date by members and individuals.
     4. Results of any special membership and/or fund raising dinners.

II. Financial.
   - A. Statement of income and expenses for quarter in detail, especially as to income. Income should state, specifically:
     1. Local contributions.
     2. Out of state contributions (foundations, SRC, etc.)
     3. Membership fees.
     4. New South subscriptions.
     5. Other.
   - B. Indication of total operating funds available at end of quarter.
   - C. Indication of all outstanding bills and obligations.
   - D. Separate listing of all special funds in savings, investments, etc..